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THE

WORKS

OF

SYMON PATRICK, D.D.

SOMETIME BISHOP OF ELY.

INCLUDING HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

EDITED BY

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MICHEL FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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FIFTEEN SERMONS

UPON

CONTENTMENT AND RESIGNATION TO THE WILL OF GOD.

AS ALSO

TWO SERMONS

ON THE MINISTRATION OF ANGELS.

WITH

A PRAYER AT THE END OF EACH DISCOURSE SUITABLE TO THE PARTICULAR SUBJECT OF IT.

[Published after the Author's death.]

[The Publisher's Preface.]

TO THE READER.

THE seventeen sermons contained in this volume are the only pieces of the late Doctor Symon Patrick, lord bishop of Ely, which have been published since his death. They were composed in the prime of his years, and very fairly written out by himself in one volume. They were put into the bookseller's hands by his relict, Mrs. Penelope Patrick, now living, with her desire that they might be made public.

The author was so eminent for his great learning and singular piety, and his practical writings and books of devotion have been so well received, that the booksellers think it a considerable recommendation of these discourses, and the prayers annexed to them, that they can assure the world they are the genuine works of that excellent prelate, and printed with great care and exactness from his own manuscript. They have also been assured by their friends who have perused these sermons, that as men's being contented in all estates of life is a matter of great consequence to their happiness, so the reader will here find the duty of contentment very fully treated of, and recommended with all that clearness and strength of reasoning, and with all that learning and true piety, which might be expected in so celebrated an author, writing upon so important a subject.

[1719.]

SERMON I.

HEBREWS xiii. 5.

Be content with such things as ye have.

THESE converted Jews being under great persecution by their unbelieving countrymen, (as we read in several places of this epistle,) there were many of them, as may be gathered also from sundry passages in it, that began to think of retiring back again to their old religion, rather than endure so many hardships in their new profession for Christ Jesus' sake. To prevent which fatal miscarriage, this divine writer uses many arguments; encouraging and strengthening their minds from the consideration of the certainty of the Christian doctrine, the dignity of its author, the glorious example he had set before them, the power he had in the heavens, which made him an High Priest of a better rank than any of the house of Aaron could be, and the hope of eternal life, wherewith he was able to reward all his constant disciples; yea, from the consideration also of their own sufferings, as soon as they entered into the state of Christianity; according as you read, *Call to remembrance the former days, in which, after ye were enlightened, ye endured a great fight of affliction*[a]: which no wise men would have done, unless they intended to proceed as they began, and not lose the reward of suffering so much for want of patience to suffer a little more. By these and such like arguments, I say, he persuades them not to revolt from Christ, as some did to their utter undoing; but to *hold fast the profession of their faith without wavering*[b], there being the greatest hazard which they ran, if they *sinned wilfully after they had received the knowledge of the truth*[c], no less than to lose all hope of pardon, which was declared to men only in

[a] Heb. x. 32. [b] x. 23. [c] Ver. 26.

Christ Jesus; whom they basely forsook and renounced when they apostatized from his religion.

Now that which made some fly back was fear of sufferings, love of pleasure, and covetousness, or love of the world. Against these three therefore he fortifies those who still continued the profession of Christianity in the beginning of this chapter, and bids them be so far from fearing any thing, as *to love the brethren, to entertain strangers,* and *to remember them that were in bonds, and suffered adversity*[d]; that is, to suffer with others, when they did not yet suffer on their own accounts. A thing which the false-hearted Christians would never do; whose charity waxed cold, and who were afraid to own the disciples of our Lord in time of distress, lest they should be accounted such themselves, and so be brought into trouble, and suffer as they did. And as he warns them against this base fear and vile cowardice, so he seems in the next place to give them a caution against all impure pleasures, for the love of which (as you may gather from chap. xii. 16) some turned their backs on their Saviour, and parted with their hope in him. *Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled; but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge*[e].

After which he proceeds here in my text to advise them not to be so careful for the things of this world as some were; nor to be afraid of want, though the days were very bad, and they perhaps might be spoiled of all their goods, and bereaved of all their friends: for he gives them assurance that God will provide, and that assurance he would have them esteem sufficient for them. *Let your conversation be without covetousness, and be content with such things as ye have: for he hath said, I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee,* &c.

That which I intend then to treat of from these words is, that present things, though our condition be afflicted, should suffice us: or, that we should be well satisfied in our present condition, whatsoever it be. So the words are expressly in the Greek, ἀρκούμενοι τοῖς παροῦσι, 'being contented with things present,' or, 'letting things present and at hand suffice you.' Rest satisfied with what you have now, and be not too solicitous for the future.

This lesson St. Paul teaches his son Timothy, *Having food*

[d] Vers. 1, 2, 3. [e] Ver. 4.

and raiment, let us be therewith content[f]. But he did not teach it him before he had learnt it himself; for he tells the Philippians he had arrived to a great perfection in this virtue. *I have learnt, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound: every where* (or, at all times) *and in every thing I am instructed, both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need*[g]. This was a true Israelite indeed, in whom there was no guile. He was not like that wicked generation in the wilderness, (by whose fearful example these Christian Hebrews are deterred from looking back, as they did towards Egypt[h],) who when they were hungry knew not how to bear it, but *murmured and spake against God, saying, Can he furnish a table in the wilderness? He gave us water: can he give bread also? Can he provide flesh for his people?* And when they were full, could no better bear that; *but waxed fat, and kicked against God; they ate and drank, and rose up to play*, i. e. became beastly idolaters. No, he knew how to be full, and how to be hungry: and in both conditions, kept an equal, moderate, and contented mind; neither murmuring and repining in one state, nor waxing too frolicsome and wanton in the other. Nay, whatsoever the condition was, that is, whatsoever the circumstances of it were; in whatsoever time, or place, or thing it was, that he suffered or abounded, he knew how to behave himself, and to be well pleased. Which is the reason, I suppose, that he uses so many expressions of the same import; telling us he had learned both *how to be abased and how to abound, how to be full and how to be hungry, how to abound and to suffer need.* A virtue highly admired by heathens themselves; particularly by the famous royal philosopher Antoninus, who praises Socrates upon this account, and his own father for treading in his steps; who knew ἀπέχεσθαι· καὶ ἀπολαύειν τούτων[i], &c., 'both how to abstain from and how to enjoy those things which other men could not want through their weakness, or by reason of their intemperance could not truly enjoy. This made him justly esteemed a great man, or, in his phrase, a man of a complete and invincible spirit; who, as he would not yield

[f] 1 Tim. vi. 8. [g] Phil. iv. 11, 12. [h] Heb. iii. and iv.
[i] Lib. i. [c. 16. p. 15.]

to the temptations either of poverty or abundance, so had not without much pains and commendable labour attained such a strong habit and firm constitution of mind. And indeed so much St. Paul here intimates, as Theophylact[i] well observes, that it is a matter of some labour and discipline to bring a man's self into a conformity with his condition, and to continue the same contented person when that alters and changes from better to worse. For he saith Ἔμαθον, 'I have learned;' which is as much as to say that γυμνασίας δεῖται καὶ μελετῆς, 'there is need of exercise, and study is required to attain it.' The greatest apostle could not otherwise come by it. He had it not by inspiration, as he had the gift of tongues, and prophecies, and such like. Διδαχῆς ἄρα τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ἀσκήσεως, 'and therefore it is a business of learning and meditation,' (as Œcumenius speaks[k],) to which we must use and exercise ourselves, that by perpetual practice we may come to this happy temper; and after much consideration prevail with ourselves in every state to be content.

It will be necessary then for your better learning of it that I show you,

I. What this contentment is.

II. What reason there is for it. And

III. How we may attain it. Though indeed by understanding the reason why we should be contented, we shall learn, in great part, how to possess ourselves of this virtue.

I. For the first; to be contented with present things, I shall thus describe.

It is to feel such a plenitude and fulness in our souls, that makes us so well pleased in the condition wherein we are, as not to suffer the desire of a change to trouble our spirit, or discompose our duty.

It will be profitable, I think, to take this description in pieces, and by parts to teach you this lesson which you are to learn. Which cannot be well done, without giving you some notice also how the apostles and all good Christians came to learn it.

First, then, I say, it consists in a fulness of the soul, for by a better word than that I know not how to express it. All that is necessary to be said concerning the nature of contentment

[i] [In loc. tom. ii. p. 457 C.] [k] [In loc. tom. ii. p. 109 B.]

is contained in it, and flows from it. Then we are well, when we find a kind of self-sufficiency, as the word αὐτάρκεια signifies; such a repletion (if I may use that phrase) within our own breasts, that we feel no pain, nor trouble of emptiness there; nor require any thing more for our satisfaction than we have already. And so the word which otherwise is rendered *contentment*, is in one place rendered *sufficiency*. *And God is able to make all grace abound toward you; that ye, always having all sufficiency in all things, may abound to every good work*[l]. Ὅρα σοφίαν, saith Œcumenius, 'behold the wisdom' of the apostle, who wishes them only a sufficiency of carnal things, but of spiritual an abundance. Yet this sufficiency is so great a blessing, that they who have it cannot be said to want; and it depends, as you shall hear, upon the abundance of God's grace towards us, which, when we consider, will make us think a little of this world sufficient to our satisfaction. But be it little or much that we enjoy, when any soul is full and hath enough, and saith that it sufficeth, then it is contented. And so that very word which the apostle uses in my text is translated by our interpreters, *Show us the Father*[m], *and* ἀρκεῖ, *it sufficeth:* there needs no more, we shall be full enough. From which place you may both learn what contentment is, and where this fulness or sufficiency is to be found, even in God himself, in the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. God alone can fill the soul of man, who calls himself all-sufficient; and there is no such satisfying sight of him as that which we have in his Son our Saviour, who hath revealed his blessed nature and will to our great contentment. To him therefore we must go, for he that hath the Son hath the Father also, and he that hath him hath all things.

But that we may not deceive ourselves by a slight pleasure in words, sounds, and phrases, I shall briefly show you what this fulness is which a Christian soul hath from God the Father of our Lord Jesus; and by that means, wherein our true contentment consists.

1. And in the first place you must understand that there is a great store and plenty, no less than a fulness of divine wisdom and knowledge, which God hath bestowed on us; in which the

[l] 2 Cor. ix. 8. [m] John xiv. 8.

mind of man, when he entertains it, and fully believes it, cannot but find exceeding great contentment of spirit.

It is certain there is nothing that it more naturally desires than to know and understand. Our souls have a peculiar inclination and affection to truth, and are likewise big with designs and contrivances of several sorts. Their thoughts are ever restless and unquiet; they are too active and vigorous to stand still and do nothing: insomuch, that if they can find no other employment, they will trouble themselves, and perplex and disquiet all at home. For no man is discontented but he is crucified by himself, and his own thoughts are his tormentors. That we might never therefore be so idle as to vex ourselves, nor roll and tumble about perpetually in our own unquiet imaginations, God hath propounded the most glorious objects on which to fix our busy thoughts, and imparted to us the knowledge of a vast number of things, some of which were never known in the world before, and the rest but imperfectly understood and uncertainly believed; and those of the greatest concernment to our souls, and most highly importing to our happiness; whereby that natural appetite after wisdom and understanding is abundantly filled and replenished, and all other appetites are strangely gratified and pleased too.

For there is nothing can yield greater satisfaction to the heart of man than this revelation which God hath made of his mind and will by the gospel of Christ, in such a large and ample manner as itself witnesses. *I am persuaded, brethren,* saith St. Paul, *that ye are filled with all knowledge; able to admonish one another*[n]. This was the end for which God gave such gifts unto men, as upon this day, and made *some, apostles; some, prophets; some, evangelists; &c. Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ*[o]. There is, you see, a great fulness of divine knowledge communicated to us, the nearer unto which we arrive, the more contented and well pleased we shall be in every state. And therefore the apostle prays for the Colossians, that they might *be filled with the knowledge of God's will, in all wisdom and spiritual understanding*[p]; as

[n] Rom. xv. 14. [o] Ephes. iv. 10, 13. [p] Col. i. 9.

the first blessing he could wish to those whose happiness he exceedingly desired. And to such persons as these it is that this divine writer speaks, when he exhorts them to *be contented with such things as* they had.

They were men that knew the superabundant love of God to mankind, being persuaded that he had *spoken to us by his* own *Son,* (as you read chap. i. 1,) a person higher than all angels; who, at God's command, worshipped him when he came into the world, and acknowledged themselves to be but ministering spirits to the servants of this glorious Prince, the *Heir of all things.*

Lord, what a grace was this! What a noble pitch of knowledge! whereby mankind were made certain that there is a providence greater than their own, which watches over them and takes care of them here on earth. It assured them beyond all dispute, that the great God, whose power is infinite and unlimited, doth not despise us; but is so far from it, that he desires to be our friend. For they had the satisfaction to know (and so have we) that he loves us so well, as to manifest himself in our flesh; Jesus who spoke unto us being the *brightness of his glory, the express image of his person, upholding all things by the word of his power*[q]. They saw clearly that *God was in him, reconciling the world to himself;* because, when he had *by himself,* as it there follows, *purged our sins, he sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high.* What a discovery was this, that this Son of God should die to *take away the sins of the world!* What an honour hath he put upon our nature! First, in appearing in it, then in purging us by such a noble sacrifice, and then preferring us in the person of Jesus to such great dignity and glory as he now hath in the heavens. What greater satisfaction can there be than to know that Christ Jesus reigns; to *see him,* as he speaks, *who was made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour*[r]: to know that we are under his tender care; and that he is our intercessor with God, ready to do us any good offices in the court of heaven, when we have any business there? What would we desire more, than to have such an affectionate High Priest over the house of God, full of

[q] Hebrews i. 3. [r] Hebrews ii. 9.

compassion and mercy, and not without a royal power to succour those who flee unto him for sanctuary and assistance? Who can never fail not to be denied, having, by one sacrifice of himself once offered, *obtained an eternal redemption for us.* And who can never fail to discharge his office (having *learnt obedience by the things that he suffered*) for the benefit and comfort of all those who depend upon his power, faithfulness, and love; who is set down for ever *at the right hand of God,* to reign till *all his enemies are become his footstool:* and *hath delivered us* already *from the fear of death;* and *destroyed him that had the power of death, which is the devil:* and made *angels also ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation.* Which he will come one day to bestow upon all those *who look for his second appearing;* being become the *author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him*[s].

This and much more is the subject of this single epistle; and therefore, though they suffered persecution, though they were spoiled of their goods, and endured many reproaches, and other crosses, yet they might be contented in their present state. For they had a fulness of divine reason in them, many heavenly notions that would be ever presenting themselves to them; such store of rare meditations, that there was no room, no place empty for discontented thoughts to come and lie in. They could presently think in the worse condition, Well! let it be so: but we are of kin to God the Father of all, we are under his most wise and good providence; we may trust him, for he loves us, as appears by his sending Jesus to dwell among us; and Jesus, who did and suffered such great things for us, is still alive, and reigns, and will reign for evermore. His power can never be impaired. When we are dead, he can raise us again; and while we are alive, he will not fail to intercede with God for us, and support and comfort us in all our sufferings, for he was tempted as we are.

They knew that none could be miserable who were beloved of God; that none could want, who had his providence for their storehouse; that none could be alone, who were in the company of Christ and his holy angels that attended on them.

[s] Hebrews i. ult. v. 9, &c.

That it was impossible but his sacrifice should prevail for any thing needful, which was of such force as to prevail for the remission of the sins of the world: that he who will come again from heaven to reward us cannot at present be unmindful of us: that all sufferings are but to prepare us for a greater recompense of reward, by patient enduring the pain and trouble of them: and that they are so far from being the tokens of God's anger, that they are in some cases the marks and characters of his sons; who could not therefore reasonably complain of their heavenly Father, but rather submit unto him with a quiet and contented spirit, as became the heirs of his love.

Especially if you consider, that they had not only an abundance of these heavenly thoughts to fill and satisfy their minds, but likewise very full grounds, abundant and satisfactory reasons, to persuade them of the truth of these things, which were the matter of their belief. According to that prayer of the apostle for the Colossians, that their *hearts might be comforted, being knit together in love, and unto all riches of the full assurance of understanding, to the acknowledgment of the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ; in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge*[t]. That is, he desired they might find the sweetness and benefit of their religion by loving one another, and by understanding fully and certainly all the secrets of Christianity; the rare methods that God the Father anciently, and now Christ Jesus our Lord, had taken to bring men to happiness. And indeed all was comprised in this last design of Divine grace in Christ, in whom they would find, if they searched diligently, such manifold wisdom of God as could not be expressed by less words than *all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge:* where you may observe, that he wishes them not only the *riches of understanding*, and *all riches*, but a *full assurance* likewise: such sure and certain grounds of belief, that they might acknowledge this great mystery, in which was comprehended such a fulness of wisdom.

Now this full assurance our Lord wrought in them by his wonderful works, by his death, by his resurrection, but especially by the Holy Ghost, with which they are often said to be

[t] Coloss. ii. 2.

filled; and which was a Divine testimony, whereby God bare witness to them who preached the gospel, and assured the world they delivered nothing but his mind and will[u].

It was clear and apparent by the coming of the Holy Ghost, that God takes care of men, and bears a singular love to them, and would be very familiar with them. This fully satisfied all that impartially considered of the words of Jesus, who said he was *the Son of God*. They would not doubt any longer of his innocency when he was on earth, and of his glory now in the heavens. They saw indeed that his sacrifice was highly acceptable to God, and that he had purged away our sins by his own blood. They did as good as behold him sitting on the *throne of his glory, at the right hand of the Majesty on high*. Nay, their faith was raised to behold that place which he was preparing for them in the heavenly mansions; and they made no scruple to conclude, that he would come again and take them to himself, that where he was there they might be also. For he had anointed them by the Holy Ghost to an heavenly kingdom, and he had sealed them, and given them the earnest of the celestial inheritance[x]. Nay, the very gifts which were an evidence of all this could not but fill their minds also with very great wonder, and make them, being possessed with such high thoughts, less capable of being possessed with any other.

And what should hinder us from being possessed with them too, at once receiving the splendour of this Divine light, and true peace and satisfaction of heart? For he that hath this fulness of knowledge and understanding, and a full assurance of it, founded upon such substantial reasons, is in the ready way to perfect contentment, nay, to the greatest comfort and consolation; there being nothing more delicious and full of ravishment than these great truths which I have mentioned, and of which our Saviour, blessed be the Divine grace, hath given such good assurance, that he hath left no place for doubting concerning what he hath taught, and what his apostles in his name made known to the world. We cannot entertain them but we shall feel inward satisfaction entering into our hearts together with them; as, on the contrary, if we be ignorant of them, or do not sincerely believe them, we shall be strangers to true contentment, be our condition never so pros-

[u] Heb. xi. 4. [x] 2 Cor. i. 21, 22.

perous in this world. And therefore, I observe, when St. Paul speaks of this matter in the place I named before[y], and saith, *I am instructed in all things both to be full and to be hungry, &c.* he uses a word (μεμύημαι) which signifies, he had the mystery or secret of this thing. He knew, that is, the mystery of the Christian religion, and was full well versed in the knowledge of the Lord Jesus, by which he was enabled to preserve an equality of mind, and in every state to be content. There is no way therefore for us to arrive at this felicity, but by the same fulness of understanding, so fully possessing our minds and hearts, that it thrusts out all those troublesome thoughts which are wont to make our lives irksome and tedious to us. Which effect it cannot fail to have, if we suffer it to work according to its natural tendency, and produce something in our wills answerable to this fulness of holy thoughts in our minds. And that is the next thing I am to observe.

2. Besides this fulness of understanding, there is a fulness of love likewise in the soul of a Christian to God and our Saviour, which makes it exceedingly well contented and satisfied in every state of life. Of this you read, Ephes. iii. 19, where the apostle continuing his prayer for them, desires they may know *the love of Christ which passeth knowledge*, that they might be *filled with all the fulness of God*. What that fulness is you will best discern by observing what goes before, *that ye may know the love of Christ*. This is the thing he desires for them, that they may know how great the love of Christ was, in giving himself and purchasing such blessings for us: which is a knowledge that excels and surpasses all other which the world most admires, (so those words may be expounded, *which passeth knowledge;*) and the effect of that will be, to fill the hearts of those in whom it is *with all love to God;* for that sure is meant by *all the fulness of God* in this place. God is love: and when we think of his love, the most natural product of it is, to make us like to him in love; to have our hearts burn with a most vehement affection to him. Now the most natural effect of this love to God, especially when it is in such fulness as the love of Christ is apt to beget, is to thrust out of our hearts all inordinate love of the world, and to

[y] Phil. iv. 12.

make us well satisfied in such love of God to us, and such love in us to God.

And indeed Theophylact very pertinently asks the question upon those words (*to know the love of Christ*), Τίς τοῦτο ἀγνοεῖ[z]; 'What Christian can be ignorant of this?' And he answers it as well: "None so much as they that are complaining of what happens to them every day, and prefer the mammon of this world before God. If we know this love," saith he, οὐκ ἂν οὕτε τῆς προνοίας κατεγογγύζομεν, &c., "we should neither murmur against the providence of God, nor be so intent upon these worldly things, which make so many apostatize from God, who hath so loved them."

This therefore is another thing that must fill the hearts of those that will be contented in any condition, (as you may hear more before I conclude this argument.) For when the apostle desires the Ephesians, iii. 13, that they would *not faint at his tribulations which he endured;* he prays that they might but know the *love of Christ*, so as to be *filled with all the fulness of God*, (with abundant love to him,) and then they would be satisfied both in his sufferings and in their own also. That this is his meaning, is apparent from the 14th verse, where he saith, *For this cause he bowed his knee to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ;* i. e. because they should not be too much troubled at his tribulations. And this was the thing you see that he so humbly begged of him, as a preservative of them against all trouble, that *they might know the love of God our Saviour*, and be *filled with love to him.* Which love made him suffer, and would make them do the same, and be contented with any thing that God thought fit to order for them. For true love is so far from repining at the hardships it endures, that it is rather glad to meet with such things as may be proofs and demonstrations of its sincerity and constant fidelity; and will not suffer the mind to be dejected, but, like to wine, to which it is compared, exhilarates the spirit, cheers the heart, and drives away sorrow as fire doth cold. It cannot be otherwise, if you consider in the third place that there is,

3. A fulness of piety and good works, which the holy Scriptures speak of, and which are as genuine and natural a fruit of

[z] [Tom. ii. p. 391 E.]

the love of God and our Saviour, as that love is the fruit of the divine wisdom and knowledge, which his infinite charity hath imparted to us. Thus we read in Acts ix. 36 of a woman that was *full of good works:* and that St. Paul was persuaded the Romans were *full of goodness*, Rom. xv. 14; which may be interpreted, saith Theophylact, ὁλόκληρον τὴν ἀρετὴν[a], 'all manner of virtue,' or complete piety in every part belonging to it: according to that also, Philipp. i. 11, *filled with the fruits of righteousness.* And so necessary is the exercise of all Christian virtues to give us this fulness and content in our hearts, that the same apostle joins these two together, 1 Tim. vi. 6, when he saith, that *godliness with contentment is great gain.*

Wicked men and hypocrites can never have any true and durable satisfaction in their souls. That is, they that neglect all Christian duties, or they that neglect some, and are lame in their obedience, will ever be wanting something to make them possessors of this happiness. If a man want any Christian virtue, he will have other wants, which will give him disturbance: if he be either voluptuous, or proud, or covetous, or malicious; or if he be none of these, but lead a life thus far unblamable, and yet hath no converse with God by constant prayer and meditation, by praise and thanksgiving, and maintains not a lively sense of the life to come; he will find himself miserable at one time or other, either for not having, or for losing some worldly thing.

Heathens themselves were sensible of this; which made Plato, as Clemens Alexandrinus observes, define εὐδαιμονία, or 'happiness,' to be nothing else but as the words of which it is compounded import, τὸ εὖ ἔχειν τὸν δαίμονα, 'to have a man's soul in good plight.' For *dæmon*, saith he[b], or genius, is τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν ἡγεμονικὸν, 'that directive and guiding principle in us,' which steers every man's soul; and when it holds a right course makes him happy. And so a nameless author in Suidas[c] explains it, Ὁ σπουδαῖος εὐδαίμων ἐστὶ, 'a good and virtuous man is happy;' for the very name of happiness plainly denotes the having of a man's *dæmon* in good case: now if that be every man's own soul, then he is *eudæmon*, or happy, whose

[a] [Tom. ii. p. 108 D.]

[b] [Strom. lib. ii. cap. 22. p. 499.]

[c] [Col. 1484 B.]

soul is well. And no man's soul is well, as it ought to be, but his who is good and virtuous; therefore that is the man alone who is happy.

For *Quæ conditio rerum, eadem et hominum*, as Seneca writes[d]: 'Such as the condition of things is, such is the condition of men.' Now that is a good ship, not which is finely gilded or carved, or which is laden with rich and royal treasure, but which is firm and stable, whose parts are closely joined together, so that it will admit no water; which swims well in the sea, and obeys the rudder, and can bear up against the wind. In like manner you call that a good sword, not which hangs in a golden belt, or whose hilt or scabbard is distinguished with jewels, but which is sharp and strong, able to defend a man against his enemy. The like definition you must give of a man that is good for any thing. "It is not one that is wealthy, and dwells in a fine house, and walks in pleasant gardens, (though these are conveniencies and ornaments of life,) but he that is firm and strong, like the ship I spoke of, by virtuous principles; that is obedient to clear reason, whereby he is to steer his course; that can bear up against a storm, and is so compact and all of apiece, that nothing can enter to endanger his safety." This man's happiness depends on God, and on himself. And as long as he adheres to God, and is completely furnished with those divine qualities which perfect his blessed nature, it is not in the power of other things to make him miserable. For he is as he should be; his soul is in good condition, and therefore he is happy. But he must take great heed of any flaw in his goodness, any insincerity and loathness to comply with the Divine will in some parts of his duty: for this will discompose and disorder him whensoever he reflects upon it; and then most of all, when he will most wish to be quiet and at ease, in time of any outward trouble or danger; when he will be sure to have this addition to his affliction, that he hath been false to God, and a partial lover of virtue. And therefore the apostle, you see, uses a word which comprehends every kind of virtue when he speaks of the state and condition of Christian spirits, whom he would have *filled with the fruits of righteousness*. Not only one sort of good fruit, but all must grow in their hearts: and these must not

[d] [Epist. 76.]

remain neither in their green and tender age, but come to their full bigness, and then they will certainly bring forth abundance of contentment, and make us live in perpetual peace.

For, first, a man's heart being full of these, there will be ever some or other of them to be exercised, which will not give him leisure to be troubled and vexed. And secondly, the exercise of every one of them is the subduing or moderating of some passion, affection, desire or other, which is the cause of his discontent. Let us apply ourselves, then, to the serious and constant exercise of having consciences void of offence towards God and towards all men. Upon which depends,

4. A fulness of hope, which flows likewise from the former: it being the promise that Christ hath made to those that love him and obey him, that they shall live with him eternally. This promise is so certainly true, that if we be filled with all goodness, and the fruits of the Spirit, then we may have a *full assurance of hope* also, which these Hebrews are exhorted to *hold fast unto the end*, chap. vi. 11. And what is there that can give our souls a greater fulness? What will more effectually exclude all sense of want and emptiness, than the full assurance of hope which our Lord hath wrought in us? This is riches enough; this is a vast treasure, when the heart is big with it, and on very good reasons persuaded that this hope of eternal bliss will not make it ashamed. What can it desire more, what can it long for, but only to be filled more and more with this good hope, through the grace of God in Christ Jesus? The sails of a ship are not more swelled with a fresh gale of wind, nor the channels of water more raised at full sea, nor the air more full of light when the sun shines, than that soul is filled, satisfied, and, as it were, swollen with inward comfort, which feels these good hopes in God grow strong within it, and earnestly expects the glory of the Lord Jesus. There is room then for no other desire, but only that it may have a greater fulness, as I said, of this blessed hope: and so it shall, by the means of that grace which first introduced it. For you may observe what a connexion there is between all these things, and how they are interwoven one with another. A sense of Christ's great love to us, and a sense of our true love and dutifulness towards him, begets hope in us. This

hope doth exceedingly cheer and refresh the heart: and this again begets more love to our Lord, and makes us more constant in every good work; which will again be the nurse of hope, and more abundant comfort. Read those words of the apostle, *Now our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God even the Father, who hath loved us, and given us everlasting consolation, and good hope through grace, comfort your hearts, and establish you in every good word and work*[e].

Where you see the love of God is the fountain of our hope; and the *God of hope* (i. e. who hath given us good hope) is he that comforts Christian souls, and also establishes them in obedience to him: and consequently obedience being confirmed, hope must needs receive a new stability therewith. For he that doth so much to make us obedient, cannot fail, we may think, to do more when we are such as he would make us. He will take a delight in what he himself hath wrought, and perfect his own image, not only in wisdom and goodness, but in bliss and happiness. And indeed, besides all this, there is,

5. A fulness of joy which the Scripture speaks of, *Hitherto have ye asked nothing in my name: ask, and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full*[f]. The joy that they had since Christ was revealed exceeded all that was before: but after he went to heaven, and was possessed of his throne, and became the Lord of all; it arose to a greater height, and filled the souls of those who believed on him with sweeter and more abundant consolation. And this joy arose out of the former things which I have mentioned, and several other causes. As,

1st. From the fulness of wisdom and understanding, which was communicated to them, according to that passage of St. John: *These things write I unto you, that your joy may be full*[g]; i. e. those things which they had seen, and heard, and handled of the Word of life; those things which they were sure and certain of by their very senses, the apostles gave notice of to others, that they might have the fuller joy in Christ Jesus. There is an extraordinary delight which the mind takes in knowledge: but as much as the knowledge of Christ exceeds all others, with so much greater pleasure must it needs ravish the understanding of those in whom it is. It is impossible but

[e] 2 Thess. ii. 16, 17. [f] John xvi. 24. [g] 1 John i. 4.

their spirits should overflow with joy, when they reflect upon the glory in which our Lord sits, and the power he hath with God, and his tender compassion to all his subjects, with all the rest that I have already touched, but would require a volume to explain so fully as the matter deserves. Let it suffice briefly to tell you,

Secondly, that from our hearty love to God and our Saviour, there flows a great joy and consolation of spirit. Do but remember those words I quoted before, where the apostle prays, *their hearts may be comforted, being knit together in love*[h]: and you will conclude, that if the love they had one to another (of which he there speaks) was so sweet; then love to God, which is produced as well as the other, from the great love to us, must be of a far better relish, and yield a more delicious joy to those whose hearts are not strangers to it. And,

Thirdly, from piety also there arises much joy; as you may collect from those words, Acts ix. 31: *Then had the churches rest through all Judæa, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified, and walking in the fear of God, and the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied.* The *comfort*, you see, or joy of the Holy Ghost was a companion of walking in the fear of the Lord.

Hope also, fourthly, is another spring from whence it flows. *Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope*[i], &c. Where you see that God who hath given us good hope, doth by that very name send great joy into faithful souls. And then this joy causes them still more to abound in hope; it being the beginning of that which they hoped for. The like you read in the place before mentioned, 2 Thess. ii. 16: He *hath given us everlasting consolation, and good hope through grace.* Where the last phrase explains the first, telling us that good hope is the cause of never-failing consolation.

It arises also, fifthly, from the good which we behold in others; from their repentance or increase in piety. For if there be *joy in heaven among the angels of God at the conversion of a sinner*, sure there will be some joy on earth on such an occasion among them who are more immediately concerned in it. And no less joy is there at the progress they

[h] Coloss. ii. 2. [i] Rom. xv. 13.

behold one another make in piety and good works: according as the apostle writes to the Corinthians: *Great is my glorying in you: I am filled with comfort, and am exceeding joyful in all our tribulations*[k]. This afforded a fulness of contentment to him, that he heard of their great hatred of sin, of their indignation, of their fear, of their vehement desire, and of their zeal; as you read ver. 11, which bred a great joy in Titus also. And in his joy the apostle again conceived a new satisfaction, and rejoiced more than he did before, v. 13: *Therefore we were comforted in your comfort; yea, and the more exceedingly joyed we in the joy of Titus, because his spirit was refreshed by you all.* This is a great fulness of joy, that is made bigger by the increase of joy to anybody else. Great satisfaction is in the midst of good hearts, who feel themselves the better for the satisfaction and consolation that others receive.

And, sixthly, this joy is helped forward likewise by the ministers of Christ; who open the gospel, and declare the sense and meaning of it: who are ready to advise, and to administer comfort and counsel to those who are in need of it. Which made St. John say that he would *write no further, trusting to speak to them face to face; that their joy might be full*[l]. By having his presence, that is, with them; to satisfy them in any doubt; to encourage them in their conflicts; to confirm them in their faith; to stir up their love to God and their brethren; by giving them a clearer sight of all those things which God had revealed to the apostles by his Holy Spirit.

You see then that Christianity teaches us to be more than contented; even to *rejoice in the Lord alway; and again*, saith the apostle, *I bid you rejoice*[m]. There is great cause for it; we may be so satisfied as to be pleased, and rest so contented in our present condition as not to be without delight: if we know what God is, and what our Lord is, and what he hath done for us already; and what he hath still promised to do; and if we love God, and be sensible of his transcendent and inconceivable love to us. If we have any goodness in us, nay, any good nature towards him who hath so loved us; we cannot repine and murmur, (as you shall hear next

[k] 2 Cor. vii. 4. [l] 2 John 12. [m] Phil. iv. 4.

time,) nor bring any complaints against his providence, as if he dealt hardly with us; especially since he hath sent the Holy Ghost to confirm our hope, and to make us *rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory.*

PRAYER I.

O God, who has not only endued me with principles of reason, and made me understand that thou art the sovereign Lord, who orderest all things as thou pleasest; but also made me partaker of a glorious revelation of thy mind and will in Christ Jesus; by which I understand that thou art our Father, and hast a most tender affection to us, and delightest to order all things with the most merciful regard to our good and happiness: I cast down myself most humbly before thee; adoring, blessing, and praising thy Divine goodness, with a thankful heart, which hath taken such care for our everlasting salvation, and likewise for our present satisfaction and contentment in every state and condition of life. How much do we owe thee, who hast opened to us thy secrets, and admitted us into thy counsels; and promised us such things as never entered into the heart of man to wish; and given us such assurance that it is thy intentions we should live with Jesus, and reign with him in his eternal kingdom! And yet thou expectest no requital for this great bounty, but only that we would believe thee, and love thee, and be made like thee, and place our hope in thee; and rejoice evermore in the holy comfort of this faith, and love, and good hope which thou hast given us by Christ Jesus. O God, what new obligations are these, which thou layest on us; that after thou hast done so much for us, thou askest nothing of us, but that we would be contented; and art well pleased, if we be but pleased and satisfied with thy bounty and liberality towards us! There is infinite reason that we should be more than well pleased and contented: we ought to rejoice and be exceeding glad in thee, who hast appeared to us in Christ Jesus, the brightness of thy glory, and the express image of thy person; by whom thou hast given us the title of thy children, and made us the companions and the care of thy holy angels; and promoted us to be heirs of thy glory, and given us the Holy Spirit for an earnest of the immortal inheritance. O fill my mind with the knowledge of thy will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding: fill me with a sense of thy marvellous love, and inspire my will with the most ardent love back again to thee. Fill me with all the fruits of the Spirit, that they may be in me and abound; so that I may abound in hope, and be filled with all joy in believing. O that my heart may be so pos-

sessed with this heavenly wisdom, love, goodness, hope and joy in the Holy Ghost, that discontented and troubled thoughts may never find any place there; but I may rather in every thing give thanks, and employ my time in meditating on thy mercies; and think I can never enough praise and acknowledge thy grace towards me, (though I should do nothing else,) in calling me to be so happy, and intending to make me everlastingly blessed. Dispel all the clouds of darkness, melancholy, and sadness, that at any time overcast my mind, by the brightness of this celestial light shining perpetually there; and preserve it in its full strength and power, that they may never return again; but I may rejoice in our Lord alway, and be still praising thee, whose mercy endureth for ever. Yea, give me the grace to rejoice in the good of others, as if it were my own; especially in their spiritual welfare, and growth in godliness; and to make a good use of all the instructions, counsels, and exhortations of thy ministers; that they may be helpers forward of my joy, and we may all rejoice in the day of Christ, to find that our labour is not in vain in the Lord. Now to him who is able to make all grace abound towards us, that we always, having all sufficiency in all things, may abound in every good work; be glory, honour, thanksgiving, and praise, by Christ Jesus, throughout all generations. Amen.

SERMON II.

HEBREWS xiii. 5.

Be content with such things as ye have.

IT hath ever been the study of all mankind how to attain satisfaction of mind, and contentment of spirit, as the most desirable good on which they could set their hearts. There is no other end of all men's thoughts and restless contrivances, of all their labours and busy endeavours, but only this, that at last they may be quiet, and come to rest. The sceptics themselves, who were thought of all men the most unreasonable, have left this testimony of their philosophy, that it designed nothing else but this; which they imagined could not be compassed but by suspending their judgments about all things whatsoever, and forming no opinion of them; so as not to account some things good and others evil, as we do, but to forbear to pronounce any sentence at all concerning them. So Sextus tells us in these words: "The end of the sceptics we affirm to be, τὴν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ δόξαν ἀταραξίαν[a], 'an untroubled state of mind about all those things which fall under our opinion;' καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατηναγκασμένοις μετριοπάθειαν, 'and in those things we are necessitated to suffer a moderation of our passions, and patient enduring of them.' For though it be impossible for any man to be wholly free from molestation, but cold, hunger, thirst, and such like things will pinch him; yet the sceptics, forbearing to make any opinion of those things, as the rest of the world do, suffer them with a more equal mind than they who account them such great evils." Thus he. Which I mention, to show that though men differ never so widely from the sense of the whole world in other things, yet they agree in this, that they would

[a] Lib. i. Pyr. Hypot. cap. 12. [tom. i. p. 17.]

not be troubled and disturbed; and study by the most contrary means to come to the same end that their neighbours seek, repose and tranquillity of spirit.

Now emptiness and want of something that we desire being the common cause of our disquiet, I have begun to show that there is such a fulness of Divine blessings, which our Saviour hath bestowed on us, as may very well be sufficient for our satisfaction, and make us obey this apostolical exhortation, *to be content with such things as we have*, or with our present condition, if we will not refuse to receive it, nor shut it out of our hearts.

For thus, you know, I described the nature of Christian contentment; that it is such a fulness in our souls, as makes us so well pleased in the condition wherein we are, that we do not suffer the desire of a change to trouble our spirit or discompose our duty. Every word in this description is worthy to be considered; and therefore I resolved to take it in pieces, and set before you, by parts, this lesson which the apostle himself, he tells us elsewhere, had learned, and here endeavours to teach others.

I began with the first word, and declared, as far as I could at once, wherein that fulness consists, which will make us say, as St. Philip did to our Saviour, *ἀρκεῖ, it sufficeth.*

And I showed you (1) what a fulness there is of divine wisdom and heavenly knowledge, wherewith our Lord has replenished us: and (2) what a fulness of love, called by the apostle *the fulness of God*, this is apt to inspire us withal: and (3) how this makes us to abound in good works, and to be filled with the fruits of righteousness: (4) what fulness of hope also and (5) fulness of joy, which springs from several heads, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ hath communicated to all those who understand and believe and obey his holy gospel.

6. There is a sixth thing remaining to complete this fulness, which we also find there mentioned, arising from the society and sweet converse that we have with good people, especially with good friends; who add very much to the contentment of life, be our condition what it will. St. Paul, intending to make a visit to the Roman Christians in his way to Spain, and to stay a while with them, could not better express the passionate desire he had to enjoy them, and the pleasure it would be to him, than

by saying that he hoped *first* (before he left them) *to be somewhat filled with their company*[b]. The little time he had to spend among them he promised himself would give him no little contentment: and though he could not enjoy them so long as he wished, yet he should go to Spain the better satisfied for being filled, in part, with their company at Rome.

And truly it is a great satisfaction which the company of those we love is wont to yield us. The very remembrance of them is so delightful, that Gregory Nazianzen doubts not to say that this is ὅρος τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης εὐδαιμονίας, ἤγουν μακαριότητος[c], 'the very utmost bound and term of human felicity;' or if you will call it so, 'of the blessedness of this life.' Nature itself most strongly inclines all creatures to it, as Aristotle observes; there being no beasts of the earth, or fowls of the air, or fishes of the sea, no living creatures, whether wild or tame, but take a kind of contentment to be with others of the like kind with themselves. And therefore mankind must be much more inclined to society, because, if it be such as it should, its pleasure is not without great profit; and all the pleasure of other things would lose much of its sweetness, if it was without this. For no man would choose to abound in all kind of wealth and delight that is in the world, and be tied withal to love nobody, nor be loved of any.

If we had therefore nothing else but this, in which we are so much pleased, it might serve to ease us in many cases, and rid us of the trouble of many thoughts which else would molest us, and supply the absence of divers things, the want of which is apt to discompose us. The very sight of the countenance of our friends is sometimes able alone to scatter a cloud that was upon our spirit; their words are healing medicines; their kindness and hearty love is a reviving cordial; their zealous concernment for our good puts life and vigour into us; and their fervent desires for our happiness adds strength to our hopes, and is able to recover them out of a swooning fit.

Now if this have so much power naturally and alone, then added to all the rest that I have already mentioned, and as it is refined by Christ Jesus, it cannot fail to complete our contentment as much as this world will allow. For that wisdom,

[b] Rom. xv. 24.

[c] Epist. 71. ad Posthum. [ed. Ben. epist. 173. tom. ii. p. 142 A.]

that love, that piety, that holy hope and joy in our Lord which tempers and sweetens all the passions of the soul, render those in whom they are the most excellent, the most useful, and the most unchangeable friends. And if friendship be the very salt of life, (as wise men have said,) without which it would be nauseous and unsavoury; then nothing could design us a greater benefit, and project to give a greater relish to all the enjoyments (and miseries too) of life, than Christian religion: which intended to make all that believe on Christ our friends, and incline them to embrace us with the love of brethren and sisters, or as the members of the same body do one another. And though Christianity hath not obtained this happy end, yet look how many good and truly virtuous souls there are, so many well-willers you have to pray for you, to pity you, to relieve you, to assist you with their counsel, and all other ways that are in their power. For *φίλοι πάντες ἀλλήλων καὶ συγγενεῖς οἱ κατὰ Θεὸν ζῶντες, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ εὐαγγελίῳ στοιχοῦντες*[d], (as the same Gregory Nazianzen speaks,) 'they are all friends and kindred to each other, who live according to God, and walk after the rule of the same gospel.' And the nearer and stricter friendship we contract with any of these, still the more happy we are; because they will be the more concerned for us, and have the dearer and tenderer affection to us in all our needs. And what is there that hinders us from so doing; it being no injustice to the rest to have a more than ordinary kindness for some? *Τί Θεοῦ δικαιότερον*[e], as the aforesaid great man speaks in another place, 'What is there more just and righteous than God?' And yet, though he be the Maker and Lord of all alike, he was pleased to choose unto himself a peculiar people out of the rest of mankind, and named them *Israel;* and was not afraid that he should be therefore accounted unjust or unequal.

Abraham had the title of *the friend of God* without any injury to anybody else. And he that had Abraham for his friend was not without a choice and peculiar good, that would add much to his contentment and satisfaction, and make him a better neighbour also to the rest of the world.

It is impossible he should be poor who hath any store of

[d] Epist. 43. ad Greg. Nyss. [ed. Ben. epist. ii. tom. i. p. 12 C.]

[e] Epist. 47. [ed. Ben. epist. 147. p. 124 D.]

these riches. *Ob hoc ipsum vivo tranquillius, &c.* saith Erasmus[f]; "For the sake of this very thing I live in the greater tranquillity, because I take that to be among my goods which my sincere friends possess. I can never imagine myself destitute, as long as I have any of these remaining. There is no possession more precious than this, in which above all other things in the world I acquiesce; and comfort myself against all the croakings of the frogs." Nay, sometimes in one person Christians find a great treasure, who will help to illuminate their mind with his knowledge, and warm their spirit by the ardency of his love to God, and comfort them, (as St. Paul speaks,) when they are in trouble, *by the comforts wherewith he himself was comforted of God*[g], and quicken them by his pious example and holy conversation, and be a helper forward of their joy in the Lord, by the taste he hath that the Lord is gracious. So that all the forenamed benefits may receive an augmentation and great increase from this. For we never receive any thing more readily than from the mouth of those whom we love; we are apt to suck in their opinions, to imitate their actions, to follow their inclinations, to espouse their interests, to be concerned in all their designs; and, in short, to become like them. The unity therefore of Christian minds (as one of the ancients speaks) makes a man greater and more than himself; ὁ γὰρ εἷς πολλοστός ἐστιν οὕτως· 'for by this means one is multiplied into many.' If two or ten be ὁμόψυχοι, 'of one soul,' and one mind, as it is said of the first Christians[h], one of these is no longer one, but every one of them becomes ten. In these ten you will find one, and in every one ten. If there be any enemy that spites one of them, he hath ten to assault, and not one single person. If he be in any need, he is not oppressed thereby, as long as the fulness of the greater part remains, which will remove it and take it away. Every one of these (as he proceeds) hath twenty hands, and twenty eyes, and as many feet, and half as many souls; for he doth not use his own soul only, but theirs also. Their wisdom, their prudence and foresight, their strength, their diligence, their zeal, are all his. That which nature cannot do, charity effects after an admirable manner. Therefore it were better the sun

[f] Lib. 27. Ep. 7. [al. epist. 1261. tom. iii. col. 1484 B.] [g] 2 Cor. i. 4.
[h] Acts iv. 32.

should be extinguished, than the world be deprived of Christian friendship: for many seeing the sun have inward darkness and sadness; but they that have Christian friends cannot but receive some comfort. Nothing, nothing is more sweet than this charity. For what will not a genuine friend do for you? What pleasure, what profit, what safety and security is there that he doth not afford you? If you tell me (as he still adds) of thousands of jewels, they will not be found comparable to this that I have named. Which made Alexander himself, when one asked him, Ποῦ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἔχεις? 'Where are thy treasures?' point him to his friends, and say, 'There they are; I have none greater than those.' We have the rest if we have these, and whatsoever we have of other things, it is for these. According to that memorable saying of Antiphanes, an ancient poet, recorded by Athenæus in these terms, Τοῦ γάρ τις ἄλλου[i], &c., "To what other purpose, for God's sake, is it, that a man desires to be rich, and to abound in money and wealth, but that he may be able to help and succour his friends, and sow the fruit of charity, the sweetest of all the goddesses?" So they loved to speak in those days, till the knowledge of one God was multiplied, when St. John better declared his mind in the like words, saying, *God is love: and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him*[k]. And if he be inhabited by so glorious a guest, how is it possible that he should want contentment in the absence of many other things; which the Divine love may think fit to deny, but cannot envy to any, especially to his friends? He bids them be of cheer, for all is well as long as he lives in them; whether they be full, or whether they be empty of other things. If they be full, the divine love bids them empty themselves into others; if they be empty, it bids others fill and supply them.

7. And to all this it may be added, that in those days when the apostles writ, there was a fulness of the Spirit; many rare gifts which marvellously comforted the hearts of those in whom they were, and caused great joy to those that felt the happy effects of them in their souls or in their bodies. *Be filled with the Spirit*, (saith St. Paul,) *singing to yourselves in psalms and hymns*[l], &c. And these two, I observe, are joined toge-

[i] Lib. 1. Deip. cap. 3. [p. 3 f.]

[k] 1 John iv. 16.

[l] Ephes. v. 18, 19.

ther, the disciples being *filled with joy, and with the Holy Ghost*[m]. It strangely ravished their hearts to feel themselves so transformed, and suddenly raised so much above themselves, in wisdom, power, and largeness of soul, by this power from on high which came upon them. And though we do not partake of the like miraculous gifts, yet this is a great satisfaction of heart to every one of us; that we have a full assurance of this Spirit to be our helper, in seeking the knowledge of our Saviour, in doing what he requires of us, in furthering our joy, and rejoicing in him; in inspiring us with the love of God and virtue, and lending us strength from above to complete our Christian piety, by making even *patience have its perfect work;* that *we may be perfect and entire, wanting nothing.*

And therefore, when the apostle had said, that he had learnt in every condition *to be content*[n], he immediately adds, as if he would give the reason of it, ver. 13, *I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me.* No wonder that I can endure poverty, hunger, and such like things, as well as enjoy plenty, and abundance of riches, if God please: the power of Christ is in me, and by his strength I am sufficient for all conditions of life. The same spirit and power he hath promised to give to those that ask him, which will assist us in the obtaining and keeping of all this divine fulness which I have spoken of; and doth therefore add a greater fulness and sufficiency to us, than we could otherwise hope for if we were left to ourselves.

Now let us review briefly what hath been said, and behold how full the gospel makes the souls of those that entertain it. Here is knowledge, or faith; and here is love; and here are the fruits of righteousness, and hope, and joy of divers sorts, and good company, and the Spirit of God: which are all, sure, able to give us great satisfaction. Especially, which is chiefly to be considered, since there is a fulness, an abundance of every one of these. They therefore who are possessed with them all, and with the fulness of them, can have no space left, one would think, to give entertainment to any thing else; at least, these must be the prevailing and ruling party, which will have the command of every thing beside that comes there. There can be no great vanities or empty places remaining, where a mind is furnished

[m] Acts xiii. 52. [n] Philipp. iv. 12.

with so many goods, and with such plenty also of them. Whatsoever else is received there must lie (as I may say) together with them, and so be disposed by them according to their order. And they will forbid, sure, any tumults to be raised, or instantly quell them; as inconsistent with their sweet and peaceable disposition.

That is the next thing in the description of contentment, which I shall but briefly touch. For having spoken so largely of the first, from whence I told you the rest would naturally issue, there remains the less to be spoken of that which still follows; viz.

Secondly, a quietness, stillness, and rest in the desires of the soul; which, in a contented man, prevent his still pushing forward to seek a change. Where there is a fulness, there will ever be some rest. For what is there that we should violently move towards, when we have that which we used to run after; viz. fulness and satisfaction? When things are full and weighty, they can make a stronger resistance than light and empty things, to the impulse of external objects. Now what objects are there weighty and strong enough to move a soul that is before possessed with such great and massy things, (as I have mentioned,) to any one of which all the world cannot be compared. And as for internal desires, when the sharpness of the appetite is allayed by this full satisfaction, they will no more vex and trouble our minds than the stomach when it is well satiated is any longer pricked and twitched by the acrimony that is in it. All longings are very much appeased in this case, because we have what our souls long for. All desires come towards an end, because there are so few wants that remain to be supplied.

But by desires, I hope you think I mean not bare wishes of a change, or inclinations to it; no, nor those motions which, in pursuance of our inclinations, we use in a sober, pious, and submissive diligence, to accomplish our just ends; but those tumultuous and troublesome appetites, which are perpetually stimulating us to such laborious cares and drudgery for the things of this life, as if they were our only or chief good, or as if without so much of them as we wish for we could not be at rest. Whatsoever is too toilsome, vexatious and irksome to our souls, that ought to cease; and may, by this fulness and satis-

faction which we have in spiritual goods, be quite taken away. If I should but instance in all the fruits of righteousness wherewith the soul of a Christian is filled, you would soon see how they quiet all desires; their very nature consisting in the moderation of them. Whether it be temperance, or humility, or meekness, or charity, or peaceableness, or patience, or any other, they all bring our souls to rest and stillness, and place it in a blessed tranquillity, as I may have occasion to show more fully hereafter.

Thirdly, let me now add what follows from hence, and is part of the description of contentment, that the soul of such a man is well pleased, and enjoys itself with some cheerfulness of spirit. For where there is rest, the mind is well at ease; and where there is a fulness it must needs be at rest.

But that there may be no mistake, and to use words that cannot be misinterpreted, I said,

Fourthly, in conclusion, that it is the part of a contented spirit to do its duty in one condition as well as another. This is the chief thing of all, to maintain such a quiet, peace, and pleasantness of mind, out of a sense of that fulness of Divine blessings communicated to us, that in no case our duty to God or man be discomposed or hindered. And particularly, there are these Christian duties which must never be disturbed in a well-contented mind.

1. We must *rejoice in the Lord alway*, which is the express exhortation of the apostle in that chapter, where he speaks so much of his being perfectly contented, and well pleased in every state [o].

2. We must be ever ready to pray to God. And,

3. To give him thanks and praise him in all conditions; according to what you there read in the following verses. For when he had said, ver. 5, *Let your moderation* (i. e. your equalness of mind and mild temper of spirit) *be known unto all men*, he adds, *Be careful for nothing*, ver. 6, *but in every thing by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known unto God.* He is certainly very much out of order, who complains more of what he wants, than thanks God for what he enjoys. And still he is more distempered that can tell his wants to others better than to God; and desires worldly

[o] Phil. iv. 4.

things so much, that he is unfit to desire spiritual. And that is the

4. Next, we ought to live without perpetual carefulness and fear of want. So my text saith, *Let your conversation be without covetousness.* We must not be so greedy of the things of this world, as if we thought there is no living without such a proportion of riches, as we fancy to ourselves; but thank God for what we have already, and without a solicitude and fear follow the business of our calling, and not neglecting those other duties. And

5. If things succeed not according as we expect, or as they were wont, we ought not to let grief and dejection of spirit hinder our performances of those duties. And on the other side,

6. If they do we must be sure to be charitable to others, which is a means that God hath provided for their content. For this is a sure rule, He is not yet full enough who hath nothing to spare. His heart is straitened, it is plain, else he would communicate out of his fulness to his poor neighbour's necessities. Again,

7. A contented spirit will live without envy of others, which is a sin that eats up our souls, and gnaws and frets our spirits with continual torment, upon the sight of others' more flourishing condition. Now how can there be any such vice in a heart that is full, and hath no room thus to chafe and grate (as I may say) upon itself?

Nor will such a spirit,

8. Be ambitious and aspiring to great things. The fuller any thing is, the lower it lies, and the less it is to be heaved up. They are empty and vain things that are carried away with the air, and lifted up with every puff. A bladder indeed may be blown about when it is full, but it is because it is full only of wind, like that which blows it away. And such is the condition of all aspiring spirits; they are lifted up by the impulse of worldly things, which are just the same that they are filled with already. If they were not possessed with an affection to them, but to better things, they would not be so lifted up with them when they enjoy them, nor lift up themselves so much to them when they want them.

We must be so well pleased also,

9. As to live without murmuring and repining at God's providence, which was the sin of the Israelites, mentioned in the beginning. All the complainings and grumblings, as we may speak, that are in us, are when we are empty; the fuller we keep ourselves, the freer we are commonly from their molestation. The bellowings which are heard in the earth in some countries are from the sulphurous and nitrous exhalations that are in the caverns and hollow places of it: if the earth were full, there would be no such roarings, frightful noises and convulsions, as tear it in pieces. Just so it is with the soul of man, which will be always sighing and groaning, and rending itself with vexatious thoughts, if it be not full of those satisfying goods that are only able to prevent its having uneasinesses to throw out.

To conclude all,

10. We must never take any unlawful course to bring ourselves out of the condition wherein we are. For he that can be at rest, to what purpose should he trouble himself to remove from one place to another; especially when he cannot do it without injury to the rules of conscience, in the observance of which consists our peace? If we be unquiet, always in agitation, desirous to shift our condition, be it how it will, it is a sign we are discontented people, and not such good Christians as perhaps we pretend, and seem to ourselves to be.

Thus I have done with the first thing I propounded, which was to show what contentment is. Before I come to the other, it will be useful to make some inferences from what hath been said.

I. And first, let me represent unto you from the precedent discourses the great goodness of Almighty God to mankind, which appears in these four considerations:

First, in that he gives us what he requires. He bids us be contented; and you see he furnishes us with all means imaginable so to be. He doth not exact of us over hard tasks and too difficult labours: but he first lays light burdens on our shoulders, and then gives us strength and power to bear them. O! how easy is it to be contented with such things as we have, when we have no less than himself, than his Son, than the comforts of his Spirit, than the promises of heaven, than the

beginnings of eternal joy, and, in one word, no less than all things whatsoever, which are made ours by Christ Jesus!

Secondly, his goodness is most visible and apparent, in that he gives such satisfaction to all the appetites that are about us. The understanding he gratifies with the noblest knowledge; the will he satiates with the divinest love; all the affections are entertained with the pleasures of joy and hope, which drown all sorrow, and leave no place for pale fears and black cares, or any other of those passions which make our lives miserable. He is not sparing in his bounty to us. No, we cannot do him a greater injury than to think him so niggardly and parsimonious, that he would rather see us perish than do us a kindness. Eye never saw, ear never heard, neither did it enter into the heart of man to conceive such things as he hath now revealed unto us by the gospel: as if heaven studied to give us content; if God, and his Son, and his Holy Spirit, and the society of angels, and the friendship of good men be able (as sure they are) to afford it to us. But,

Thirdly, his goodness is in this most of all to be admired, that he hath given us better satisfaction than we desire. We desire satisfaction in the world, and he bestows it upon us in himself. We would have abundance on the earth, and he gives us treasures in heaven. We would fain enjoy always the pleasures of the body, and he ravishes us with the pleasures of the mind. We are greedy of the riches of gold and silver, and he enriches us with divine wisdom, to which all the wealth of the Indies is not to be compared. We seek for contentment in living always in the embraces of our dying relations, and he invites us into the eternal embraces of the Lord of life and glory. We long for the joys that crackle and make a noise no longer than thorns do under a pot, and he imparts to us his own most solid joys and everlasting consolation. We would fain satisfy our thirst in these muddy and dirty streams here below, and he drinks to us, if I may so speak, and would have us pledge him out of those pure *rivers of pleasure, that flow at his right hand for evermore.* Are we not much beholden to him? Doth he not do us a great courtesy, in exchanging these lower satisfactions for those that are so high, that they tend to equal us with the angels? Sure we are much to blame if we find fault with him, should he deny us any of these

earthly contentments which we fancy, when it is out of pure love to make us partakers of infinitely greater. And,

Fourthly, herein also his goodness is to be noted, that he so gives us ease from trouble and disquiet, as withal to give us comfort and great consolation. Those things that content us, and quiet our desires, do not merely assuage our pain, but they fill us with pleasure. They do not only allay our grief, but bring us in abundance of joy. Whilst they still all evil passions, they stir up those that are good. By expelling those thoughts that trouble us, they settle in the room of them such as are as full of delight as our hearts are full of them. The contentment I mean that he gives us is not a mere freedom from disturbance, but a possession of some good, which introduces a real sense of such pleasures, as surmount all others as much as God and heaven surpass all the earth.

II. Let us then, in the next place, consider the excellence of Christianity, and what great inducements there are to move the heart of every one of us to a sincere affection towards it. What allurement can there be greater to any thing, than to the life of Christ, which,

First of all, brings us into the possession of that which our souls most seek after; that is, to have enough? Is not this the longing of every one of our hearts, that we may be filled, and want nothing? Is it not for this that we toil night and day, to light somewhere upon satisfaction and contentment? Riches, friends, health, honour, and all other such like things, we do not desire for themselves, but for the ease, the quiet, the peace and fulness which we hope they will bring along with them to our souls. Now this is the business of Christian religion. This is the very design of it, to put us into the possession of that thing on which our minds are so bent, that we can take no rest for want of it; but are in an unwearied pursuit, all our life long, of its mere shadow and appearance. And this,

Secondly, is a favour which all the world cannot afford us. For when we have what we desire, we are still full of desires. When the world shines upon us, and courts us as much as we do it, still we remain dissatisfied, and something or other vexes our thoughts, till we come to repose them in the love of God, and in an hearty obedience to him, without which we

cannot enjoy his love. Why should any thing then in the world keep our hearts from this, which all the world cannot give us without it? What madness is it, to continue still in a strangeness to our Saviour, out of a love we bear to any thing here, when that which we love these things for, they are unable to bestow upon us without his love! Consider also, in the

Third place, that Christianity gives us this satisfaction in a more excellent manner than the world could do, were it in its power to bless us with it. We seek for ease and quiet in the enjoyment of these things below, but Christianity gives us this ease without their enjoyment. The world promises us contentment by possessing it; and godliness bestows contentment upon us, though we want what others possess. And this sure is a nearer and shorter way to peace and rest than any other. Though we be without a number of things we fancy on earth, yet, without stirring one foot toward the attainment of them, we may be very happy, if we will but be religious. The world we cannot have without a great deal of pains; and when we have it, it will not cease our pains: Christianity saves us all this labour, and brings us the comfort we desire from the world, with no more pain than seeking after it, and that at last will be a great pleasure. When we have these things, we feel not ourselves well contented; but by true religion we feel ourselves very well contented, though we have them not. This is its excellency, that it can do more in the absence of all things than they can do by their presence. And that,

Fourthly, in all conditions of life. There is no estate into which we can be cast, but still we shall find ourselves at ease, if we want not this. If we be thrown on a sick bed, if our friends be torn from us, if our houses be rifled, if a prison be our habitation; there much contentment dwells, as well as in any other place, if Christ do but dwell in our hearts by faith, and work in us by his love. This may be the spiritual meaning of those words, Psalm lxxxi. 16, in which God promises to satisfy *Israel with honey out of the rock*. As he made the most barren and stony places of their land fruitful, to yield grass and flowers, out of which the bees should suck honey, so now to all true *Israelites, in whom there is no guile*, he makes comforts sweeter than the honey and the honeycomb, to grow

in that condition where, one would think, there can be nothing but bitterness, misery, and trouble. When we walk in stony ways, and craggy paths, when we pass over rocks and flints that cut and wound our feet, even the blood that trickles down doth not want its pleasure: it is no less precious than so many drops of balm, and yields us a satisfaction greater than if we dipped our feet in oil out of the way of Christian godliness.

III. See then the reason why men want comfort: even because they want Christian virtue. This is the root of all the miseries that are in the world. Hence flow all our complaints and doleful lamentations. Yea, all the disturbance that men give others, as well as themselves, hath no other original but only this, that they are defective in their religion. They are in great want of heavenly knowledge; their souls are empty of the love of God and our Saviour; they do not live in the exercise of piety, and have little or no hope in God: and then they will easily want every thing, yea, even those things which they have, because all the world is not big enough to fill their hearts, though it were all in their arms.

IV. Need I tell you then whither you are to go for contentment? You see the place, and the way you know; yes, and you cannot but feel your hearts moved to walk in it, it is so pleasant. You must seek it in the knowledge of Christ, which is a light that arises to us in darkness; making all the spectres, mormos, and terrible bugbears wherewith we affright ourselves in the night of ignorance, to fly away. You must seek it in heavenly love, which is a fire to thaw our benumbed and stupified souls, and to make those hearts that are as cold as a stone, and ready to die in us, to revive into a cheerful flame. You must seek it in hope of glory, in the joys of the Holy Ghost, in the cup of consolation that the gospel reaches out to you; which is like to the richest wines, refreshing our spirits and invigorating our hearts, even when they are full of the waters of Marah, or bitterness, that are ready to overflow and drown them in sorrow and sadness. If you will seek it any where else, you must blame yourselves that you have it not; but if you will seek it here, it will never bear the blame of not giving it to you in the largest measure.

V. See here also the greatness of the sin of discontent. It is a disparagement to the gospel, a foul reproach either to the

knowledge of Christ or to ourselves, that we have no more of that knowledge. If we do well to be unquiet, then our Saviour hath very ill provided for us, after all his love and care that he hath taken about us. If we think we do ill, then our sin is the greater, seeing we have a remedy so near at hand and will not use it. But of this hereafter.

VI. Their sin likewise, you see, rather than their misery is to be pitied, who will not be contented. For is not he a ridiculous person that complains of hunger when he sits at a full table, and will not put forth his finger to touch a bit? Or that sits by a river and complains of thirst, but does not vouchsafe to stoop for a drop of that water which runs by his side? And yet such is the case of those who are ever tormenting themselves in their own thoughts, and spend their time in fruitless complaints; and will not be at the pains of a few thoughts to make use of those comforts which offer themselves so plentifully to them, that they are sufficient for all the world. They are not sensible of their real wants, and yet all the while they are troubled about things which they do but fancy that they want; they are still repining and bewailing their condition, while they should be studying to amend what is amiss, to learn patience, and to furnish themselves with those consolations which are proper to refresh them, and every where in the gospel lie before them.

VII. What shall I say more? You are satisfied, I suppose, that he is a very bad Christian, and altogether unacquainted with the gospel, who is covetous, continually aspiring, murmuring at his own condition, and envying that of others; whose thoughts for the world will not let him mind his soul, and perform the duty he owes to God; whose love to any thing here of which he is desirous will at any time make him lay aside his respect to religion, or utterly unfit him for the practice of it. And yet, alas! this is the condition of most men who are called by the name of Christ. They say his commands are impossible; they slander the justice of his government, and had rather charge him with want of wisdom and goodness in bidding us do things that cannot be done, than become wise and good themselves by setting themselves seriously to do them. And all the reason is, because they have no acquaintance with the gospel. Their hearts are so engaged in other projects,

that they have no leisure, or will be at no pains to understand and ponder it. If they would, they should find their minds so full of knowledge, and love, and hope, that they would be full of the fruits of righteousness also, and rejoice in being so happy beyond their expectations. A little would suffice them of any thing, but only of those joys and of the good hope which our Lord hath given us. They would be well pleased with the want of any thing, but only of God's good Spirit, which they would pray for day and night.

VIII. Let me beseech you then to *forsake the foolish, and live; and walk in the way of understanding,* as the Wise Man speaks[p]. Deliver yourselves presently out of the number of those fools who are always seeking for that which they can never find; and, which is a worse folly, are always groping for that which is just at hand, and which everybody sees but themselves. The word is nigh, that which speaks contentment is in their very mouth; and yet they love to fill their mouths with gravel, and break their teeth with pebble-stones, when they have sweet and good food which even salutes their lips. The fool which the Italians tell us of[q], Santriccio by name, was not more gross and sottish than most of us, who all the summer long did nothing but take frogs and flea them, and then carried their skins to the currier, swearing the Roman emperors never wore any thing so fine, and that sables were not to be compared to them. We peel straws, we busy ourselves about frivolous things, we pester our thoughts with a number of idle businesses, and spend the best of our days in unprofitable labours; when there is one easy, sweet, and delightful employment to which we will not put our hands, nor bend our thoughts, which is to know and to do the will of God. Let me prevail with you to mend this folly, and to apply yourselves to this heavenly wisdom. Search and try, where can your hearts find contentment but only here? Is not this the end, as I said, for which you desire riches, honours, and all things else, that you may be quiet and well pleased? Do you desire abundance merely for the love of itself? No man is so foolish. He hath some further end in all that he designs, and desires, and doth. And is not this the thing he aims at, that he may find ease and

[p] Prov. ix. 6. [q] [Garzoni, Hospidale dei Pazzi Incurabile, disc. xiv. p. 32.]

satisfaction of mind after all his labours? Doth he not seek every thing with hopes to find this in it? But how much better would it be to seek that ease and satisfaction without these things, if God deny them! to be able to live happily, and yet want them! This contentment you cannot have in them, and yet it is possible to have it otherways, (and all the happiness of the world to come also,) either with them or without them, if we will but look after it. O get your minds filled then and satisfied! This is all I beg of you; let but your hearts be filled, give them enough. But where is that good which will fill them? It is not in riches; pleasures have it not; nor will dignities and honours prefer us to it. No, it lies in divine knowledge; in the love of God and our Saviour; in the joys and comfort of the Holy Ghost; in meekness, mercifulness, peaceableness, purity, humility, and such like virtues. Be filled with these, and then you shall never be filled with that trouble, sadness, and heaviness, which possesses the rich and the great, as well as other men.

PRAYER II.

O God, who art the full and the filling good, who satisfiest the desire of every living thing, and therefore wilt not refuse to answer the desires of immortal spirits, whom thou hast made to know how good thou art, and to be satisfied with no less good than thyself. Thou art ever pouring thy benefits upon us, and sendest us every day some new token of thy love, to make our pilgrimage here upon earth the more comfortable to us. But above all, thou art to be acknowledged in thy surpassing love and kindness towards us in Christ Jesus, by whom thou hast made the darkest night of trouble and sorrow not to be without the light of joy and gladness. I thank thee, O God, for the great satisfaction which thou hast given to all that is within us, which ought to bless thy holy name. For thou hast filled our minds and understandings with the highest knowledge, and our wills with the divinest love, and all our affections with the comforts of hope and joy in thee our God, sufficient to swallow up all our sadness, and grief, and fear, and care, and all the troublesome passions that are in our hearts. O my God, how rich art thou in mercy towards us, who providest that contentment for us which we seek and labour after in these lower enjoyments, by leading us to thyself the fountain of all that good which is in any creature! How excellent is thy loving-kindness, who, when we desire

much in this world, givest us an immortal inheritance in the other! And when our hearts are set upon perishing riches, invitest us to treasures in the heavens, and settest before us eternal honour and glory with our Saviour! Besides all which, thou dost not deny me the comfort of my friends, lovers, and acquaintance; in whom I see likewise how full of love thou art, and how ready to do us good. Thou wilt not cease thyself, I believe, to follow me with thy loving-kindness all my days, to take care of me, help and comfort me, who hast put such great good will into the hearts of men.

My soul doth magnify thee, O Lord, and my spirit rejoiceth in thee, O God my Saviour. Particularly for that thou hast promised me thy Holy Spirit to strengthen and impower me to do my duty faithfully to thee, and to increase in wisdom, charity, and piety; that so I may rejoice in thee evermore. O that I may feel the effect of these holy thoughts and devout acknowledgments in the constant stillness and quietness of my soul, whatsoever the condition be into which thou art pleased to bring me. Dispose my heart to such an humble confidence in thee, that I may be careful for nothing, but in every thing in prayer and supplication make known my request to thee, with thanksgiving. Help me to have my conversation without covetousness, and to be content with such things as I have. Let no solicitude for the future discompose my duty, or disturb my present enjoyment. Root out of my heart all distrust of thee, all envy, uncharitableness, ambition, murmuring or repining at any of thy providences, with every thing else that dishonours the gospel of our Lord Jesus, and misbecomes the Christian spirit. In all events, give me grace to acquiesce in thy wisdom and love, and to study rather how to mend myself than how to mend my outward estate. That having my soul still more and more furnished with those heavenly goods wherewith thou hast enriched us by Christ Jesus, I may lead every day a more happy life in this world, and be prepared for that perfect satisfaction and contentment which we wait for in the world to come. Amen.

SERMON III.

1 Timothy vi. 8.

And having food and raiment, let us be therewith content.

THREE things, you know, were propounded to be discussed in the entrance of this discourse about contentment. First, what it is, and wherein this virtue of contentment consists. Secondly, what reasons there are to enforce this duty and bind it upon us. And thirdly, by what means we may compass it, and be made masters of so great an happiness.

In the handling of the first of these I have laid open so much of the mystery or secret of contentment, that you cannot but have a prospect of the other two. The soul of a good Christian is so full of the most precious treasures, that it cannot but be full of satisfaction. There is such great reason he should be well pleased, that one cannot see how he should be otherwise.

And how to get this fulness any one may learn that will but consider a little what hath been said, and apply his mind to the study of the gospel of Christ, which fills the soul with all that can be desired to its content.

II. But for your further satisfaction, I shall now begin to treat distinctly of the second thing; and show what a fulness of reason there is both in our own mind (if we will use it) and also in the word of God to give us contentment; that is, to make us well pleased in our present condition, so as not to be too greedy of more than we have, nor inordinately to desire what is another man's: but to thank God for what we possess, and to rejoice in him and in it. And that you may see there is a fulness of reason indeed, and not only in word, let us consider these six things:

First, ourselves.

Secondly, other men.

Thirdly, the things we are discontented about.

Fourthly, the whole world.

Fifthly, God the Maker and Governor of it.

Sixthly, our Lord, and all that have been his followers. Every one of which will afford us abundant matter of satisfaction.

I. I begin with the first, the consideration of ourselves, the very best piece of God's workmanship here below, the prime part of his creation; and shall make it appear that there can be no cause that we alone should be discontented and impatient, when all other creatures are so quiet and well pleased in the condition which God hath allotted to them.

In order to which, I desire that exhortation of St. Paul to Timothy, which I have read to you, may be considered with the other before mentioned, *And having food and raiment, let us be therewith content.* In which words he reminds him of the true end and design of Christianity, which was not such as evil-minded men, who only wore the name of Christ, imagined; but directly opposite to their carnal conceits. There were some, you must know, in the church, who under the notion of Christian liberty, (a thing much spoken of in those days, and deservedly challenged, being a freedom from the yoke of Moses's law,) laboured to set themselves free from all subjection to their masters, to whom by the laws of the country they were become servants or slaves. At least, if they served Christian masters, they fancied they were become their equals, because they enjoyed the common name of *brethren*. That this pleasant dream might not pass for Christian doctrine, he first of all requires Timothy to possess all those who were under his charge with the quite contrary persuasion: commanding as many servants *as were under the yoke* (i. e. served heathens) *to count their masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God, and his doctrine, might not be blasphemed,* (as if it countenanced the licentious opinion of being absolved from their obedience,) *and that they who had believing masters should not despise them because they were brethren, but rather do them service because they were faithful and beloved.* These things he bids him *teach and exhort*, vers. 1, 2. And then,

Secondly, he proceeds to describe the genius and humour of those who had taught otherwise, (and perverted men's souls by

that loose and pleasing doctrine of liberty,) which he doth in such a manner as was sufficient to make any honest man abhor them, vers. 3, 4, 5, where he tells you these were their principal qualities, *pride, ignorance, and covetousness;* the effect of which was *strife, envy, railings, evil surmisings;* perpetual wranglings, and frivolous disputes, with such like mischiefs. But that which he concludes their character withal, as most notorious, and upon which he intended to enlarge himself, is their covetousness: they supposed *gain* to be *godliness*, so we render it. His meaning is, they imagined Christian religion (which is called by the name of *godliness*, because that is the design of it) should promote their worldly interest. This mistake made many men of corrupt minds, (especially of the Jewish nation,) to profess Christianity; and was one occasion of filling the church with a number of bad people. Servants hoped, as I said, to gain liberty by it from their masters, and subjects from their princes. And those sophisters who vended their trifling doctrines, hoped to get money, and raise estates by putting off their pitiful ware. In a word, Christ they hoped would make them rich and great men in the world, because they heard of a *kingdom*, and of being made *kings and priests*, to *reign with him*, and such like things; which they construed to a worldly meaning.

Hence the apostle takes occasion to assert the true intention and scope of the Christian religion, which was, first, to make men godly and pious, and then to make them contented with a little of other things, when they had obtained this end; nay, to think themselves great gainers, though they were poor, if by Christian piety they had hopes in heaven. So it follows: *But godliness with contentment is great gain*[r]. Whatsoever these men fancy, godliness itself is riches enough, and teaches us to be contented with the hopes it gives us. And then he shows there is a natural reason for it, why men should be contented with their portion, and not affect great things, as the worldly, sensual Christians did: *For we brought nothing into this world*[s], *&c.* We cannot have less than we were born withal; and since there is no means, if we have never so much, to carry our riches along with us to the next world, why should we not

[r] Ver. 6. [s] Ver. 7.

be satisfied with such a portion as is sufficient for our use in this?

And then he concludes with this inference, *And having food and raiment, let us be therewith content.* In which words he shows plainly what it is that we have use of in this life; and how little a man may be contented withal, if he be godly: there is not much required to his further satisfaction. If he be satisfied of the divine love and grace to him by true piety, all the rest may be comprehended in a few words. If we have *food and raiment*, we need seek no further.

I. The first thing then which I desire may be taken into your consideration in order to your contentment is this, from whence the rest will easily and naturally follow, that the wants of our bodies are very few; and they are the things for which men's thoughts are so tossed, and their desires so swell, that they grow restless and troublesome to them. The apostle, who was no ignorant, unexperienced person, could find no more than διατροφὰς, things for 'food and nourishment,' and σκεπάσματα, 'coverings;' under which must be comprehended clothing and houseroom. These, if he be furnished withal, he thought, in his philosophy, a Christian might have a contented mind: for he hath what he needs; God hath provided for his principal concerns, according to that of the son of Sirach: *The chief things for life are water, and bread, and clothing, and an house to cover shame*[t]. Look over the whole man; ask every part about you, they cannot bring you in any long bills of their wants; they cannot tell you of any necessaries beyond these; nor will they complain, if these be constantly supplied. Is there any of us that can say we really want more than what is contained in these few words? If there be some such person that is so unhappy, I have something else afterward to say to him for his satisfaction. But for the present it will be useful to us to consider how few there are in the world that want hands, and feet, and tongue, and eyes, and the like excellent things. If we were to seek these, I confess the case would be something hard, because we know not where to find them: but since we are not put to such shifts, we have great cause to be thankful that we have those things, for the want of which we should have been so much troubled, and in the use of which

[t] Ecclus. xxix. 21.

(through God's blessing) we may attain likewise whatsoever we want, and is needful for us.

Why should we not be well contented, seeing we have such great blessings from God as will not let us want other necessary things, if we please but to employ them? We have arms to work withal, and commonly we have health; and in the use of these no man need be without so much as is needful for him.

Was not this the condition of St. Paul, who notwithstanding enjoyed full content, as he himself relates? Did not he *labour with his hands*, and provide his own maintenance by a daily industry? Did not he think himself rich enough, as long as he was able to work for his living? Indeed he rejoices in the love of the Philippians, who had been so kind as to make him a present. He was glad they loved themselves so well as to be charitable towards him. But he takes great care to inform them that he did not rejoice so much because they had made him rich, as because they had done their duty, and were rich in good works. *Not that I speak in respect of want;* (saith he;) *for I have learnt in every state to be content* [u], *&c.*; that is, I do not rejoice at this care you have taken of me, which hath *flourished again* (as it is ver. 10), because I was careful how to live, and discontented in the condition wherein I was before I received this token of your love; no, I thank God I can satisfy myself in any condition, and be happy when I am empty as well as when I am full. *Notwithstanding ye have done well that ye have communicated with my affliction* [x]. It tends much to your honour that you would not have me poor; and it is an act of Christian charity, which gives me more content than any thing you have or could bestow upon me.

Suppose then that you have but a small portion of the goods of this world; and suppose again that you have many children to provide for, and see but little hope of leaving them any thing when you depart from them; consider with yourselves how much God hath blessed you and them withal before you were born; how he made you, and fashioned you wonderfully in your mother's womb; how he gave you there a comely body; how he provided you with abilities to provide for yourselves, when he brought you into the world; and therefore be

[u] Philipp. iv. 11. [x] Philipp. iv. 14.

more thankful that you have those things, and that you shall leave your children possessed of them, than you are careful how to leave them riches and wealth, which are not so necessary for them as those things which you are like to leave them. *Health and a good estate of body are above all gold,* (as the son of Sirach excellently discourseth,) *and a strong body above infinite wealth. There is no riches above a sound body, and no joy above the joy of the heart*[y]. Whatsoever we want, then, let us remember that commonly we have these, and that is more than all we want, if we were but thankful for it.

Before I leave this particular, let me suggest these three things, among many other that might be represented to your thoughts:

1st, That the things which we have (as you have seen) are more than those which we have not. All our senses, all the members of our bodies, all the faculties and powers of our souls, which, blessed be God, we enjoy, are more in number than the other things which we do not enjoy. Shall we lose the comfort of having these by being troubled about other matters which we have not, and perhaps need not, as you will presently discern, if reason can be heard in its own behalf? This is very unaccountable, and not to be endured. For,

2dly, Consider that the things we naturally enjoy are of far greater value, as well as more in number, than those that we fancy we are in need of to our happiness. This is our Saviour's own argument against care and discontent: *Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment? Take no thought therefore for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on*[z]. Hath not God bestowed upon you that which is a great deal better than all those things about which you are wont to torment yourselves? And will he deny you the less who hath granted you the greater? Doth not *your heavenly Father know that you have need of these things?* And would he have made you with these needs of meat and drink and raiment, if he had not taken care withal for to supply them? What is house or clothing in comparison with such a curious fabric as your body which he hath reared? Or what is food, if you compare it with that noble life which you feel yourselves inspired withal? With-

[y] Eccles. xxx. 15, 16. [z] Matt. vi. 25.

out doubt he will not suffer you to want such small things, who hath already been so liberal in bestowing greater benefits; especially since these better gifts cannot be supported without the other. *Consider*, as he adds, *the fowls of the air;* because he hath given them a body, therefore he gives them food: though *they neither sow, nor reap, nor gather into barns*, to lay up provision for themselves. *Are ye not much better than they?* Despair not then of his providence: he will be so much the more careful of you, as you are better than birds, and such like creatures, who, without any thoughts, find all that is needful for them ready at hand. That is the third thing.

We have had all these great things bestowed on us without any care of ours. We need not therefore be so careful for the lesser and the fewer things, when we have these of higher worth, and great in number, communicated to us, without any care or forecast at all. Which of us took any thought how we should be born, or how we should have all the parts of this goodly body which we are provided withal? A little and moderate diligence sure will serve to furnish this body with what is necessary for it; seeing itself was formed without any the least diligence of ours, and at the same time possessed with a large spirit, capable both to seek all other things, and to consider such as these.

And if we will but use that reason which God hath given us, it will lead us next to this conclusion from what hath been said: which is the second thing I would have considered.

II. That there being but a few things which we need for our bodies, we may soon have them. A few things are not long in getting. Meat, drink, and covering, are every where to be had, if God hath given us hands and health. It is not worse, as I said, with us, than with the brute creatures, who have their food ordinarily at their very doors, and easily find a place wherein to shelter themselves. We need not go far to seek enough. If we were to go a pilgrimage to Jerusalem for content; if God had not provided well for us in this country, but we must be forced to cross the seas for food and raiment; if we could get no drink that is fit for us, unless we travelled and got nearer to the sun; there might be some countenance for men's discontents, and their restless desires might look like reasonable. But now that the things we need are in every

town; now that we have them, as I may say, in our own hands; now that every body can lay hold of them, who will not be idle or wicked; now when contentment is so near us that we have it in ourselves, if we please but to moderate our desires, and confine them to necessary things; he is unjust and impudent who complains and murmurs.

He is a very unreasonable man who can never be quiet, but is always full of cares and vexatious thoughts, and impatient longings; let him seek his remedy at his own hands, for there he may take it if he please. Nobody will pity him (unless mere Christian charity move them to it) who can give himself enough and will not. It is an excellent saying of Epicurus himself, recorded in ancient writers[a], Χάρις τῇ μακαρίᾳ φύσει, etc. 'Thanks be to blessed nature, that hath made things necessary easy to be found; and those things that are not easily found to be not necessary.' It is no long journey to that which we want: if any thing be remote from us, it is because we do not want it. This Seneca expresses no less worthily: 'To get meat and drink, and such like things, *Non est necesse maria tentare, nec castra sequi, &c.* there is no necessity to adventure ourselves among storms at sea, or to follow the camp, and hazard our lives in battles; that which nature desires is more easily obtained, and lies fairly exposed to all.' *Ad supervacua sudatur:* they are superfluous and unnecessary things for which men beat their brains and rack their thoughts, and throw themselves into such great dangers. Those are the things which cost men so much toil, for which they grow old in the camp, or are sent to strange shores; *ad manum est, quod satis est*, 'that which is sufficient is ready at hand.' If we would live with what nature craves, it is so little that we should never live without it.—*Neque enim est unquam penuria parvi*, as Lucretius, the Epicurean poet speaks[b], for 'there never is any scarcity of a little; there is no want of a few things.' Consider, I beseech you,

III. Are not these few needs at present supplied to every one of us, either by our own industry and God's blessing, or by the portion our parents have left us, or by the kindness of others? Give yourselves a reason then why you are discontented, when you need nothing material for your satisfaction.

[a] [Apud Stob. Floril. tit. xvii. 23.] [b] [V. 1118.]

Tell me, what one need is there about you that is not provided for? What thing is it that you can call necessary, which you do not at this time possess? You do not need a thousand pound; that is but a fancy. Nor do you need a great many sorts of meats at your table; that is another extravagance. There is no absolute need of so much as of a pewter dish, much less of more costly chargers and silver cups; that is but the like dream. Awake yourselves; shake your souls a little, and stir up your thoughts: you will find a man may live, and be a man, and all that he should be, without any of these. What is it then that you need? Set it down, and see whether you really need it, or only imagine that you do. Certain it is, that the needs of nature are so few, and so soon taken care for, that there is none of us, as I said, but hath them continually supplied one way or other. And therefore let us be contented, whatsoever our condition be, or else never talk of any such thing as contentment: for if the fancy must be pleased, it hath no measures, but increases by being humoured. And so the difficulties, or rather impossibilities of being contented that way, are continually increased, even whilst we are seeking for contentment.

There is a notable discourse of Phavorinus [c] to this purpose; that there are two sorts of poverty, one when men are in want, διὰ τὴν γνώμην, 'because of their mind and opinion;' the other, διὰ τὴν τύχην, 'by the fault of fortune,' as they were wont to speak. For the latter of these there is a cure, either by what men find themselves, or by what others give them. But for the other there is no remedy; for they are not sick of the same disease with the former: nothing will suffice them, though you give or they get never so much. They are still ravenous, and ask more even when they thought themselves they should be satisfied. Which is excellently illustrated by a discourse of another of the ancient philosophers in Stobæus upon this subject [d], that ἄπληστον ἔχουσι κακοὶ νόον, 'evil men have unsatiable minds.' When they are youths, saith he, they long to be men, and fancy strange things that they shall enjoy and do in those days. And when they are men, they pass a great deal of that time in desiring and longing still after infinite things,

[c] [Apud Stob. Floril. tit. xcv. 14.] 95. [Floril. tit. xcvii. 31: scil. ex
[d] Συγχρ. πενίας καὶ πλούτου. Ser. Theogn. 109. Gaisf. Poett. Min. Gr.]

till old age overtake them. Then they cry out, that it is *βίος ἀβίωτος* [e], 'a life without life,' and therefore wish to be young again. O! this youth is always pleasant, but old age as heavy as mount Ætna. They bless therefore even the life of a child, and would fain return, if it were possible, to their mother's breast. And what would they do then, when they come to know the world? Even just the same that they have done already. If they be slaves, then they make haste to be free. Let me but obtain this, saith such a person, and I have all that I desire. But when he is free, then he would have a slave, and make another man not free. If this good fortune happen, then he would have another; for one swallow, saith he, doth not make a summer. After this sunshine, he desires two or three slaves more, and then some land, and then to be citizen of Athens, (or, as we say, a gentleman,) and then to be a magistrate, and then to be a king, and then to be such a king as Alexander; and if he were, he would be possessed with his desire to be immortal. And could he obtain this wish, he would be no less than Jupiter himself. It would not content him to be a petty god, but he would be restless till he had no superior. Who dare affirm, then, that this man is not poor? Or what sum of money is it that will rid him of these desires? Do not kings who have large empires and great revenues yet want more? Is there any end of their desires and busy motions? Will they not even rob the dead, and commit sacrilege, and banish men unjustly to supply these wants? Together with their great empire, they acquire a world of necessities. And they can neither tell how to lay aside their empire, nor how to administer their affairs with greater frugality. They are still pressed therefore, and urged sorely with great straits, because they need and desire so much.

But if a man have quit himself of all these, and got above them, he is happy; he is full, and lives at ease; his heart enjoys great peace, and is at rest within itself. "You cannot imagine," said Crates [f], "of what value is a small estate and no cares: *μέγα τῷ ὄντι καὶ ἀξιόλογον*, 'it is great in truth, very considerable and praiseworthy,' to have meat, and drink, and clothes, and to be vexed with no solicitude." Thus he. Which

[e] [Ibid.]

[f] [Apud Stob. Floril. tit. xcvii. 31.]

I have related, to show how men, guided by mere reason, were wont to satisfy themselves, and show others the way to satisfaction; which was by studying to be virtuous, by bridling their appetites, and putting an end to their desires. For which there is very great cause, if we add this to what hath been said, that,

IV. As our needs are all supplied, so God perhaps blesses us with more than we really need. Who is there in this company that can say he hath nothing but just what he hath present use for? There is scarce a beggar but lays up something against the next day. Say truly, is it not so with every one of you, that if you had something less than you have now, you would have reason still to thank God that you are not miserable; that is, you would have never the less lack of food and raiment. What a strange thing then is it, that men should not be contented, when they may live without some things which they enjoy, and yet not be without contentment!

Let me say thus much to those who are rich, that there is nothing will make them richer than a mind contented to live with less, if God please. *Securius divites erimus, cum scierimus quam non sit grave pauperes esse*[g]*:* 'we shall be the more securely rich, when we do not imagine it so grievous a thing to be something poorer.' *Is maxime divitiis fruitur, qui minime divitiis indiget*[h]*:* 'he most of all enjoys his riches, who doth not need so much to his satisfaction.' "If thou wouldst not be troubled, (saith the same author, Seneca[i],) either be poor or like to the poor." A competent fortune, he means, is most desirable to our satisfaction; or a spirit that doth not want that plentiful and large estate which we may possess. And that we may have such a spirit, composed and settled in the condition wherein we are, let it be considered, in the next place, that,

V. If we be at present thus provided with necessary things, (if not with more than is absolutely needful,) and have been so a long time, there is great reason to think we shall not want in time to come. Some are wont to say, that they are well

[g] [Epist. 18. § 6.]

[h] [Epist. 14. § 15. Ex Epicuro aut Metrodoro.]

[i] ["Si vis vacare animo, aut pauper sis oportet, aut pauperi similis." —Sen. Epist. 17. § 4.]

satisfied in what they have now, and should not be disquieted, if they might but be secure that they shall always have the like satisfaction. Of this they are in doubt; and for this cause their thoughts are troubled: they weary their bodies and minds with excessive labours and endless cares; and know not how it may fare with them hereafter. Let such reflect and consider; Did you ever want food and raiment hitherto? Nay, have you not had plenty of those things, which your bodily life requires for its support and comfort? When you took no such care, or rather none at all; when you were children, and lived like the birds of the air, were you pined, or naked, or left destitute of all things? How came you to grow up to this estate, if it had been so with you? Cannot you believe then, nay, is it not very reasonable to conclude, now that you have wit, and may prudently exercise and employ it, so as not to neglect your immortal souls, that you shall still be supplied with all that is necessary for you in after-times? What is it that should make any difference? Your needs will still be but few; and they will still be easily satisfied, in the same manner that they are at present. So that there can be no cause to be troubled about what is to come, when it is so manifest that you are not like to be troubled then, if you be not troubled now.

Let us then enjoy the present, and believe that when that which is now future becomes present, we shall be able, without troubling ourselves, to enjoy that also with the same comfort. Let that time come to us, and let us not go to meet in in our thoughts. Let it bring its provision along with it; we need not trouble ourselves to make such great preparation for it.

To which let me subjoin, that we know not whether that time which we care for will ever come or no. It is more likely that it will not than that it will (for few men live till old age). But if it do, it is more likely that then we shall be provided for as well as now, than that we shall not. Let us be contented therefore in this regard in our present condition, because there is none else that we have to care for, unless we will perplex ourselves about that which may never be at all. We pray to God only to give us *this day our daily bread;* let us live by this rule, and we shall be well enough.

To which add, that if it do come, there is nothing will more please us, than to think that we took no care for it. So Epicurus

was wont to say, as Plutarch tells us[k]; "The morrow comes most sweetly to him who did not stand in need of another day." He hath more than he thought of; and God sends him that for which he took no care.

To which add further, that looking too much to the future, abates, if not quite takes away, the comfort which we should enjoy in things present. We feel nothing in what we have, when our thoughts are all employed about what we have not. In effect we have nothing, whilst we are thus careful for the time to come. For the things to come we have not, else why do we trouble ourselves about them; and the present we have not, because our intention of mind upon the other will not suffer us to take any pleasure in them.

Upon all these accounts then we should rest satisfied in things present, and not have our eye so much upon what is future. For perhaps it may not come; and if it do, it will be as well provided for as the present; and it will be the more pleasant, if we never troubled ourselves about it; and we enjoy nothing at present, if we be so intent upon the future.

To which may be added, that we shall never enjoy any thing then, neither, because something will still be future. And so through our whole life we shall never be contented in any thing, because something will be further desirable, which will make us not mind the value of what we have already.

VI. But suppose a man should want things needful, and is in no condition to provide them for himself, ex. gr. when he is sick, or lame, or deprived of the use of any of his faculties, which make him uncapable of labour, yet he is not like to be so unfortunate as to have no friends, or good neighbours, and charitable Christians, that will supply him with those necessaries. He may reasonably hope to be provided for, when he cannot take care of himself. It is seldom or never known that any among us are left utterly destitute. Though if that should happen, it is but doing that a little sooner which is as necessary as any thing else; that is, to leave this world, and pass to a better country. This consideration should make a man the more contented as he is; because if he find that men are provided for when they are sick, or otherways disabled, one

[k] [De Tranq. Anim. p. 474.]

way or other, surely he is in no danger to want when he is well, and is able to look after himself, and contribute to his own support and maintenance.

The rest of the considerations that belong to this head I shall reserve till the next time.

Let us now briefly reflect on what hath been said, and make these three uses of it.

1st, Let us acknowledge that God is not unkind to human nature; but hath taken care for its satisfaction by one means or other. But then,

2dly, We must use the reason he hath given us, which is the prime perfection of our nature; and we must use it, not so much for the enlarging our possessions, as for the contracting our desires. That is the way to content; not to have more, but to desire less. So the philosophers themselves have taught us, who preserved a great many relics of ancient truth. Valerius Publicola, saith Dionysius Halicarnasseus[l], when he had a great many occasions of heaping up wealth, and that not by dishonest or unhandsome arts, would not make use of them; but contenting himself with a small patrimony, was pleased in a temperate and frugal manner of life, obnoxious to no immoderate desires: whereby he declared, Ὅτι πλούσιος οὐχ ὁ πολλὰ κεκτημένος ἐστὶ, ἀλλ' ὁ μικρῶν δεησάμενος, 'that he is rich, not who possesses much, but he who needs but little.' And thus another philosopher[m] answered a man who asked him how he might be rich? Ἐὰν ἔσται ἐπιθυμίων πένης, 'if in desires (said he) a man be poor.' It would be too tedious to heap up their sayings to this purpose; nor shall I trouble you with what Clemens of Alexandria[n], a Christian writer, speaks on this subject, that riches are in the mind, and nowhere else; I will only remember you, in the third place,

3. That Christianity is no unreasonable institution, as I told you before; for its design is only to reduce us to our first moderation and perfection, to renew and restore our natures, and to make us new creatures, by moderating our desires, and subduing our passions, which create us such troubles as by no means can be avoided, but by becoming wiser and better men.

[l] [Lib. v. p. 957.]

[m] [Cleanthes, apud Stob. Floril. tit. xciv. 287.]

[n] [Ἐν ψυχῇ ἄρα τὸ πλούσιον.—Pædag. lib. iii. cap. 6. p. 275.]

To this let us apply ourselves with that industry and seriousness which we employ about worldly things. That only increases our troubles, it is this alone which relieves them. The defects in our nature are to be looked after and amended, rather than those in our outward estate. Cure the former, and the latter will not so much molest us. But if those remain, we shall still, whatsoever we enjoy, be in trouble and restlessness of mind.

For we are exactly like to those men that go to sea, as St. Basil[o] hath singularly well expressed it, "who not being used to it, and utterly unacquainted with the rolling and unsteady motion of the ship, are heart-sick, and vomit up every thing that they take. Just so do we feel ourselves ill at ease; disgusted at innumerable things, and ever finding fault with our condition, as they that are unexperienced do with the ship. And as they imagine by shifting places, and going into the boat, that they shall be better, so it is with us; we seek for a change, and hope to be well, if we had but this or that, which we fancy better than that which we have. But alas!" saith he, "as they, poor men, are sick still, and nauseate all things, because *συμμετέρχεται αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀκηδία καὶ ἡ χολή*, 'the heaviness and the choler still accompanies them whithersoever they go;' even so we, *τὰ ἔνοικα πάθη συμπεριφέροντες*, 'carrying about with us always our inbred passions and domestic affections,' are every where tossed by them, and live in the like tumult; finding no quiet nor rest to ourselves, till these be cast out and discharged. To this we must apply our care; and when we have once purged ourselves of them, let the affairs of the world be never so tempestuous, and work like the sea in a great storm, we shall not be so sick and ill at ease as we used to be even in a more calm and peaceable condition. We shall better bear great crosses than we were wont to do little: nay, be more contented in a mean estate than we ever found ourselves before in a plentiful fortune."

[o] Epist. 1. ad Gregor. [ed. Ben. epist. 2. tom. iii. p. 71.]

PRAYER III.

O God, thou knowest the needs of all thy creatures; and art both able and ready to supply them, as I have found by abundant experience, ever since I came into being. As thou hast given me soundness of all my senses, and the free use of all the powers of soul and body, thanks be to thy almighty goodness; so thou hast never suffered me to want my daily bread, nor denied me a warm and quiet habitation, nor exposed me to nakedness, and such like miseries. Yea, thou hast bestowed upon me many blessings, I acknowledge, which many others want, who yet are thankful to thee, and praise thy goodness.

There is great reason that I should trust in thee for ever, who hast taken care of me, when I could take no care at all of myself. Thou hast given me a body and life without my asking; and thou providest food for the birds of the air, and the beasts of the earth, who take no thought for it. O strengthen my faith and confidence in thy tender mercy, that thou wilt still provide for me also, who humbly implore the continuance of thy favours to me. O that thoughtfulness for the future may never take away the relish of my present enjoyments. Make me more thankful for what I have, than desirous of what I want. Moderate my desires, and give me the wisdom and grace not to extend them beyond necessary things; but having food and raiment, therewith to be content. I am exceedingly indebted to thy bounty, which hath not hitherto confined me to so strait a condition, but out of thy fulness granted me a more liberal portion. O God, preserve my soul from being tainted with inordinate affection to these perishing things. Raise my spirit above them, whilst I enjoy them: and make me feel myself able to live contentedly with less, whilst I am blessed with plenty and abundance of them.

And if thou art pleased to bring me to a meaner estate, assist me with thy grace, that I may never repine at thy providence, nor distrust thy care, nor torment myself with perpetual desires of a change; but rest in thy fatherly love, which hath provided for me hitherto beyond my necessities. Make me always more careful and solicitous how to grow better myself, than how to better my outward estate. Turn my thoughts the right way; and possess me with true apprehensions of things: that studying to live by sober reason, and not by imagination; to satisfy nature, and not the greediness of desire; to purge myself from all undue affections, and purely to comply with thy wise and good providence; I may live a comfortable and happy

life amidst all the confusions and troubles of this world; and may feel it the beginning of eternal rest and peace with my blessed Saviour in the life to come.

Enlarge my desires more and more after that blessedness; and enlarge my capacity for it, by the increase of all divine virtues. Make me so holy, so humble, so thankful, so charitable, so compassionate, so disposed to do good to others, and so pleased in their prosperity and happiness, that I may the less doubt of thy enlarged goodness to me here, and have an assured hope of good things, when I depart from hence, beyond all my thoughts and desires, through thy great mercies in Christ Jesus. Amen.

SERMON IV.

1 Timothy vi. 8.

And having food and raiment, let us be therewith content.

IF you believe what was said in the foregoing discourse, I may fairly proceed (without any preface) to show you, that

VII. The more any man wants, the more he is taught contentedness. Should a man fall into such a low condition, that he lives wholly upon the charity of others, there is great reason he should be satisfied; because he learns how well a man may live upon nothing: I mean, how possible it is for a man that hath nothing of his own to have, notwithstanding, all things needful. Sickness, and such like distresses, into which we are sometimes reduced, do show most effectually how little will really serve the turn, and how small care is due to the things of this world, which then we have so little use of, though we possess never so many of them This is one of the methods whereby God teaches contentment with a small portion. He either carries away our enjoyments from us, and yet lets us see we may live comfortably; or he makes them useless to us, that so we may not be too greedy of such unprofitable things. O that every one would understand this, and learn so much by their own sickness, or by the afflictions of others; that we ought not to toil and sweat so much for those things, (even at the great cost of our souls, and sometimes to their utter undoing,) which yet can afford us so small assistance in a time when we are in the greatest need, and most desire the help of all our friends! If a man can then be contented without them, and find that it is all one whether we have them in abundance or no; why cannot you be contented, when you are well, without such a number of them? Why should we be now so solicitous for that, which one day we shall not care whether we have or no?

But you will say, sickness itself is a great trouble, and who can be contented with that? Consider therefore again, that

VIII. What we suffer, whether it be sickness, or the loss of friends, or such like things, it is now become as natural and necessary as what we enjoy. If we were such creatures whose bodies could not be disordered; if sickness were a miracle, and it were as rare for one to die, as for the sun to stand still; then it might amaze us, and affright us; it might cast us into a great astonishment as a thing so unusual. But now there are these two things to be considered, which bid us be content: that we are not such creatures as are made never to be annoyed; nor are we such creatures as have nothing to comfort us against any annoyance. Even this very thing is some stay to our spirit, that nothing annoys us but what is natural; and which we look for as much as any thing else in this world.

But it is more material to consider, that

IX. Whatsoever we endure we brought it upon ourselves. It is the fruit of sin, and therefore why do we trouble ourselves so much about that, and not rather about the sins which have brought this trouble and misery upon mankind? Consider, have you so behaved yourselves that you never deserved to be crossed? Have you done all things so conformably to God's will, that he should never do any thing but what is very conformable to yours? Is it not a great deal worse that you should displease him, than that he should displease you? Who began to cross and contradict the other? Who gave the first offence? Did not man walk contrary to God, before he did any thing contrary to him? We should more endeavour then to reconcile ourselves to God, and to take away the cause of these things, than to have those punishments removed, which are designed by him to bring us to a reconciliation. We should study more to have God's will done by us hereafter, than to have our own fulfilled by receiving a present ease. For our own will brought all these afflictions upon us, and therefore it is so bad that it should not be our will to have them taken away. For that may be worse than the inflicting of them, and put us in the ready way to endless miseries. The best choice we can make is to submit to God; and then we shall be content with these afflictions, and it will be our will to endure them; because it is a part of his will, to which we have submitted our own.

X. And truly, if we were not sinners, yet it is to be considered that we are creatures, and therefore ought not to oppose ourselves to the orders of him that made us. We profess entire dependence on him, and call ourselves his servants: why do we take it ill then that our Lord and Master disposes of us as he thinks good? Did we agree with him never to be sick? Did any of us make such a contract with him when we undertook his service that we should never feel any pain? Were there any such indentures drawn between us as that we should never fall into poverty or disgrace? Either then say that you are not his servants, or let him rule as your Lord, and assign your condition and your work according to his pleasure. And then,

XI. Let it be considered that your bodies can never suffer so much, but your souls may gain much more by the suffering. And is not this a desirable way of thriving, and a rich improvement? Is not this an exchange with which a reasonable man would be contented, to have gold given him instead of clay; and to lose a little dust and ashes for the gaining of a pearl of great and inestimable price? And yet such is the bargain that we make when the soul learns at the body's charge, as every one may do that is chastised by the rod of God. As the Lacedæmonians taught their children by spoiling their servants, so doth the divine wisdom with greater reason instruct and discipline our souls by those disorders which we suffer in our flesh. *Man is chastised with pains upon his bed, and the multitude of his bones with strong pains,* (as Elihu speaks:) *his life abhorreth bread, and his soul dainty meat. His flesh is consumed away, that it cannot be seen; and his bones that were not seen do stick out. Yea, his soul draweth near unto the grave, and his life to the destroyers,* &c. And then God *looketh upon men, and if any say, I have sinned, and perverted that which was right, and it profiteth me not; he will deliver his soul from going into the pit, and his life shall see the light. Lo, all these things worketh God oftentimes with man, to bring back his soul from the pit, to be enlightened with the light of the living*[a].

Now is this so bad a market, for a man to escape the flames of hell by the flames of a fever? To be delivered from the pit

[a] Job xxxiii. 19, 20, &c.

of destruction by being cast upon a bed of weakness? And yet this is the purpose and intention of God, to teach us sobriety, chastity, heavenly-mindedness, liberality, humility, and every other virtue; by taking down the body, for the fulfilling of whose lusts the mind perhaps was altogether engaged to make provision. Every stroke of his rod saith to us, Be more temperate hereafter; be sure to pray more fervently. Thank me then more for all the blessings which I bestow on thee; look after a better life, and remember the account thou must give at the last. He that hears this voice and obeys it will have so little reason to complain, that he will see he ought to have desired this affliction which God hath sent him, if it might have this effect: and therefore much more to be contented with it now that it is come upon him, and hath done him so much good even against his will.

Yes, you will say, all this is true. We may be contented with whatsoever befalls the body; its needs are but few, and soon supplied. But the needs of the soul, O how many are they, how great and deplorable! What remedy is there for them, or how shall we be contented with their wants?

I answer, We ought not indeed to be well pleased if it be ill with them. It is a Christian duty to be afflicted and mourn that they have been so long neglected, and are in danger to miscarry. But then consider, that,

XII. The needs of our souls may well be supplied too, and the supply of them is the very thing that will give us full contentment in every thing besides; that is, by the same labour wherewith we provide for our souls we shall give ourselves full satisfaction in all the troubles of this life that befall us. This is a short way to contentment, to look after our souls; the very securing of their good estate is to give ourselves all the ease that can be imagined. If they be well, nothing can be ill: if they feel no grief in themselves, nothing can smart so as to be a vexation to us. Bring them but acquainted with that godliness which St. Paul mentions a little before my text, (and tells you *with contentment is great gain*,) i. e. with Christian religion and sincere piety; and that will render all those things familiar which now seem very strange to us, and make us bear any cross with an equal mind.

That I may engage you then, and encourage you to look

after this general concern, let me propound these things briefly to your consideration.

1. Nothing is more certain than that the soul of every man is the noblest part of him, or rather is himself. The body is but the clothes and the apparel that he wears, which must one day be quite cast off.

Its needs then, you will easily yield, are first to be considered, and in the chief place to be provided for. It is ridiculous for a man who is cut with a sword to complain that his hat is spoiled, and desire to have it mended or changed, when there is a great gash in his head which he never thinks of. And yet such is the folly of mankind, to complain of their bodily wants, and not to feel the necessities of their souls. Which being so great you may

2. Consider again, that as certain provision is made for them by the good God, as for these carcasses. He cannot neglect the best things in this world who hath provided for the meanest; nor suffer those creatures to be destitute which know him, when he takes such care of those that never think of him.

3. And again consider, that this provision must in all reason be as easy to come by as the other for our outward man. It is without all doubt as near us as I said the goods of the body are. If we will seek it, we shall find it at hand, as much, or rather more, than our meat and drink. The word of life is nigh us, as St. Paul teaches us[b], even in our mouth, and in our heart; if we know any thing of the gospel, we need not go far to lay hold on true happiness; it offers itself unto us every where in the book of God.

4. And it may be the more easily attained, because all that is necessary for our souls lies in a small compass too. To be sanctified, and to be justified, comprehends all. And for the one, we have the promise of the Holy Spirit; and for the other, the blood of the Son of God. Let us but live *soberly, righteously, and godlily,* (under which three heads St. Paul sums up all our duty,) and we shall be justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ.

5. And again consider that this provision for our souls must needs be common to all: so that every one of us may have our share in it, as well as any one. It would be to charge the

[b] Rom. x. 8.

Divine providence with great unkindness, if, everybody in this world having its food and raiment assigned to it, it should be the hard fate of some souls, that they cannot be otherwise than poor and miserable, and forsaken of all that is good for them.

6. And again, let it be considered that this provision must likewise, in all reason, be ample and abundant; proportionable to all our needs, though never so great, or never so numerous.

7. And that God having given so much towards the supply of the necessities of our souls without our labour, will no doubt give us more when we labour seriously for it. Just as he having bestowed on us hands, and feet, and such instruments of labour, will not deny us food when we seek it in the use of them.

8. Nay, more than this, consider that God bids us seek, and strive, and labour for the food of the soul, enduring to everlasting life; but not for the *meat that perisheth*[c]. Now it is a sense naturally engraven upon the minds of men, that ὠκεῖα δ' ἐπειγομένων ἤδη θεῶν πρᾶξις, ὁδοίτε βραχεῖαι, 'when God thrusts us forward, the ways are short, and our business is soon done.'

9. You may consider also what assistances he promises us, and that there can be no other reason why our souls enjoy not all that is proper for them, but because we do not seek after it as we do after the supply of our outward necessities. This follows irrefragably and unavoidably upon the foregoing considerations. Besides which we have the express words of our good Lord to justify it, that God is as willing to give us his Holy Spirit as any parent can be to give a piece of bread to his dear child. And it is observable that what St. Luke calls his *Holy Spirit*, St. Matthew calls *good things*[d]. For in giving us his Holy Spirit, he, in effect, bestows on us whatsoever is good for us: which we need no more doubt to receive, than children do their father's blessing in the most common things. Nor so much cause neither is there to question it because they are oftentimes evil; but he is good, as our Lord there supposes.

If you have not these good things therefore, if your souls be ignorant, void of God, and true goodness, it is your own fault; and with that you ought not to be contented, but in-

[c] John vi. 27. [d] Matt. vii. 11; Luke xi. 13.

stantly with the same labour and care to seek after God that you do after these earthly enjoyments.

10. And then, lastly, consider that in the finding of those supplies which God hath prepared for your souls, you will find true contentment. The giving of your souls, as I said, what is good for them, is the giving yourselves perfect satisfaction. And therefore there is no reason for any man to complain, if he will but love himself. The way is plain enough to his content, if he will not refuse to walk in it. Can any man say that his soul is neglected, or not largely provided for, which hath such a fulness of all good things as I have spoken of offered to it in the gospel? Is there not a fulness of wisdom and knowledge for his understanding? May not his heart be full of the love of God? May not all his affections be full of joy? And is there not a full assurance of hope that he may have everlasting life? And are not these sufficient to fill him with the fruits of righteousness? What can a soul want that doth not want all these? Who can be miserable that is not ignorant or negligent of this happiness? O! do but possess yourselves of those treasures of wisdom that are in Christ Jesus. Do but love God with all your heart, and all your soul, and all your strength: be but abundant in the work of the Lord, and let Christ be but formed in your souls, who is the hope of glory; and then, though you may not use such a proud expression as that of Epicurus[e], that you dare τῷ Διὶ ὑπὲρ εὐδαιμονίας διαγωνίζεσθαι, 'contend with God, and rival him in happiness,' yet you may say that there are none of the princes, none of the gods in this world, whose happiness you envy. You may account yourselves owners of as great felicity as he hath who abounds with the largest affluence of all worldly enjoyments. *Disce parvo esse contentus,* saith Seneca[f], *et illam vocem magnus et animosus exclama,* &c., 'learn to be content with a little, and then, great soul, thou mayest courageously utter that voice: Let us have bread and water, and we will dispute with Jupiter which of us is the happier.' Such were the vaunts and insolent brags of men that were unacquainted with the good things that are made known to us: who may modestly say, Believe but the gospel, and be obedient to our Lord, and

[e] [Apud Stob. Floril. tit. xvii. 30; Ælian. Var. Hist. iv. 13.]
[f] [Epist. cx.]

then with a great and courageous heart cry out in the words of the apostle, *Having food and raiment, let us be therewith content.* We think not ourselves inferior in happiness to the greatest persons in the world. Kings and princes do not excel us in riches: nor do we think ourselves to have the less riches because we have not all the things that they have; but them rather to be poor, if they have not these heavenly goods which must give contentment to the rich as well as to the poor.

And what should hinder any of us, I beseech you, from having them? Have I not demonstrated that they are to be obtained? and that God having made so plentiful provision for our immortal souls, hath not made it impossible that we should come at it; but rather put it into our hands, as he doth the goods of our bodies, and bid us lay hold of eternal life? The light of the glorious gospel of Christ shines into our eyes: we hear the glad tidings of salvation continually published in our ears: the love of God is often shed abroad in our hearts: we feel our souls strongly moved towards God, as our chiefest good: and clearly see the way to him is by purity, and humility, and charity; which appears very amiable to us, and often wins our affections. Why should we fancy then that it is the most toilsome thing in the world to please God, and to do his will; when we find so much done to our hand for us, and such help and assistance offered to us, nay, already working in us? Let us lay aside all such unreasonable opinions, and bend ourselves with all our force to do good to our souls. Because

1. As their needs are greater than those of our bodies, so our care of them had need be greater.

2. And as the things they want are of greater worth, so they are worthy of more of our pains than things of less value.

3. Since the fancied needs likewise of our bodies so much employ our time and thoughts, it will eternally confound us if the real needs of our souls be not regarded.

4. By long neglect of them also they may be reduced to greater beggary; and therefore implore your speedy and earnest diligence for their relief, that they may not be famished and perish.

5. And since God hath made, as I said, a better provision for them than for the body, you will be the more ungrateful and inexcusable if you suffer them to perish: *for he hath sent*

his only begotten Son into the world, that whosoever believes in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.

6. And I told you all other needs will be served by providing well for them. And therefore he is a mad man who will not do one thing whereby he may have all. *If God spared not his Son, how shall he not with him give us all things*[f]*?*

7. This is so certain, that God hath made every thing to serve our souls, but not our bodies: all the creatures here, all the contingencies good and bad, the body itself, yea, even its afflictions and chastisements which the flesh groans under, are medicines, and the most excellent restoratives in the world to our spirits. Besides all the powers of the other world that come to their assistance; the holy angels, the Son of God himself, the holy Spirit, the kingdom of heaven and the glory of God, which descends and exposes itself to our eyes that we may lift up our souls to it and be happy.

By which you see, in conclusion, that what we think hinders our happiness may exceedingly promote it. Poverty itself, and the want of worldly things, need be no impediment to our getting these divine goods; but rather provoke our souls to bestir themselves for that which they may partake of, whether the world will or no. Diogenes[g] was wont to call poverty *αὐτοδίδακτον ἐπικούρημα πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν*, 'a self-learned help to philosophy;' or, as others express his words, *αὐτοδίδακτον ἀρετὴν*, 'a self-taught virtue.' A condition of life, which without any teacher instructs us to be virtuous: that to which discourses persuade us, this compels us to embrace. It pushes us forward, if we mind its discipline, into the love of God and piety; which is our only support and comfort in such cases. It shows us clearly where our happiness lies; and by taking away those things to which our hearts were apt to cleave too much, it carries us to the other world, and says, Here is your happiness. Seek these things above: none can hinder you from getting these riches, nor take them away from you. Make up all your wants here. Be not poor every way, in body and in soul too. What satisfaction others seek for in this lower world do you take in the higher. Be as humble as your condition. Learn sobriety, now that you cannot well be

[f] Rom. viii. 32. [g] [Apud Stob. Floril. tit. xcv. 11, 19.]

intemperate. Learn to pray to God more earnestly, now that you stand in such need of his fatherly care. Discharge your heart of covetousness, now that you see to what little purpose it serves. Learn to love your neighbour as yourselves, now that you find what need you have of other men's charitable assistance: and settle your hope only in heaven; for there only, you see, it can be secured. This is the language of poverty, if we would understand it. Which made Arcesilaus[h] say that poverty was a very coarse and crabbed nurse, but bred up exceeding good children: it being *καθόλου γυμνάσιον ἀρετῆς ἔμπρακτον*, 'an efficacious school of universal virtue.' And it was an observation among the Greeks[i], that the most excellent that their nation ever bred were of the poorer sort. Such were Aristides, and Phocion, and Epaminondas, and Pelopidas, and Socrates, and Ephialtes; all men of mean extraction in the several cities wherein they were born.

By which they thought they could demonstrate, and frequently mention it in their books, that it is not true which is commonly said, that poverty is a hinderance to virtue, and riches a help. Do not you see, said they, that many of the poorer sort turn philosophers? Is it not certain which Theognis said[k], that 'far more perish with fulness than with hunger and famine?' Are not men compelled by poverty to temperance, and by riches to the contrary? Let us not then take it so heinously if this be our portion, which many excellent men have endured. Let us resolve to be thankful that we are still in the way to bliss. Let us remember, that there is no cause of complaint, if we may be such great gainers. And we may be so, or else the apostle deceives us (as well as all other wise men) when he tells us, that *God chastises us not for his own pleasure, but for our profit, that we may be partakers of his holiness.* And that *our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory*[l].

[h] [Apud Stob. ibid. 17.]

[i] [Teles, in Epit. apud eund. 21.]

[k] [Πολλῷ τοι πλείους λιμοῦ κόρος ὤλεσεν ἄνδρας.— Ibid. et tit. xviii. 10. scil. fragm. 605.]

[l] Heb. xii. 10; 2 Cor. iv. 17.

PRAYER IV.

O Lord, the Fountain of all good, whose blessings are derived in several channels to us, especially to our souls; unto which all things minister, and help to promote their eternal welfare: I see the large and abundant provision which thou hast made for them in Christ Jesus. Thou hast opened the heavens, and let down eternal life unto us. Thou hast set before us the glory of another world, and called us to thy kingdom, and promised to make us heirs with thy only begotten Son, and to give us an everlasting inheritance. I thank thee that thou hast brought the word of thy gospel so nigh me, and put it even into my mouth, and into my heart; and that I have felt thy Holy Spirit in my soul, so often disposing my mind and affections to seek that blessed immortality. Every good thing in this world bids me love thee, and rejoice in thee, who art the giver of it: and all the crosses likewise and afflictions of this life tend to make me happy, by teaching me moderation and sobriety, humility and heavenly mindedness, faith in thee, and absolute resignation to thee, with fervent devotion and passionate desires after a better life.

O God, how excellent is thy loving-kindness! Therefore the children of men put their trust under the shadow of thy wings. How inexcusable shall I be, if I should starve in the midst of such abundance, and perish when thou hast sent me such great salvation! How shall I escape, if after thou hast done so much without my thought or labour, I should take no pains to attain the end of thy extraordinary grace towards me? Excite in me, I beseech thee, a greater sense of thy love; and endue me with a greater care to improve every thing, to the enriching of my soul with spiritual wisdom and all divine virtues. That so I may be the better able to bear all the troubles of this life; and neither the infirmities and pains of this body, nor the poverty and meanness of my outward estate, nor the loss or unkindness of friends, nor any other sad accident, may throw me into discontent and impatience of spirit: but I may still remember, that as I suffer nothing but what I deserve, so my soul may be a gainer by all my sufferings. Help me therefore, instead of murmuring and repining at my present condition, to apply myself to make the best use of it, whatsoever it be, to my everlasting advantage. Purify and refine my spirit more perfectly from all unreasonable opinions, and purge out of my heart all inordinate affections. Settle my will in an unmovable submission to thine. And considering both that I am thy creature, and that I am an offender, enable

me always to rest satisfied with thy proceedings, and acknowledge that I am less than the least of thy mercies.

Pardon, good Lord, all my ingratitude and undecent complaints; pity my infirmities, accept my holy desires, confirm all my good purposes; strengthen and impower my endeavours, that I may mortify every bad disposition in me, faithfully discharge my duty, rightly use thy various blessings, patiently bear the heaviest afflictions, and make for my soul most certain provision; by all the means of grace, by the good counsels of others, the inspirations of the Holy Ghost, thy many remarkable providences about me, and whatsoever courses thou takest with me to bring me safe through this life to a happy eternity. Amen.

SERMON V.

1 Tim. vi. 8.

And having food and raiment, let us be therewith content.

THERE is a great fulness of thoughts, I told you, which our own minds and the gospel also present us withal; for the quieting of our hearts in all cases, and the giving us full satisfaction, into whatsoever condition, by the providence of God, we shall at any time fall.

Some of them which may be drawn from the consideration of ourselves have been already handled, and left some sense, I hope, of this truth upon you, that we are not so miserable as we make ourselves: but may find means, in the various changes of life, to be happy men.

II. I come now, according to the method propounded, to lead you to the consideration of others: from whose condition many reasons likewise may be fetched, to the making us better pleased than commonly we are, if we will not deny our minds the contemplation of them.

As first of all,

I. It is very plain that there are many in the world who have less than you have; innumerable persons whose condition is far worse than that which you are discontented withal. We cannot say this, I confess, to all men in the world; but as to every one here present it carries a great truth in it: that there are those who are placed in harder circumstances, and have more miseries to contend withal than any one of us have. Let me convince you of this, and then you shall see what advantage I shall make of it to my present purpose. Which of you would exchange your condition with a Turkish slave? Who is there

among the most discontented multitude that would take his place who lies upon a rack? Would not he that rows upon the water think his lot more miserable if he was chained to his oars? And he that digs in his garden, or ploughs his field, would he not think himself condemned to a more calamitous state, if he were forced to dig night and day in the mines? Would not he that hath but an acre of land think his fortune harder if he was banished from his own country? Nay, would not he that hath nothing but the air and the light of the sun think it a more dismal condition if he was thrust into a dungeon, and forced to draw his breath in a cave or hole of the earth? Would not he who hath lost any of his relations or friends think his fate, as they call it, more cruel if he should be bereaved of all in one day? And yet there are and have been such persons in the world, whose portion is no better than slavery, and banishment, and such other miseries as I have mentioned; in comparison of whom your condition is so splendid and sumptuous, that it is a strange ingratitude to be ill pleased with it. You never heard perhaps the story of Franciscus Buffalus, a citizen of Rome, who saw two of his sons cut off by the hangman for sedition, and two others kill each other in a duel, and another that killed his stepmother, and a daughter that in the presence of her own husband drank a draught of poison. And yet Hier. Cardan[a] reports this for a certain truth; and cries out upon occasion of it, *Hæ sunt scenæ mortalium, &c.*, 'These are the scenes of mortals;' these are their calamities: which yet if a man wisely consider and say, *Nudus in hunc mundum veni, &c.*, "'I came naked into this world;' whatsoever I have, it is pure gain; it was sent me, and I must return it back to him of whom I borrowed it; he will bear and suffer all with an equal mind."

I am sure they that see so many more miserable than themselves (with whose stories I might tire you) have great reason so to do. For consider, I beseech you, first,

1. That it is their duty to be contented in that lamentable condition; and it is possible for them so to be: (for nothing can be a duty which is impossible;) and therefore certainly it is your duty to be contented in a fairer fortune; and it is not only possible, but easy for you to attain that contentment. Tell

[a] L. de Summo Bono. [tom. i. p. 587.]

yourselves; how shall they ever be contented, if you cannot? (And yet, no question, you would exhort them to it.) And if they can, then how shall you ever excuse yourselves if you be discontented?

2. Consider again, that such hath been the condition of many good men, as I have described, (read Heb. xi.,) and yet they took joyfully the spoiling of their goods; they sang in prison; and when they had nothing, were as possessing all things. Why then do not you rejoice in a better and more plentiful estate? You have the same cause that they had to be contented; and far less cause to be troubled.

3. Again, consider that this may be your condition; according to this certain rule, That may happen to all which happens to any. If you be not therefore contented now, how will you be contented then? He that is not full with a great deal, how will he be full with a little?

4. And if it may be your condition, then consider how much more reason you have to thank God that you are not so miserable as you might be, than to complain that you are not so happy as you would be.

5. And consider further, how much you would be troubled in such a lamentable condition for your discontent in a better. And therefore let that seem very unreasonable unto you now, which will appear to be so then. Especially since by judging it unreasonable now you will give yourselves much ease; but the sense of its unreasonableness then will be your exceeding great trouble.

6. And consider once more, how much such persons, as I have mentioned, would rejoice in your estate, if they might but possess it. Why should not you yourselves be as well pleased in it as others would be? Look upon it with such eyes as they do; and then you will take the same comfort in it which it would afford to them. Let your thoughts place you awhile in their condition, and that will teach you what to think of your own. If the very thought or fancy of being so miserable as they are make you very sad; then judge how sad they are who feel those miseries. And if the very thought or fancy of being so happy as you are exceedingly please them, then judge again how well you should be pleased who feel and enjoy that happiness.

These are considerations so much founded in nature, that the heathens have lit upon them in their meditations. *Cum aspexeris* (saith Seneca[b]) *quot te antecedant, cogita quot sequantur*: 'When thou beholdest how many there are before thee, look back also and see how many there are that follow behind thee.' But this is the mischief of greedy desire, that it will never hearken to this rule: *Habet hoc vitium, &c.* (as he speaks elsewhere[c]): 'All ambition hath this fault in it, that it never casts its eyes back.' The very same we may say of impatience and discontent, with a little change of those words which we there read. None of those who are pressed with an hard fortune think how many are more unhappy, but only how many are more happy than they. And it is not so much a satisfaction to them to see a number behind them, as it is a grief to see any before them. All discontent and vexation hath this ugly quality in it, *Non respicit*, 'it never looks behind it.' Men see a long train perhaps of persons that march before them, gallantly attired, stately mounted, and adorned with all the bravery of fortune; and these they gaze on, admiring the lustre and brightness of their condition. They sigh to think that they cannot come near them; and pine away in the midst of many blessings, because they are forced to follow at such a distance from them. Whereas if they would not fasten their eyes alone on them, but cast them awhile behind, they would behold an innumerable rabble dabbling in the dirt, poor, sordid, and ill accoutred; in compare with whom they would think themselves amongst the foremost persons. Τὸν εὐθυμεῖσθαι θέλοντα χρὴ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, &c., (as Phavorinus[d] used to say:) 'He that will enjoy tranquillity of mind must in a good estate consider how many there are that enjoy less good, and in an evil estate how many there are that suffer more evil.' If we would do so, we should find the number to be so great, that we should wonder and be thankful that we are not among those wretched people.

And so much for the first meditation.

II. Let us now proceed to consider, that as many possess a great deal less than we, so among those there are (or have been) many that are more contented. I will give you

[b] [Epist. 15.] [c] [Epist. 73.] [d] [Apud. Stob. Floril. tit. xciv. 29.]

an instance in Scripture, and then in other story. Look into the history of Jacob, when he was upon his journey to a far country, very remote from his father's house. After God had appeared to him in a vision of angels, and thereby typified a great favour to him, what was it that he desired of God? how bountiful did he desire that he would be to him? Read Gen. xxviii. 20, and you shall find that he only desires God to keep him from danger, and to *give him bread to eat, and raiment to put on.* Nay, what doth he vow to God, if he might have but thus much? *Then shall the Lord be my God;* i. e. I shall be eternally obliged to love and honour him: *and whatsoever he shall give me, I will surely give the tenth of all to him*[e]. You see what a small portion he chooses for himself; and how grateful he resolves to be for whatsoever God should give him more. Nay, that which is most strange, even when he had no more, and hoped for no more than would serve him for his long journey, he had so great trust in God, as to spend some of it in devotion to him. For so you read, ver. 18, that *Jacob rose early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put for his pillow, and set it for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it.* One would think that he should have had none of that liquor to spare at this time; being absent from his friends, and having a great way to go, before he finished his travels. But so contented he was with his small pittance, and such a strong faith he had in the good providence of God, that he thought he should have never the less for bestowing some of it upon him whose it all was.

My beloved, all the true Israelites are of the same temper and disposition. They are well satisfied, if they have but food and raiment; that is, things convenient for the use of life. And they have the heart to do good out of the little which God gives them to enjoy.

Yea, the heathens themselves could be contented with a small portion; which must needs turn to the shame of all Christians that are not so too. Among the rest of the advantages, I remember, which Apollonius promises to Euphrates (in a letter to him[f]) from the Pythagorean philosophy, this was one; that he should have *αὐτάρκειαν, ἐκτένειαν, βραχύτητα τῶν*

[e] Gen. xxviii. 21, 22. [f] [Epist. lii. apud Philostr. p. 398.]

ἀναγκαίων, 'self-sufficiency, abundant satisfaction of mind, patience in labours, and all his needs reduced to a little room.' It is very hard if Christ cannot do as much for us as his counterfeit, or opposite rather, put his followers in hopes of. Who can look upon Diogenes in his tub, and not be well pleased in his house or cottage? Who can remember that this was all he asked of Alexander, not to stand between him and the sun, and not be glad that he hath so many blessings besides, wherewith God shines upon his tabernacle? So contented this man was, that he imagined Socrates (who was a poor man too) to be a person that had lived too delicately. For which he had no reason but this, (as Ælian tells us, *lib.* iv. *Var. Hist. c.* 11,) περιεργᾶσθαι γὰρ καὶ τῷ οἰκιδίῳ, &c., 'that he was so neat and curious in his little cottage, in his small couch, and clean shoes:' wherein, it seems, the good man pleased himself no less than Alcibiades did in all his luxury. It is well known how plain, simple and mean the diet of men was in the first ages of the world. The Arcadians (as the same author tells us, lib. iii. cap. 39.) contenting themselves with acorns; the Argives with a kind of wild pear; the Athenians with figs; the Indians with their reeds, and the Persians with water-cresses. In which condition they thought themselves as happy as we do in the use of our greatest dainties.

All which I mention only for this end, that you may consider with yourselves after this fashion: What was it that gave such content to Jacob? Yea, with what considerations did these heathens make themselves so merry? Have not we the very same? Cannot we entertain ourselves with such like thoughts? Could they say any thing to quiet themselves withal which we are ignorant of? Either they had no reason for what they did, or we have the very same. And if they had none, then it will be a great shame for us, if they could be contented with no reason, and we not be contented with so many. Ask yourself therefore very often, Why am I troubled? What is it that discontents me? Have not many had less than I, and yet were well pleased? How came they by that ease of heart and quiet of mind? Whence did they fetch relief for their souls, and furnish them with tranquillity? May not I go to the same place, and there find it? Is not my soul as pregnant with the same thoughts? Am not I endued with the same understanding?

Have not I all that they ever had? Yes, surely; all, but their contentment: and therefore I resolve not to want that neither. They shall not excel me in that, since I am equal to them in all other things; nay, I have far more reason, I am sure, than they to be contented in every estate.

That leads me to the next consideration, which is this, that

III. Though many have been more contented, yet they had less reason to be contented than we have, who are full of discontents. They endured much, and knew little: it will be a shame then to us if we be not well pleased, who endure perhaps but little, and know much. Jacob knew that God was good, and that he was the God of his grandfather Abraham, and of his father Isaac. He knew that God had taken care of them; and he saw a vision of angels, which by their descent and ascent upon a ladder reaching to heaven, obscurely represented to him the providence and care which God exercises over men by those his ministers. But express promises as yet he had none, that we read of, to support his faith and confidence in the Divine goodness. And as for the heathen people, they conceived only that God is kind to all creatures, and that man is the best of them. That nature is contented with a little; a good stomach being the cheapest sauce, and nature the cheapest guest. That it will cost men more labour to mend their condition than to bear it. That they who are not contented with a little will not be content with much. That if we live according to nature, we shall never be poor; if according to opinion, we shall never be rich: for nature desires not much, and opinion hath no measure. That all things here are not able to fill the mind of man; and therefore if it be not filled with something else, it will never be satisfied with the whole world; and if it be filled with a better good, a little of the world will satisfy it. That what they endured either could be helped, or it could not. If it could, then they saw no reason to complain of that which they could remedy. If it could not, then they thought it was better to bear it comfortably, than to be discomforted and bear it too.

These and such like thoughts they had in their minds: but they knew nothing comparable to that which we are acquainted withal; who have the knowledge of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus; and by him have exceeding great and precious

promises of *such things as eye never saw, nor ear ever heard, neither did it enter into the heart of man to conceive.* Besides that, we know how good God was to Abraham and to Isaac, and we have the example of Jacob himself to boot: and we have all the reason that they, or any good man ever had: all the comfort that the attributes of God can afford us: all the arguments whereby the heathens supported themselves: and likewise an express revelation of God's mind and will to us, concerning things that otherwise could never have been known; but being made manifest, yield greater comfort and satisfaction to the heart of man than all the knowledge that ever was in the world before. We know the love of God, as I told you heretofore, that passes knowledge. We have a fulness of wisdom and understanding, of love, of goodness, of hope, of joy, and of the Holy Spirit. We know that God is our most merciful Father, and that he governs the world by a paternal care, and not merely by his absolute will and power. And we know that he delights in acts of mercy, as appears by his exceeding great charity towards us in Christ Jesus. And that he designs to prefer us to no less than a kingdom, together with the Son of his dearest love. And that we can never be out of our way to it as long as we are obedient to his will. And that the troubles and afflictions of this life are many times the readiest way to it, if we take them patiently. And that patient endurance will much tend to our preferment in the other world. And when crowns of glory shall be set on our heads, none will shine so bright as theirs who were contented with any thing here for Christ's sake. And therefore if we be discontented and vexed with our condition, it must be more our fault than it could be any one's else that lived heretofore in discontent. For we do not only know all that they did, who were then satisfied, but 2dly, We know it better; and 3dly, We have their experience and example also to encourage us: and, which is above all this, we have the example, the command, the promises of the Son of God, which carry more in them than all the reason in the world besides. It is a great disgrace to the gospel, if it cannot enable us to do that which a weaker light made men formerly sufficient for; or rather, it is a great reproach to ourselves, that we should not make so good an use of better means, as they did of worse, but suffer ourselves to be dis-

quieted in the midst of so many comforts, when such a few and small consolations as they were able to pick out of themselves were wont to compose and settle their spirits.

Do but hear how they describe one of their philosophers, and then keep yourselves from blushing if you can, if being Christians, you come a vast way behind them. "He that seeks his remedy in philosophy," saith Seneca, Ep. cxi., *ingenti fit animo, &c.*, "is made a man of a great mind, full of confidence and assurance, unconquerable by any thing whatsoever." "This is my business," saith Epictetus[g], "to be found always void of passion, free and without impediment, always doing that which I would. So that I may say to God, Μή τι παρέβην σου τὰς ἐντολάς; &c. Have I transgressed at any time thy commands? Have I abused the faculties thou hast given me to other purposes? Did I ever accuse thee? Did I find fault on any occasion with thy administration and government? I was sick; because it so pleased thee to have it. Others were sick too; but I willingly. I was poor, because thou also wouldst have it so; but still rejoicing. I was not advanced to be a ruler, because thou wouldst not have me. I never desired empire. Didst thou ever see me the sadder for want of this? Did I ever approach thee with a less cheerful countenance? Was I not ready, if thou commandedst any thing, or signified thy pleasure? If thou biddest me go to such a place, and celebrate thy praises in the public offices of devotion, I go presently. I give thee all thanks, that thou countest me worthy of such an honour, to see thy works, and to understand thy admirable administration. Let death seize on me, thinking on these things, writing these things, or reading such things as these." What was it that Socrates was wont to say? "As other men are delighted if they see their field grow more fruitful, or their horses and cattle thrive better; so I am delighted daily to find myself in better case. What other thing is there that a philosopher should attend? Doth it seem nothing to thee never to accuse any one, either God or man? not to find fault with any thing? to go out and to come in with the same countenance? These were the things that Socrates was skilled in; and yet nobody ever heard him say that he knew any thing."

[g] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 5. [p. 273.]

Thus he. And if any one reply, that this is but talk: they seemed brave men at a distance, but if one come nearer to them they were no such thing; Seneca hath an answer to him: *Major est adeunti, &c.* "The philosopher," saith he, "is so great, that he seems greater to him that approaches him. As it is in great mountains, whose height appears less to them that behold them afar off; and when you draw towards them, then it is manifest what a vast way it is to the top." Such is the true philosopher. *In edito stat,* "He stands on high; he is of a lofty spirit, and hath a true magnitude. He doth not stand on tiptoes, after the manner of them that would help their stature by a lie, and appear taller than they are. No; he is contented with his own greatness: and why should he not be contented to have grown so high, that the hand of fortune cannot reach him? Therefore he is above all human things, equal to himself in every state of affairs; whether this life proceed in an even and quiet course, or fluctuate through adversities and difficulties, which are apt to disturb the peace of other spirits."

In this manner they discoursed, and if they did not attain these things, yet they laboured after them, and thought it possible, by reason, to attain this temper of mind. Judge then what a vile disgrace it is to Christianity or to ourselves, if we do not at least contend and strive to be such persons as they describe: well pleased in our condition; submissive to the providence of God; without complaints and murmurings at the course of things; thankful for the Divine benefits; constant in all alterations and changes of life, and ready to obey God's orders whithersoever he will lead us.

Do but hear again how they would reproach one of their reputed wise men who behaved himself otherwise. "What! thou a philosopher, and never satisfied! Thou a professor of wisdom, and always whining because things are not as thou wouldst have them! Doth it become one of thy education to take every cross so heavily? to be sad and dejected, to be vexed and angry at what befalls thee? Look at yonder man that follows the plough, and hear how merrily he sings. Is it not a shame that he should be better pleased without instruction, than thou with all thy learning? To what purpose is all thy pains and study, if, after all, thy mind is not eased by it?"

Apply this, I beseech you, to yourselves; change the names, and argue thus in the behalf of religion: Could a heathen reason himself into peace and quiet, and thou, who art a disciple of the revelation made by Christ, find no rest to thy spirit in what he hath said? Is this thy Christianity? Can the Son of God instruct thee no better? What! an heir of glory, an expectant of a kingdom in the heavens, and never satisfied, never well pleased? To what end serves the gospel? Wherefore hath God given thee those new and divine principles, if thou art still worse than they that relied merely upon the old?

If, I say, you would after this manner sharply chide and reprove yourselves, you would find this effect of it presently, to be at least ashamed. And what do you think would be the next, but to endeavour to see yourselves as soon as you could in such a condition, that you might look upon yourselves without those blushes?

And hear, if you please, once more, what course they took to acquire this better state of mind. "It is a sad thing," saith Epictetus[h] in the forenamed author, "that when there are so many troublesome things in the world, we will needs trouble ourselves likewise; and to all the calamities of life heap more upon our own heads by our impatience. Dost thou call this piety, to be miserably afflicted for the loss of thy child, and such like relations? What piety, I beseech you, is it? If it be good, it is the cause of no evil: if it be evil, I have nothing to do with it. I was born to that which is good for me, not to that which is evil. But how shall I help it? I will tell you. The first and principal thing is this: when thou art affected towards any thing, remember presently that it may be taken away from thee. If thou kissest thy child, if thou salutest thy friend, do not fix all thy thoughts there, nor suffer thy affection to go whither it would: but draw back a little, forbid its progress; and just as they who were in their triumph had one at their back remembering them of their mortality, so do thou add some such thing as this on all occasions: That thou lovest one who is mortal; that thou lovest a thing which is not thine; that it is given thee for the present, but it may be taken away, and thou hast not a perpetual grant of it. Remember, it is but

[h] Arrian. lib. 3. c. 24. [p. 339 sqq.]

like a fig or a grape, which we enjoy only at the season of the year: if we look for them on the trees in winter, it is a folly. Just so, if thou desirest thy child or thy friend in the time wherein they are not given thee, know that it is as if thou shouldst desire one of those fruits out of their season.

"The next thing I advise thee is like the former; when thou rejoicest in any thing, oppose the quite contrary to it. What hurt is it, if whilst thou kissest thy little child, thou lisp to it and say, To-morrow, my pretty babe, thou mayest die? And if to thy dear friend thou say the same, To-morrow thou or I may go away, and we shall not see each other again. But these things are δύσφημα, ominous and illboding, you will reply. Why so? Or suppose it to be so, I do not care, if they do but profit me. Fear is more ominous and of ill report. A base and ungenerous mind, immoderate sorrow, grief, immodesty, are things that bode far worse. And yet we must mention those names, (though of so bad a sound,) that we may caution men against the things themselves. But doest thou call that which is natural an illsounding thing? Say then that it sounds ill to speak of the mowing of corn, for that signifies its destruction. Say that the falling of the leaves, or the gathering of the fruit, is of the same import; for these are to be changed from what they were before to another thing. Yet, in truth, it is not a destruction, but only a certain appointed administration and dispensation of things. Such is the absence of friends, such is peregrination, a certain little change. And such is death itself, a greater change: not of that which now is into that which is not, but into that which before it was not. Shalt thou therefore cease to be? No such matter. Thou shalt only not be what thou art, but another thing, of which this world hath no need. For thou wast born, not when thou pleasedst, but when the world had need of thee. A good and wise man therefore is mindful what he is, and whence he comes, and by whom he was made: and in this alone he labours, how he may rightly fill up his place, and approve his obedience to God. Wilt thou have me continue longer? Even as thou wilt: I am free, do as thou pleasest? Dost thou need me no longer? Be it as thou thinkest good. I continued to this time for thee and for nobody else; and now I go away in obedience to thee. How dost thou go away? Again, I say, As thou wilt; as a free

man, as a servant of thine; as one that understandeth thy commands and thy prohibitions. And whilst I am conversant about thy business, what wouldest thou have me to be? a prince or a private man? a senator or a plebeian? a captain or a soldier? Even in that place and station to which thou appointest me will I remain. I will die a thousand times, as Socrates said, before I will leave it. And where wouldest thou have me be? at Rome or at Athens? at Thebes or in the Gyaræ? (An island this was to which their condemned persons were banished.) Very well. Only do thou remember me wheresoever I am, and I am no further concerned."

I cannot recite the rest of the discourse of this philosopher in that place without being too tedious, and I will briefly mention those memorable words of his in another[i]:

"If thy greatest care be really and truly that thou mayest rightly use every thing which presents itself to thee; then straightway, as soon as thou risest in the morning, think with thyself, Τίνα μοι λείπει; 'What do I still want' to make me free from perturbation? What is there deficient to true tranquillity of mind? What am I, a body? or riches? or fame? No, none of these. What then? I am a reasonable creature. And what is required of a reasonable creature? Turn over thy actions, and say, Wherein have I transgressed those things that are necessary to happiness? What have I done that is unfriendly or unsociable and unkind? What have I neglected that I ought to have performed? There being such a vast diversity of desires, and works, and wishes, and prayers, wilt thou still imitate them? Mend thy opinions of things, and all is mended. I am poor, but I have right opinions concerning poverty. What hurt is it, then, though others pity me? I have no dignity nor government, as others have; but I understand what a man should think of governing, and of leading a private life. Let those look to it that deplore my condition, and say, God help him, poor man. I am neither poor nor covetous of more; but because they are so, they think the like of me. What shall I do then to them? I will go about and preach, saying, Be not deceived, do not err, O men; I am well, I am not concerned about poverty or privacy or any other thing, but about right

[i] [Lib. iv. cap. 6. p. 395.]

opinions of all things. None can forbid me these; and these are all my care."

Such were the discourses and reasonings of men that were led only by the guidance of their own mind. Let not the light of the glorious gospel of Christ leave us in greater obscurity and cloudiness of spirit. Let us not suffer ourselves to be desolate when we have such a noble Comforter, nor pine away with grief in the midst of such high satisfaction as he hath given us. But looking above all things here, let us say with a greater courage than ever any philosopher could do, "I yield up myself to thee, O God; all that I have is thine; dispose of it as thou pleasest: order what thou judgest most convenient. I interpose not my desires, but, imitating my Saviour, say, Not my will, but thine, O God, be done. I will follow Jesus. I will never doubt of his conduct. He will lead me nowhither but to that place where he is. As thou pleasest, when thou pleasest, and by what way thou pleasest; carry me but to that everlasting bliss."

There cannot be a sweeter and more easy temper of mind than this. It is not doggedness to be thus resolved, but the gentleness of Christ, and a disposition complying with his blessed will and pleasure. It is not to be arrogant, and to look big, thus to overlook all mortal things; but it is true humility and submission to God, to be what he pleases. The heathens themselves had some sense of this, as we read in Arrianus[k], who makes this objection to himself, and answers it in this manner:

"But doth not this discourse savour of haughtiness? God forbid! Jupiter himself is not supercilious, but only hath a settled and steadfast eye, becoming him that said,

οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸν παλινάγρετον, οὐδ' ἀπατηλόν[l].

'No word of mine shall ever be revoked or deceive those that trust to it.' Such an one will I show myself, faithful, modest, ingenuous, and untroubled. What! and immortal too? one that grows not old, nor is obnoxious to diseases? I say not so; but one that divinely dies, and is divinely diseased. This I have, and this I can do. To the rest I make no pretences."

[k] Lib. 2. cap. 8. [p. 190.]

[l] Hom. Il. [A. 526.]

PRAYER V.

I prostrate myself before thee, O Lord of heaven and earth, the eternal God, who art all that can possibly be, and whose goodness designs to make us happy both here and for ever. I acknowledge that it is only of thy infinite goodness that I am not as miserable as any in the world are. That I enjoy so many blessings, which ought to make me rejoice in thee, more than any trouble can give me cause to complain, is to be ascribed merely to thy good will towards me. I am ashamed to think that the most excellent knowledge which thou hast communicated to me of thyself, and of thy Son Jesus, hath had no greater effect upon my heart to dispose me to love thee, to rest satisfied in thy love, to study to be quiet, and to be contented with my portion; which is so fair and liberal in comparison with many others in this troublesome world.

Thou hast set before me thy grace and love in so clear and full a manner, that it ought to stir up the greatest admiration, and make me delight in the meditation of it. Thy power and greatness and purity likewise is so apparent, that it ought to make me fear lest I should offend thy love by unthankfulness and discontent, or any other way. Thy wisdom directs me. Thy truth and faithfulness upholds and assures me; thy tender mercies encourage me; and even thy severity moves me to fly from that which would utterly undo me. There is nothing in thee but I am the better for it. Thou art altogether excellent even in our eyes, and far more excellent in the eyes of angels and more understanding creatures. They rejoice always to behold thy face, and perpetually praise thee. But thou art infinitely more excellent in thyself, than we, or they, or any creature else can comprehend.

How would my heart be pricked with desires to know thee more; how would my spirit be inflamed with the most ardent love to thee; how quiet and joyful should I be in thy love, if I did really feel the sense of what I have confessed, and uttered nothing with my mouth but what was first in the profoundest depth of my heart! But, alas! we have too superficial thoughts of thee; our words are apt to be fuller than our sense: and therefore I fall down before thee, and beseech thee to help me to consider over again what I have said of thee, and to make me feel something in my soul of thy Divine Majesty, too big for my mouth. Make me heartily and deeply sensible of thy omnipotent greatness, of thy no less omnipotent goodness, of thy unspotted holiness, of thy unsearchable wisdom, of thy bottomless mercy, and just indignation at those sins whereby we

provoke thee: that so I may fear thee, and trust in thee, and earnestly study to resemble thee in what I am able, and to admire and adore thee in those things which are above our imitation. O that the least sin may be more hateful to me than the greatest misery of this life, and the least degree of goodness more lovely in my eyes than the highest worldly prosperity!

Endue me with a settled, quiet, and composed temper of spirit, like that of the celestial natures. Make me constant and unmovable in the choice of my happiness. Fix a perpetual cause of joy in my heart. And fill me with that heavenly sense of things which will be always springing up in delightful thoughts, and comfortable hopes, and cheerful praises and thanksgivings to thee, my God. Seal up my heart with such a sense of thyself, that nothing may hereafter be admitted there, but what will let me love thee better than it, with the purest and strongest affection. And seeing thou hast designed us to an excellent condition, help me ever to mind those heavenly things, and not set my heart on lower enjoyments which thou dost not think to be good enough for me. Remember me on all occasions how frail these comforts are, which I am apt so eagerly to pursue and closely embrace; that I may love them as dying things, and resign them back to thee with a willing heart, and an undisturbed spirit: blessing thee, who hast let me enjoy them so long, and prepared better blessings for me by patient and contented submission to thee when thou deprivest me of these.

Behold, O Lord, I commit myself unto thee, and all I have, with a perfect trust and confidence in thee. I know thou intendest my good in all that befalls me, and thy wisdom knows how to effect it, even contrary to my inclinations and natural desires. Preserve, I beseech thee, this resolution in my heart for ever, to commend myself unto thee in doing good with a cheerful mind, and enduring evil with a patient spirit. That so I may honour my Lord and Master Christ Jesus, and be an ornament to his religion, and declare the power and force of that faith which I have entertained. O that I may never come behind those who had less knowledge of thee; but rather excel them as much in contented and constant submission to thy will, as I do in my understanding of it. And make me every day to grow in both; to make a great increase in wisdom and virtue, until I come to perfection; and be fit to be removed hence, from all the troubles of this life, unto rest and peace in uninterrupted joys with my blessed Saviour. Amen.

SERMON VI.

1 Tim. vi. 8.

And having food and raiment, let us be therewith content.

NOT to mention again those three considerations which I represented the last time, to make you contented in any condition, from such observations as we may make concerning the estate of other men; let me proceed to tell you, that,

IV. There are many who have freely chosen those things which we are required only to be content withal. They have desired that portion, and quitted all things for it, which we are only to submit unto when it comes upon us.

Sundry examples there are both of heathens and Christians, who when they might have had riches, (yea, when they were in possession of them,) have embraced poverty rather, as the more desirable condition in their opinion, wherein they have passed all their days. May not we then be able to be well contented with that estate, if we fall into it, which they were so eagerly bent to attain? It is recorded of Aristides that he refused to enjoy any wealth, because he saw that few did stoutly bear the grievance of poverty; and he would show that it was no disgrace, but in them only that were poor against their wills. Crates, it is well known, threw away all his possessions; and then caused it to be proclaimed in these terms, "This day hath Crates set Crates free." Epaminondas also, the greatest captain of his time, (and thence called θεὸς, 'a god,' and σωτὴρ, 'the saviour' of his country,) had vowed such a love to the lowest condition which the apostle here describes, that he would not be master of more than one suit of apparel at a time; and chose to lie in bed till it was mended or made clean, whatsoever business he had in hand. And then among Christians, I need not relate how many hermits and anchorites

and monks have filled the world with stories of their professed poverty, wherein they gloried, and protested they found more satisfaction in it than all the riches of the world could afford. You know, likewise, that many sullen people among ourselves have rejected the good things of this world, as if they were not to be endured; having placed their glory in ill-fashioned clothes, and thought it an honour to them to be poorly attired.

Consider then, I beseech you; may not we be persuaded to be content with that which they loved? Is it not possible for us to bear that condition which they were fond on, and desired? Shall that seem such a heavy burden to us, which they esteemed the greatest ease? Surely we may prevail with our hearts not to murmur nor repine, not to be troubled extremely and cast down, when the providence of Almighty God, not we ourselves, shall choose such a portion for us. Especially if it be considered,

V. That they choose those things out of false principles, which we are only to be contented withal out of true. It was not the will of God that they should betake themselves to beggary, but it is his will that we should endure what he thinks fit to lay upon us. It was a mistake to think that riches are an hinderance to good men, for *the crown of the wise*, saith Solomon, *is his riches*. It was to "be righteous over much," (as Maimonides[a] interprets that place in Eccles. vii. 17,) to abandon the use of wine, of flesh, of handsome clothes, of marriage, and such like lawful things. It was a weakness (to say no worse) to call this perfection, and the state of religion, and such like names: for St. Paul thought the excellency of a Christian spirit was to *know how to abound, and to be full*, as well as how to want and to be empty. And therefore if they could do more than is required of us, and if false principles and fancies could move them to such undertakings, surely we may do what is really commanded, especially by the power of truth, and a large stock of heavenly principles, if we will but apply our mind unto it. As much as truth is stronger than error, and it is easier to do a little than much; so much stronger is the reason that we have to be contented, and so much easier is this duty than that which they performed. If we had no more reason than this, that it is the will of God we

[a] In his treatise De Scientia, cap. 3.

should submit to our present condition, it would be more, as I said, than they had to persuade them to do those strange things: for there was no will of his that required them at their hands. If they did so much out of their own will, it is very hard if we cannot do what is a great deal less in compliance with the certain will of our heavenly Father; especially when we know that his will is good, and is guided by the highest reason in the world, which cannot mistake, nor possibly contrive how to grieve and vex us. And when we consider withal how many ways it may effect our good, which we have the more reason to hope for, when any affliction is a piece of God's discipline, and not a penance of our own imposing upon ourselves.

The sum of this particular is, that no man need be discontented who will use his reason, seeing others have been more than contented out of false reasons.

VI. Again: if others who are in the same condition with you be discontented, consider with yourselves what you would say to them to give them satisfaction if you were called to be of their council; and say that very thing to yourselves: and if there be any force in your arguments, you cannot be dissatisfied. Would you bid them get more riches? Alas! that is their grief, they cannot tell how to get them. Would you bid them labour night and day? So they do, and yet are never the nearer to them. Would you persuade them to hope for better fortune? In this they are not deficient neither; but it is the very thing which torments them, because their hopes are frustrated and disappointed. Would you tell them that, however, they may be assured, that had they but more than they have, they would be satisfied? That is not true neither; for others are not so. What would you, then, say to them? Set your mind at rest. Desire not these things so eagerly. Be not concerned so much for that which you do not need. Grieve not for that which you cannot help. Take not away the comfort of what you enjoy by vexing for what you want, &c. That very counsel take yourselves. Say but to your own heart that which you would apply to others in the same condition, and you will be quiet. Either it is impossible to administer any comfort to another person in the day of his distress; and you must bid him still be troubled, for there is no remedy: or if you think that he may be relieved, then follow

that advice which you prescribe to him. For how should you think that another will be moved with that which doth not move yourselves at all?

There is a notable discourse on this subject in an author I named the last day: "If you observe it, "saith he[b], "men pity and bewail others, not for that which truly deserves it, viz. their crimes and offences, but for their poverty, and their want of authority, and their losses of several worldly goods."

Now what shall a man choose to do in this case? Wilt thou go about to persuade the multitude that none of these things are so bad as they imagine? that it is possible for a man to be poor, and of no account, and yet be in a blessed condition? Alas! it is not given thee. It is not in thy power to persuade them. That which is given thee is, to persuade thyself. And hast thou not yet persuaded thyself, and yet goest about to persuade them? Who is there that hath been such a long time acquainted with thee as thou thyself? who hath been so conversant with thee? who is there that hath such a power to persuade thee? who is nearer to thee? who can wish thee better, and be more kind to thee than thou to thyself? What is the reason, then, that thou hast not prevailed with thyself to learn this good lesson? Thou runnest up and down; this is thy business, thou sayest, to learn not to be swallowed up of sorrow; not to be in trouble and confusion of spirit; not to be cast down and dejected; to be free, and under the dominion of nothing. And hast thou not heard that there is but one way to these things; viz. to let alone those things that are out of thy power, to yield to them, and to confess that they belong not to thee, because they are not within the compass of thy will, and cannot be commanded by thee? Now that one should think so or so of thee, what kind of thing is it? Is it not one of those that are out of thy power? Canst thou govern other men's thoughts? Then this is nothing to thee; what they think is not a matter in which thou art concerned. While this therefore still bites and gnaws thy heart; while thou art troubled and vexed at it, dost thou imagine thou hast persuaded thyself what is good and what is evil? Why dost thou not leave this foolery, and become to thyself καὶ μαθητὴς καὶ διδάσκαλος, 'both master and scholar?' Teach thyself effectually that which thou pretendest

[b] Arrian. lib. iv. cap. 6. [p. 394.]

to teach others. Let the rest of the world look to it, if it be good for them to forsake nature, and live contrary to her prescriptions: there is none nearer to me than myself, and I will be careful to persuade myself otherways. In order to which, if you see your neighbours have more than you have, it would be well to consider with yourself,

VII. Whether they are contented or no. If they be not, then how shall you be contented, merely by having those things which they enjoy, seeing they afford no contentment to them that have them? If they be, then so may you also; seeing there are others that have more than they, and yet they do not, it seems, desire it, but rest in their present state. Look how they satisfy themselves; and the same course do you take for your own satisfaction. Are they so full that there is no room for desire? Are there not those in the world who excel them as much as they excel you? Do not they behold many persons set in a higher rank, as you behold them advanced above your own condition? Why do not they then long to be as good as those, according as you long to be as them? Why are they not vexed with unsatiable appetites to raise their fortunes as high as their neighbours, according as you are ever wishing to be in their station? If they can be pleased to stand where they are, then you may stand still too. If they be satisfied, and it is not by virtue of the worldly goods they enjoy, (as I shall show hereafter,) but by the principles which their minds have received; then you may attain the same happiness, though you have not all that they possess.

VIII. Consider likewise, that if others have more than you in some things, you may have as much as they in many other: and that those things wherein you are equal to them are so much more valuable than those wherein you are inferior, that they ought to be more powerful to give you content than the other to give you any disturbance. There are that have more riches, suppose, than you have; or they are advanced to greater honours and dignities; and therefore they despise you, and look with a supercilious countenance upon your poor condition. What then? You are men as well as they: you have reason and understanding: you have those precious jewels the eyes, and all other powers of the outward man: you have as constant health, as goodly an aspect perhaps, as fair proportions of

body; and, besides, you are capable of loving God, and of living with him for ever. Why should you then be troubled, who have as many of those which are the best things as the men that think themselves so much above you; and differ from them only in some smaller matters which belong not at all to the being of a man? Fancy indeed accounts nothing excellent but what is rare; but reason corrects this folly, and lets us know that the most common things are the most excellent of all. Τὰ μὲν σπάνια (saith Sextus[c]) τίμια εἶναι δοκεῖ, τὰ δὲ σύντροφα ἡμῖν καὶ εὔπορα οὐδαμῶς· 'things that are scarce seem very precious; but those things that are familiar to us, (and, as it were, bred up with us,) and which easily present themselves, are not so esteemed.' Whereas "if we could fancy water to be scarce, what a precious liquor," saith he, "would it be accounted; of greater price than the most valuable things that we possess! And on the contrary, if gold were as common as the stones in the streets, who would think it so noble a metal, and shut it up so close and so carefully in their chests?

Let us take a true value of things; and of the best we shall find that we have great plenty, as well as other men: and that innumerable things (the benefit of which we enjoy) are really better and more necessary than those whose scarcity makes them more esteemed. We ought not to complain as we do because we are not so high as others, but perhaps contemned by them. If we do, it too much justifies their scorn and insolence.

Do not wonder at this assertion; for it is a certain truth that there is the very same reason why you should be contented and void of envy, though you be poor and contemptible, that there is why others, who are rich and honourable, should not be proud, nor contemn you. You take it ill if they be full of disdain, and look scornfully upon you. You think it to be a great piece of injustice and folly in them, if they fastidiously behave themselves, as if they took themselves for another sort of creatures; as much above us as we are above apes and monkeys. And why so? You can give yourselves no reason of this, but the same reason will serve to make you contented and well pleased in the want of such things as make them fool-

[c] L. 1. Hypot. cap. 29. [al. cap. 14. tom. i. p. 64.]

ishly despise you. Are they material and great things wherein they differ from you? Are you really worse than they in the most substantial endowments? If so, then why are you angry that they esteem of you meanly, who have not things of such moment as they have? Why do you ill resent it that they undervalue you, since, upon this supposition, you are so much below them in that which most concerns us? But are they poor trifles in which they are superior to you? Do they make no such difference of your person from theirs as to make you contemptible? Is the want of them no real foundation for their vile opinion of you? Then you may be contented, seeing you want such sorry things; which should not, in your judgment, advance your neighbour into so lofty an opinion of himself above you. If they make you really much below him, then why do you wonder at his not respecting you? If they do not, then another may as much wonder at your discontent and trouble about your want of such things, as you do at his pride and vanity in the enjoyment of them. The truth is, all they who are not well contented in their condition do too plainly countenance, as I said, the haughtiness, disdain, and arrogance that is in others who are in a higher estate. This they judge to be matter of great glory, or else they would not be so much afflicted when they are in a lower condition, which is not really inglorious. They do as good as say, O what brave persons are those! How happy, how blessed are they! What a vile thing am I, in comparison of them! Alas! I am the most wretched creature in the world; destitute of such and such noble enjoyments as promote them to such eminence!

This is the sense of their discontented and envious language, wherewith they unawares disparage and debase themselves. If they would be better pleased, it would prove one of the best ways to give a check to those who vapour over them.

It is a most excellent expression of Solomon, *He that is void of understanding despiseth his neighbour; but a man of understanding holdeth his peace*[d]. It is a folly for a man to despise another, because there is no great difference between them. But then it is as great a folly, on the other hand, to be discontented and murmur at it, and that for the very same

[d] Prov. xi. 12.

reason, because the difference is not very great between them. It is want of wisdom that makes one proud and disdainful; and it is the understanding of another which makes him hold his peace, i. e. take no notice of it, nor at all repine at that foolish behaviour. And the reason is secretly couched in the words, viz. because he is his neighbour. Whatsoever any man is pleased to think of another, there is a great similitude and likeness between them; a near conjunction, and as it were community, in divers great things. And therefore, if he forget them, which makes him proud, the other ought to remember them, and that should make him hold his peace. They were both made of the same matter; both cast into the like mould; both came alike naked into the world; both must go alike out of it, and expect rewards and punishments after this life, without any regard of persons.

Why then should he be proud? And again, why shouldst thou be discontented? For these things where you agree are,

1st, *Plura*, more numerous than those wherein you are unlike. And,

2dly, They are *majora*, greater by far, and of higher account; inasmuch as it is a greater thing to be a man than to wear fine clothes. And,

3dly, They are *antiquiora*, far more ancient, and of greater antiquity; for which cause they are of more dignity, and carry in them the marks of nobility. As soon as we came out of our mother's womb, we appeared complete in all the parts of our body, and endowed with a capacity of better things, as well as themselves. That which makes us unlike is of a later date; a great many things, perhaps, but newly added, and therefore cannot make any considerable difference. And likewise,

4thly, They are *firmiora*, more durable, firm and lasting. We can never be unlike in these: they are bonds which tie us and them so fast together, that they can never be broken. But as for all the other, they may be soon snapped asunder; and he who is now rich and flourishing, may on a sudden be as mean as the man whom he despises. Why shouldst thou not then be well pleased in this capacity? Or else give him leave to boast of his inequality. Either think that he is not unreasonable in despising thee, or think thyself unreasonable in being troubled at that despisal, or at any thing else which thou

wantest, and he enjoys. For the most, and the greatest, and the most ancient and most lasting things thou dost not want; and the rest thou needest not so sadly resent the want of, seeing thou hast enough besides.

IX. But let us proceed a little further, and advance our thoughts to this consideration, that if others have more in some things, you perhaps have more than they in others; and those of the best concernment also. It were well if men would not delight to make comparisons between their and other men's condition so much as they do; but only consider, whether they have not really sufficient or no to support this mortal life. Yet if they will needs employ their mind in this way, let them take these certain rules to direct their proceeding: (1.) Let them compare themselves with all men, and not only with some few. And (2.) let them compare themselves with them in all things, and not merely in some particulars. And (3.) let them compare themselves with them at all times, and not only at some certain seasons. Now if you consider all things, are not you, or may not you be richer in several regards, than those who are above you in outward wealth? May you not be rich in faith, and heirs of a kingdom? Mayest thou not have fewer cares, more joy and heavenly comforts than he possesses who sits upon a throne? Nay, mayest thou not have more understanding, better abilities of mind, a clearer wit and a sounder judgment, than he that loftily overlooks thee, because of other little differences? Wouldst thou exchange these things for all his fine enjoyments? Wouldst thou choose to be in the same condition with the rich fool whom the gospel mentions, if thou mightest enjoy a thousand worlds? Why then canst thou not be better contented, since thou hast or mayest have more than all that which they have heaped up? And if thou art contented, then consider how much more rich thou art, though never so poor, than he that is a prince, but cannot with that estate be contented. Thou needest but a little, and his needs are very great and vast. He wants a thousand things every day, and thou wantest but one or two. He is miserable if he have not large dominions, and thou lackest nothing but that which thou canst never lack, food and raiment.

If those creatures be most perfect which need least (according as the ancients used to discourse, particularly Antonin.

lib. ix. *c.* 31[e]); a man more perfect than a child, because he needs less attendance; an healthful man more perfect than a sick, for the same reason; and an angel more perfect than any of us, who want food and covering, which he doth not: then thou, who art contented with a little, approachest nearer to the most excellent natures than he who hath never so much, but wants all that to his contentment. Do not murmur then and repine: thou hast really more than many others that are below thee; yea, more than those whom thou accountest above thee, if thou wilt but consider thyself, and not let thy fancy abuse thee. It is a most excellent fable which Achilles Tatius[f] hath furnished me withal for the correcting of all our unreasonable complaints. The lion, saith he, found great fault with Prometheus, (the former of all things,) and was very much vexed with him upon this account; that though he had made him a great and noble creature, the king of beasts, whom none could withstand, yet he had left him with this one defect, that he could not but tremble at the crowing of a cock. This troubled him so much, that he was resolved to take pet and die. At last an elephant came by him, who was always, he observed, shaking of his ears, and never let them rest; of which when the lion asked him the reason, the answer was this: "A gnat," said he, "there is, that is always buzzing about them, and endeavouring to insinuate himself; which if he do, I am in great fear that it will be my death." "Nay, then," replied the lion, "I will take courage. Why should I be such a fool, as to be discontented and die, who am so much happier than this elephant, *πόσῳ κρείττων κώνωπος ὁ ἀλεκτρύων*, 'as a cock is better than a gnat?'" Make the moral of it to yourselves: I shall assist you no more than thus: You have, as you acknowledge, many and great blessings bestowed on you: you have the knowledge of God and of his Son Jesus Christ: you have the promises of eternal life, and the hope of glory and honour in the heavens. But yet you are not well pleased; and the reason is, because one thing is wanting. You are not so rich, suppose, as another man, or have not that respect which is paid to him. Now if you look about you, and cast your eyes upon the greater men of the world; you will find that they also are never quiet, but always in motion and restless agitation. If you

[e] [P. 201.] [f] Lib. ii. *Ἐρώτων*, &c. [cap. 21.]

ask the reason of it, you will soon be satisfied that they are full of fears and cares and jealousies; and many of them have an unquiet conscience, and are amazed at the thoughts of death; and are so loath to leave this world, that they would give away all that they have got, if it would purchase a little longer life when they are going to depart. Why do not you then bid yourselves to be well satisfied, seeing the things you enjoy are far greater than their possessions; but the things you want are far less? inasmuch as it is more to enjoy God than to enjoy this world, and less to want riches than to want peace, freedom from fears and cares, and the comfort of a good conscience, the greatest happiness of all. Nay, I should say true if I added, that one good friend, who heartily loves us, and takes delight in us, and in whom we are equally delighted, is more valuable with a competency than all their abundance; who therefore have no true friends, because they are too great.

X. And now if I should pass from the consideration of other men to the consideration of all other creatures, I might bid you ponder in your mind how well contented any one of them is, and therefore so ought we to be.

As for those creatures who have no understanding or power of discourse, we hear of no complaints from them, if they have but meat and drink and liberty. And is it not a shame, if no understanding and reason at all can make them do that which a great deal cannot prevail with us to do? What a mischief is it, if all the discourse which they want serve only to make us more miserable? Look upwards, if you please, and behold those creatures which have more reason than we, the heavenly angels, and you will find that they are well pleased likewise. They that are of a lower rank are not discontented, we believe, because they are not equal to Michael or Gabriel the archangels. Why do not we imitate them? seeing though we have less reason than they, yet we have not less reason to be contented; if it were but for this, that those very angels are ministering spirits for them that are heirs of salvation. They disdain not to minister to a poor man as well as a rich. They do not murmur to stand sentinel for us, and guard us, (as appears by St. Peter,) if we be in a prison, as well as if we be in a palace. And therefore let not us be the only unhappy creatures, but make even this a piece of our comfort, that we

see all God's creatures so well provided for, and so well pleased. Let us look round about us, and take great content to see them all express such satisfaction in the bounty of the Creator: the little birds chirping in every hedge, the little lambs and kids skipping and dancing for joy, and our domestic creatures waiting with great significations of their confidence in our kindness, for a bone or some such cast of our alms. And the more we are pleased in their happiness, the more we shall be disposed to be pleased in our own. That very thought which we have of the divine liberality to them will help to cure us of our discontents. We shall be ashamed to be found the only murmurers and complainers in the midst of such sweet music and rejoicings on all sides; especially since we are the only creatures here that understand it, and are capable *to rejoice* (as God doth) *in all his works*[g].

Is this, think you, the use we are to make of our reason, to afflict ourselves therewith? Shall the sharpness of wit which God hath given us only furnish us with weapons to wound and cut ourselves in pieces? That is it which the old poets represented as one of the greatest follies of mankind, and made the matter of their comedies; exposing it to the laughter of all the rational world.

Ἅπαντα τὰ ζῷ ἐστι μακαριώτατα
Καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντα, &c.——

"All creatures are most happy, (saith Menander[h],) and have a great deal more wit than the most of mankind. The ass bears his burden patiently. It is true he is used hardly, men lay great loads upon his back, and even oppress him with their burdens; and yet he complains not, but what nature hath designed him unto that he endures. But we, χωρὶς ἀναγκαίων κακῶν, 'besides the necessary evils' that lie upon us, heap a great many more upon ourselves with our own hands. We are sad if one do but sneeze (so the fashion then was); we are angry if one do but speak evil of us; if a man have a melancholy dream, he is terribly affrighted; if a screechowl come to his window, he is in a panic fear; agonies, ambition, vainglory, a great many other evils, we superadd to those of nature."

But sure God did not give us more apprehension than other beings for this purpose, but it was to relieve us in our miseries,

[g] [Psalm civ. 31.] [h] [Apud Stob. Floril. tit. xcviii. 8.]

to suppress violent passions, to silence complaints, and, in one word, to raise us above the degree of other creatures, and make us more happy than any of them. And, to say the truth, whatsoever advantage we have of them, or of any of our own kind, it will be of little use to us, unless we excel them in this likewise; that having apprehension of future evils, as well as a quick sense of present, we rest satisfied in the hopes we have, and carry our condition contentedly. This advances one man above another, as the ancients also have well observed in a number of their sayings to this effect; Ἐνταῦθ' ἀνὴρ γάρ ἐστιν ἀνδρὸς διάφορος, "In this," saith Philemon[j], "one man is superior to another, that he knows how to take in good part both evil and good." Ἔνεγκ' ἀτυχίαν καὶ βλάβην εὐσχημόνως, saith Menander[k], "Bear misfortune and mischief decently, and after a becoming manner." This is to be a man who hath wit and judgment. Ἀνδρὸς διαφέρει τοῦτ' ἀνήρ, saith Antiphanes[l], "In this the difference between men appears; one is unfortunate, and he adds to this the burden of sadness: another man is so too, but then he receives it prudently, and bears it well. And so ought every ingenuous man to do (as he goes on); for to be unfortunate[m] is common to all, even to the most rude: but to bear it well is peculiar to men of good manners, and the proper character of virtuous persons." "You can find no man," saith the forenamed Philemon[n], "to whom no evil hath happened; he that makes it as little as may be by taking it patiently, is both wise and happy."

Let this be our business then. Let us do the work of men, or rather of excellent persons. Let us neither lose the name of men, nor the name of virtuous; but preserve the one by courage, and the other by cheerfulness under all our troubles. This is the thing proper to Christian men, *in every thing to give God thanks;* to say as David doth, *My praise shall be continually of thee*[o]. There is no estate into which we can come but we may and ought to say, if we will be truly good, *O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, and his mercy endureth for ever.* If thou art sick, give him thanks that thou art not dead. *Why should a living man complain*, &c.? If

[j] [Apud Stob. Floril. tit. cviii. 37.]
[k] [Ibid. 31.]
[l] [Ibid. 28.]
[m] [Misprinted 'fortunate' in the original impression.]
[n] [Apud Stob. Flor. tit. cviii. 50.]
[o] Psalm lxxi. 6.

thy friend die, thank him that thou art not dead too. If thou hast but a little, thank him that thou hast not less. If thou hast nothing at all, thank him that thou dost not think so, because thou hast contentment, and can submit to live on the charity of others. Howsoever miserable thou mayest seem to be, thank him that thou hast thy understanding; and that thou understandest none can be miserable who do not want his love and favour.

Thank him therefore in all estates, for the knowledge of himself; for all his wonderful works of wisdom and goodness; for all the experience of all his servants, and the examples that they have left us; for his love in his Son; for his promise that he *will never leave us nor forsake us;* for the hope of eternal life; for the comfort of the Holy Ghost; for the company of his saints; for the assistance and direction of his ministers; for the guard, help, and defence of his angels; for the liberty of these holy assemblies; and the happy leisure he at any time vouchsafes us to recount his favours and meditate his praises; for all his spiritual and temporal blessings which he continually loads us withal: and resolve you will not lose the pleasure of thinking of all this, by fastening your thoughts only on the bodily calamities which may lie upon you. Say, Lord, it is enough. Now that I know thee, O blessed God, it sufficeth. What wait I for? Truly my hope is in thee.

PRAYER VI.

O most High and Holy One, who inhabitest eternity, and wast all that thou now art, and all that thou canst be, before we or any creatures had a being, and who always wilt be the same though we be all turned into nothing: thou needest not the songs and hallelujahs of any of the most excellent of all thy creatures, who only express and continue their own happiness when they perpetually praise thee, and rejoice in thee, and shout aloud for joy. We cannot think of thee and love thee, but we are filled with satisfaction; and whatsoever trouble then arises in our hearts, proceeds only from our knowing no more of thee and loving thee no better. And yet that is a pleasing restlessness and filling hunger, because it is a longing after thee, and tends to our greater satisfaction in a more complete enjoyment of thee. So that when we respect thee, whatsoever motions are in our souls, they are the increase of our joy and comfort. When we hate that which displeases thee, when we

love that which is acceptable to thee, when we thirst and long for that which we want of thee, when we mourn for thy absence, when we expect thy divine presence, when we are weary of this body of flesh, and desirous to take our flight to our celestial habitations; howsoever we are, when we are but as thou wouldest have us, we cannot but find delight in our minds, and ease in our hearts.

Pardon me, therefore, I beseech thee, my most gracious God, that I have no higher thoughts of thee and of religion; that I have at any time esteemed my happiness my burden; that I have been unwilling to be filled with the most satisfying good, and been no more thankful to thee for the singular care thou hast taken of me to make me a Christian, and acquaint me with the highest bliss of mankind. I abhor the thoughts of ever being again so ungrateful, and now begin to praise thee together with the rest of thy creatures, who all confess thy goodness, as well as they are able, for the blessings thou hast bestowed on them. More especially I praise and thank thee that I know thee; and that I know thee in thy Son Jesus, and understand thy admirable love, which hath abounded to us in so much wisdom and prudence; contriving ways that we may be pardoned, and thy sacred Majesty not dishonoured. I thank thee, O Lord, for all the comforts of the Holy Ghost, for the example of thy saints, for the assistance of thy ministers, for the guard of thy angels, for the kindness and care of my parents or friends, for the services of all thy creatures, for all temporal, for all spiritual blessings, especially for the blessed hope of immortality.

Blessed be thy tender mercy, who hast comforted us with such glorious expectations in this state of misery and mortality; and that thou hast not left us to the uncertain guesses of our own minds, but made a revelation of thy will to us so clearly, and with such demonstration and evidence of its truth. O that my heart may be filled with such love to thee, and joy in thee, that my praise may be continually of thee. Enable me in every condition of life to be so contented, as to give thee thanks, and to speak good of thy name. Fix all these thoughts in me, which I have sometimes in my mind. Make me to feel the power of those Divine truths which thou hast acquainted me withal. Help me so to digest and concoct them, that they may turn into the nourishment of my soul, and breed a cheerful and vigorous spirit in me, to do and suffer thy will and pleasure. I most heartily desire, that in all things thou mayest be glorified by me; and that our Lord Christ may rule in me, and bring his government to its height in my soul, till I be fit for his glorious kingdom in another world. I would have thy will performed by me

on earth, as it is done in the heavens. And I wait on thee for thy aid and assistance from above, to further and encourage me in well-doing; expecting thy grace and favour on no other condition than as I forgive others, and obey the rest of thy holy commands. Good Lord, vouchsafe me thy persevering grace, that no temptation in this world, nor all the power of the evil one, may make me go back from my resolution to do thee all honour in this life, in hope that I shall at last come to give honour, glory, and praise unto thee in life everlasting. Amen.

SERMON VII.

1 Tim. vi. 8.

And having food and raiment, let us be therewith content.

LET us proceed now, if you please, to the third general head propounded in the beginning: and you will see greater reason in all that hath been said, if you consider,

III. What those things are about which the nature of man is so apt to be discontented. It would fill a book, to discourse of all the particular causes and occasions of our trouble and sadness here in this life; such as are poverty, sickness, deformity, banishment, imprisonment, the want of children or the loss of them, disgrace, envy, unkindness of friends, servitude, and a multitude more. And therefore I must confine myself to such general considerations as will reach all these cases if we please to apply them; and show that, having food and raiment, there is nothing of that nature, but if we be true Christians we may be able to bear it if it be evil, and to live without it if it be accounted never so good. For all the things about which we vex ourselves are either some good which we would have but do not enjoy, or some evil which we would not have but yet are forced to suffer. Either they are things which we want, or things which we would want and desire to be without. Now let us look upon them apart, and see what there is which our own reason furnishes us withal to give us contentment in both these cases, besides the great supports which Christian religion affords us.

I. And as for the former, the things which we want and would fain have, I propound but these six things, among many other that might be mentioned, to your consideration:

1. First, that it is not the having of any of these things which we desire beyond necessaries that will content us: and

therefore we may be content without having of them, if there be any such thing as contentment to be found whilst we are in this world. None will be so ungrateful to God as not to grant that satisfaction is somewhere to be had. It is the natural desire of all mankind, which the good and kind Creator of the world hath not left unprovided. Now I say, that it is not to be found in the enjoyment of those things, be they what they will, to which we stretch our appetites and desires; and therefore, since it is possible to have it, it may be attained without enlarging them to so great and wide a compass. The consequence is clear, that if when we have these superfluities they will not fill us, but bid us seek for satisfaction somewhere else, then we may as well be satisfied without them in the enjoyment of that filling good. For it is just such a case as this: a horse that hath a broken leg, or is lame, will never perform a journey; therefore we may as well undertake it without his company.

Now that the having of them will not do the kindness for us which we desire, I demonstrate by Scripture, and by reason, and by experience.

1. As for the Scripture, the words of the wisest man in the old world recorded there tell us, that *all things are full of labour; man cannot utter it. The eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear with hearing*[a]. That is, none can express the toil and pains that men take for the acquiring and purchasing to themselves these worldly goods; but the mere fruition and enjoyment of them can never give any man satisfaction. His heart will be as hollow and empty, after he hath the greatest store of them, as it was before he possessed any of them. He will find no greater fulness in himself, than the eye finds after it hath viewed many places, and persons, and things of great rarity and beauty; whereby it is only invited to desire more such agreeable objects without end. The images, you know, of things that slip into our eye are very thin and small, and of no substance; and the sounds that pass into the ear take up no room. They do not make the eye or the ear more full, or less greedy, than they were before those pictures and motions of air entered into them. And just such are all these worldly things; so poor and lean, so hungry and void of so-

[a] Eccles. i. 8.

lidity, that our souls do not perceive themselves fuller and more satisfied after their enjoyment than they were before they came acquainted with them. This is justified,

2. By reason; because these things being finite are disproportionable to our souls, whose desires are infinite. And besides, being without them, and not capable to enter into them, but only by beggarly images and specious representments, they leave them, as I said, just as they were before, still unquiet and unsatisfied. Now a great deal of that which is altogether unlike our souls will not more content them than a very little of it; as the whole element of air will no more fill the stomach, than that small part of it which is contained in our chamber, or some such little room. And to put all out of doubt, let this only be considered, that if it lay in the power of these worldly enjoyments to give us contentment, and that were not a good to be expected from something else, we should find one of these two things constantly true; either that the same things would please every man, or at least the same things would please one man always. But this is contrary to all the experience of the world. One man likes a private life, and another is affected towards a public. This man praises the country, and that the city. Here we find one that admires a foreign country, and there a man that dotes upon his own. Nay, the same person sometimes praises this place or thing, sometimes another. One day he likes that which another he dislikes: which is a certain sign that contentment doth not lie in the possessing of these things, but must be fetched from another spring. Else why should not a man like this good thing as well as another? If you say that some things are suited to one man, some to another; yet still it will inevitably follow, that if contentment were in the things themselves, then the thing which a man is at any time pleased withal he would always find the same pleasure in. And yet, as I said, this is confuted every day; unless a man be virtuous, and endued with a full and strong sense of piety; which is a thing that always hath the same shape, and makes every agreeable and sweet enjoyment to have perpetually the same delightful relish. Other men, in time, grow weary of that from which they promised themselves very much, and liked well at the first: which is a manifest sign that contentment lies in us, in true opinions.

right fancies, and sober desires; not in the things themselves which we take a fancy to, and let our desires run after. And this further proves, that if we can bring our fancy to one condition as well as another; if we can but be of the constant opinion, that such a thing is not needful for us, and that such another is not so evil as it seems, then we may live contentedly, not only with those things which we desire, but without them; and not only when we are free from sufferings, but when we lie under them. I must confess there is a great weakness in human nature, and it is very hard to be settled in our opinions of things. Though now, when our mind is clear and our thoughts free, we can reason in this manner; yet when the heavenly light, as I may call it, is overcast, and our thoughts begin to flag, we feel our passions and natural desires very vehemently bent to those things, though never so unsatisfactory, to which we have a particular inclination. This may give us great disturbance for the present, till we be used to reason and discourse ourselves out of it. And when we cannot, we may seek to gratify ourselves if the desires be innocent, as easily as we can. And by that time (or before) we see our endeavours either successful or unsuccessful, we may have recovered ourselves and be contented either way: in an opinion, that though such things be very pleasant yet they are not necessary; and that it is more pleasant to be as God will, rather than as we would ourselves. If we have the thing, this should be our contentment, that God would have it so; and if we have it not, that God denied it to us. For,

3. If we further consult experience, it will still show us that not the things themselves which we enjoy, but God only can satisfy us. For one or both of these two things is ever found true; either the desire and hope of a thing is more than the enjoyment, it appears better before we have it than it doth afterward; or else, secondly, the more any thing pleases us, the more our desires increase with the enjoyment. All worldly goods enlarge the appetite, they do not fill it. If we have what we want, that makes our wants greater. For he that hath a great deal hath greater opportunities to get more; and he never fails to make the best use he can of those opportunities. When did you ever hear of a rich man that said he would have no more riches? I mean if he had nothing else to

satisfy him, and was void of God and the thoughts of heaven and eternal life. Or who takes himself to be high enough in worldly honour and greatness, and doth not long to mount to a loftier standing? Doth not the great Turk, who hath more provinces in his power than he can easily go to see, still seek to enlarge his dominions? And the like we may say of all other things, as Lucretius [b] truly doth:

——*Post aliud, quam contigit illud, avemus.*

'After that we desire is obtained, we have a fresh desire starts up for something else.' Why then are you so much dejected for the want of such things, as if you have will not cure your trouble and vexation of spirit; but leave you still dejected, unless you take some other course to contentment? And if another course be taken, why do you not resolve upon it now, before you put yourself to such trouble, both of craving such a number of things, and remaining still unsatisfied when you enjoy them?

Believe, I say, but this one thing, (which I have proved by all the ways that any thing can be demonstrated,) that what we desire to have will not fill us when we enjoy it; and then you will see evidently that we must take some other way to be full than by providing to have our desires granted. And if we must take another way, then we may as well (or better) enter upon it now as hereafter: and so remain contented in this present estate, as much as we should in any other; for all will be much alike.

Secondly, I desire it may be considered how unreasonable it is to be troubled about that which we do not need. Now I have formerly demonstrated that we have need but of a very few things; and that those few are such as no man is without: and therefore since we have them, and all other things are of such a nature that we do not absolutely need them, (but they are of courtesy, not of necessity,) we may be well pleased without them. As Socrates said concerning the oration which Lysias, the most famous pleader at the time, had made in his defence, "It is a most incomparable piece, but I do not stand in need of it;" so we may say of all those things the want of which is the cause of our complaint. They are of such a

[b] Lib. iii. [1096.]

nature that a little of them will serve us as well as a great deal; and that little no man need be without, unless he will. If a man have never such a full table, yet he can eat no more than they that have not so much set before them. If his wardrobe be never so rich, he can carry no more clothes on his back than they that have no wardrobe at all. And as for the splendour of them, that is to please others more than himself; for if they were not pleased with them, no more would he. The like you may say of all other worldly goods: A little sufficeth. Yea, many of the ancients, as I told you, have thought that the greatest Epicurism (the highest pleasure, I mean,) consists in enjoying of a few things. And they said true, if you add this, to have no greedy desire of more. Epicurus himself was wont to say that nothing would suffice him whom a little did not suffice[c]: and therefore he was resolved in that to rest himself, and go no further. It is no melancholy dream, but a certain truth, that one may sooner content himself with a competent fortune than with a great abundance. They have more to do to be quiet who have much, than they who have a smaller portion. Which leads to the next consideration.

Thirdly, it is unreasonable to be troubled for the want of that which if they had would bring us more trouble along with it. Yet such is the condition of all those things that we desire: if we have them, we must have all the trouble that attends upon them. More cares, more fears, more jealousies than we had before, unless we have something else beside to take all these away. And that thing can as well take away the vehement desire of them when we have them not, as the trouble of them when we have them; instructing us how to want, as well as how to abound. When a man's estate grows great, then so do his wants. The rich man in the parable after a greater crop was in need of greater barns. When a man hath a great deal of money, he presently wants a fairer house, and that calls for a great deal of furniture, and greater entertainments are expected from him; and for all this, as I said, he must take a great deal of care, and bear a great deal of envy, &c.; so that then he will want contentment, unless he have it somewhere

[c] [Ὦι ὀλίγον οὐχ ἱκανὸν, τούτῳ γε οὐδὲν ἱκανόν.—Apud Stob. Floril. tit. xvii. 30; Ælian. Var. Hist. iv. 3.]

else; and there he may have it, before he have all these things.

Fourthly, it is not reasonable to be troubled about the want of that which if it were not, or we did not know it, we should never feel any want of it. And yet in that manner our case may be stated. Suppose that there were nothing in the world more than thou hast, couldst thou not then be contented with that portion? There is no question to be made of it but thou couldst. Why then art thou not pleased to be contented, though thou hast not more, as well as if more were not to be had? How did men do before the Indies were found out? Were they not well pleased with less treasures of gold and silver? If there had been none heard of to this day, would they have thought themselves miserable? Nay, if there had been no such thing in nature, would they not have been contented with brass and tin and iron? We need not then be troubled about the want of such things as men once wanted, and yet were no poorer than they that now have them in abundance. So reason tells us, if we may be guided by it. If it be not in our power to have such thoughts always in our mind that may bridle our desires, some other, it is to be hoped, will be there to do the business. Or if they get the reins into their hands for a time, they that use themselves to such meditations will soon give them a curb, and reduce them to sobriety and moderation. And let this be added as a further help:

Fifthly, No man ought to be troubled about that which he never the sooner attains by his discontent and trouble about it. If we had these things, they cannot satisfy us; and therefore we should be satisfied without them, as was said before. But besides, if they could satisfy us when we have them, we shall be never the nearer to them by all our vexation and disquiet about their procurements. Did you ever hear that tumultuous thoughts and perplexed cares have promoted any man's business? Do not men succeed best when their minds are smooth, and their spirits even and still? Is not a ship most likely to miss her port when the winds are high and boisterous, and the sea working in a kind of rage and fury of her waves? Just such a thing is the soul of a discontented man, whose tempestuous thoughts and ever-working and rolling mind are most likely to blow him away from that which he intends. The best and

most sure way to have it is by calm, quiet, and equal motions, whereby he may glide sweetly and pleasantly into its embraces. You set yourself further off from what you want by your restlessness of spirit. You would be nearer to it if you was more quiet, i. e. contented in your present estate.

Lastly, we ought not to be discontented about the want of that which if we had we may instantly want again. Such is the nature of all things here, that as they come, so they go away; as they salute us, so they take their leave. Let us get as much as we can of them, they will never promise to stay always with us. And therefore if we can be contented (as we must, or else be unhappy) with their forsaking us after we have them, then we may be contented without at all having of them. If we can be still when they go away, then so we may be, though they never come. For what difference is there between the man that never had a thing, and him that now hath lost what he had, but only this, that it is easier commonly to be content without having it, than after enjoyment to be deprived of it again? They that spread the wings of their souls to acquire so much riches forget that they may take themselves wings and flee away. They that are impatiently desirous of children forget that they may die as soon as they are born. And they who climb up the hill of honour are not mindful that there is a descent on the other side, and that they may tumble down to the bottom; or else they would be content with their present standing, because if they go any whither else, they may return to the same place from whence they came. And therefore if we may become again, after our enjoyments, the very same that we are now, we may be the same now that we must be then, (or else be miserable,) that is, truly contented and satisfied in something else. Which is, as I told you, the knowledge of the true God, and of him whom he hath sent, Jesus Christ, who hath brought life and immortality to light by his gospel. To this at last we must betake ourselves, and therefore we had as good betake ourselves thither now. For else we shall only go a longer way about; and after many tedious windings and turnings, after many wearisome steps and long journeys, we shall be brought to that which without so much labour we might have attained. Now we may repose ourselves in the arms of Almighty love; now we may suck the sweetness of his

promises; now we may reap the fruit of all his travails and pains for our sake, by constant meditation of him, and hearty obedience to him. If ever we be happy, it must be here: and if we will take a circuit, and go about to come to this point, it will only argue our own folly, who may presently, without such toil, nay, hazard and danger too, find true comfort and joy in our blessed Saviour.

You have heard, it is like, the story of king Pyrrhus, one of the Nimrods of the world, who, having already swallowed many large kingdoms in his hopes, was asked by an honest philosopher [d] and his good friend, what he would do when he had conquered all the Roman country. "Then," said the ambitious prince, "I will go and conquer the Gauls." "And what then?" replied the philosopher. "I will advance my arms," answered the king, "to the Spaniards, and subdue them to my obedience." "And what will you do after you have conquered them?" said the philosopher again. "Then," proceeded Pyrrhus, "I will pass over the seas, and lay my yoke upon the Africans, and enlarge my dominions among those strange nations." And what will you do after all this that you have projected?" said the wise man. "Why then," said Pyrrhus, "I'll be quiet, and enjoy my possessions, and live merrily." "That you may do," answered his friend, "as well at present; for you have fair dominions, and a large revenue, and need not run through so many uncertainties and troubles to seek your happiness. Do you not see how easy it is for you to enjoy your repose, and please yourself in all the good things that the world affords? Why will you, then, trouble yourself to make such a long expedition to acquire enough? It is nearer hand, if you will mind it: it offers itself to you, without running the hazard of your own life, and of your people's; for there are none of those nations which you talk of that are like to disturb your happy tranquillity. Besides this, after you have engrossed all this, and have it in your hands, as you have in your fancy, it ought to be remembered that there is a great difficulty to keep it, and that if you can dispossess the owners of it, so may another strange people come and take it all away again from you. You will still be in fear, if you be not vexed with desires; and so no nearer to satisfaction after all this toil than you may be at this very moment." Just thus may we say to

[d] [Cineas, apud Plutarch. in Pyrrho, cap. xiv.]

the rest of mankind who have a great many roving projects in their heads. You need not be thus busy, and cast in your minds how to compass so many things. You may be contented without running such a round in pursuit of happiness. That is a thing which is in your very hands, if you will but look nearer to yourselves, and not be always fixing your vain and proud imagination on things at a distance; which perhaps you may never attain, but lose yourselves whilst you are seeking other things: and if you could attain them, they will still leave you as empty as they found you. For the man I spoke of, there is no question, would have had desires as large as Alexander, and still wished for more countries to conquer. Want and necessity, we see by experience, is as ordinary a companion of those who are rich in goods as of those who have none at all; and it is somewhat less incommodious when it is alone than when it meets with riches. For a rich man that is needy, full of cares as well as business, full of fears and jealousies, and such like passions, is more miserable than he that is simply poor. And yet this folly of being in want in the midst of abundance is hard, we find, to be cured. Men still follow and gape after future, uncertain, and unknown things, because the present and known please not, and do not satisfy them. For which the things themselves are not to be blamed, because God hath made all things good; but we must blame ourselves for not endeavouring to be good too. Here lies the mischief; we make our application to all things in an unruly and disorderly manner. We taste them with a depraved palate: our appetite is sick and diseased; our opinions are foolish and rude, which makes us suppose the things we now possess are in fault that they do not satisfy us, and therefore they send us to feed upon new ones; not considering that they are all alike, and that something must be mended in ourselves, and not in them, which is impossible.

We deal with ourselves just as the cheating empiric did with his patient, when he prescribed him this infallible remedy for all diseases, viz. a dose of the grand elixir in the yolk of a phœnix's egg, i. e. referred him to a medicine which was nowhere to be found. Thus we promise ourselves, and compound in our own imaginations a happiness that will arise out of such enjoyments. We prescribe ourselves a task of acquiring those

goods, and conclude we shall be cured of all our wants; but, alas! this is as mere a chimæra as that I spoke of. We can never make things meet together just as we desire them: they will not conspire and unite in such a fashion as we would have them, to please us and give us satisfaction. After we have travelled never so many countries, and possessed ourselves of the best things in them, we shall be convinced that is not the means to be at rest. We should sooner a great deal find it if we would not go so far to seek it.

You will say, perhaps, as Job doth concerning wisdom, Whither shall we go to seek it? Where is quiet to be found, and where is the place of contentment? I answer, Every where, as I have already told you: for it is there where God and you meet together in hearty love and affection. And that you may be further convinced of what I have said, do but ask yourselves these three questions, and briefly resolve them: First, what was the condition wherein our Lord Jesus Christ was, and what was it that made him contented while he lived upon earth? Was he rich? Did he seek to be promoted to honour? or gave he himself up to live in pleasure? I need not stay to receive an answer to these questions. If he was a stranger then to these things, what was it that gave him satisfaction, unless it was the doing of the will of his heavenly Father? This was his joy, that he did abide continually in his love by keeping his commandments; and this must be ours also. Secondly, ask yourselves what do you suppose it is which makes the blessed angels contented? Have they all that is possible? Do they not want something to perfection? Are they not ignorant of many things? And hath not God done something for us, which he hath not done for them? And yet they are not filled with envy and indignation, and such like pestilent qualities. What is the reason of it? What hinders them from repining, and preserves them in happy peace and tranquillity? That thing must do us the same service. But, thirdly, consider, was you ever contented in all your life? If you was, remember what was it that satisfied you. Now a new object presents itself to be enjoyed, which perhaps you cannot win, and get to yourself; was you contented before you saw it? If so, then to that which quieted your heart you must repair again. You did not want this new thing then; why cannot you be without it

now? Is it the more necessary because you long for it? No; you may cease these longings by remembering that it was not necessary heretofore; and that, after all our enjoyments, we must make our retreat to God for full satisfaction. The sweetest, the dearest good we have in this world, that which we most closely and ardently embrace, will not do it; but we must make our addresses to him, that he would fill us with his love, and impart his Divine nature to us, in wisdom, righteousness, goodness, and truth.

I will conclude this with the words of two of the ancient lights of the church. The one is St. Cyprian, who after he had shown how far from happiness the honourable, the rich, and even kings themselves are, if they be no more, concludes thus: *Una igitur placida et fida tranquillitas*[e], &c.: "The only calm and faithful tranquillity therefore, the only solid, firm, and perpetual security is, if a man drawn out of the unquiet waves of the world, and well settled in the port of salvation, can lift up his eyes from earth unto heaven, and being admitted to the gift of the Lord, and now approaching nigh to his God, is able to glory, that whatsoever to other men seems great and sublime in human enjoyments, it all lies within his conscience. This man is happy indeed. What should he desire, what should he long for in this world, who is greater than the world?"

To the same purpose Gregory Nazianzen: "He is happy that by reason and contemplation can break through this fleshly (what shall I call it?) cloud or veil, and ascending to God be mixed with the purest light, as much as human nature is capable of it. He is doubly happy, both by his ascent from hence, and by that divine participation which true religion bestows. On the other side, that man is miserable whose soul sticks so close to his body that he cannot look upon the rays of Divine truth, nor lift his mind above these inferior things; and so much the more miserable, as he is abused and deluded with a full prosperity, καὶ πείθηται ἀλλό τι καλὸν εἶναι[f], &c., 'and is persuaded that there is another good' before the true good of all. In what infinite confusions will that poor soul wander? Now one thing will draw him to it, now another; whilst he

[e] Epist. 1. [al. Tract. 1. ad Donatum, p. 9.]
[f] Orat. 21. [§. 2. tom. i. pp. 386, 7.]

imagines it is that full good which will satisfy his never-ceasing desires. Let us bless God, if he have made us in the number of those that understand better. Let us begin our happiness in giving him thanks that he hath opened our eyes to see the supreme good; especially if he hath drawn our hearts to embrace it, to choose it, to savour and taste it, to rest satisfied in it as the sum of all our desires, the end of our hopes, and the fulness of our joy for evermore."

PRAYER VII.

O God, in whose presence is fulness of joy, and at whose right hand there are pleasures for evermore, we see daily how uncertain and empty all our enjoyments are in this world; and are directed by our constant experience to look up higher, and fix our hearts on thee, for our true contentment and satisfaction of spirit. Our eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor our ear filled with hearing; but after all that we possess, our spirits are still thirsty, and craving more. The very love of ourselves and our own ease carries us unto thee: for we are extremely miserable even in the midst of abundance if we want thee. Blessed be thy goodness, that I know thee, and thy exceeding great love to mankind in Christ Jesus. Blessed be thy infinite grace that I understand where my happiness lies, and am not left to wander after the foolish desires of my own heart. O turn away mine eyes from beholding vanity, and quicken me in thy way. Fasten my mind on that immovable bliss which our Lord hath discovered unto us, and fill me with a constant delight and joy in contemplation of it; that so I may not lay out my strength for that which is not bread, and my labour for that which satisfieth not; but earnestly pursue that everlasting life, the very hope of which is so sweet and comfortable in this world.

Thou hast not made me, I know, to be miserable here; for thou art the Father of mercies, and takest pleasure in enriching others with thy benefits. It is thy glory to do good; thou openest thy hand, and satisfiest the desire of every thing living. The whole creation acknowledges thy bounty; and therefore I should be the most ungrateful wretch if I should not rejoice in it, which hath made me to want nothing but what I may easily enjoy, and hitherto hath supplied all my needs with a continued care and kindness. Preserve me, O Lord, in a sober and serious sense of the state of my own nature, and of the condition of all things round about me; that I may not stretch my desires greedily after that which I do not need, and which cannot satisfy and fill up the vast emptiness of my

soul if I did not enjoy it. Make me so wise as to reflect continually upon the trouble, as well as pleasure, that I am like to meet withal in every change: that so I may be modest in my desires, and pursue what I desire with an indifferent mind, and enjoy what thou bestowest on me with a thankful and charitable heart, and with a quiet and undisturbed spirit resign it back into thy hands when thou callest for it. O blessed Jesus, as thou hast made thyself my example, so be pleased to be my guide. Inspire me with the same thoughts, inclinations, desires and resolutions which were in thy blessed nature. Help me to place my satisfaction there where thou livest in perpetual peace amidst all the troubles and vexations of this life. Raise my spirit to that great and sublime good which none can touch, much less remove; that remaining in an unshaken possession of thy love, and being lifted up in noble hopes of the glory to which thy love will promote thy faithful servants, I may not feel myself altered by any of the changes which are in the things that are under my feet. Dispose my mind, O God, to the sweetest and most gentle compliance with thy providence. And make me so perfectly in love with thy will, that all that is great or glorious or delightful in this world I may enjoy in a pure and clear conscience, void of offence towards thee and towards all men. O the deliciousness of those pleasures! O the divineness of those joys! Bless me daily with a stronger taste of them and satisfaction in them, till I come to enjoy that reward of well-doing which exceeds all thoughts and desires, through our Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, &c. Amen.

SERMON VIII.

1 Tim. vi. 8.

And having food and raiment, let us be therewith content.

II. LET us now proceed to consider the things which we are as desirous to want as we are to enjoy those of which I have already discoursed. The evil and afflictive things, I mean, that here we are forced to endure; the presence of which perhaps proves more troublesome and grievous to us than the absence of the other. I said before, that since we may lose that which we desire to possess, we had as good dispose ourselves to be contented without it now as without it afterward. But some will reply, How shall we rest contented with such losses? That is the thing which troubles us; that we lose our health, or our liberty, or our goods, or our friends, or our reputation. Who can support themselves under such crosses? Would not these put any man into a disorder? and do we not well to complain of such affliction?

My answer shall consist of these two considerations; one of which contains more under it that can be easily comprised in one sermon.

First, that if the former discontent can be cured, (as I have shown there is reason it should,) then the cause of this is taken away also. If we can patiently want that which we have not, then so may we bear again the want of that which we once had. We are now but as we were before. We knew that these things were not to stay, and therefore it is no wonder that they are gone. We took them with the condition of leaving them. They have broken no promise, as I said, and therefore there is no fault to be found. If we promised to ourselves that which we ought not, it was our folly, of which their departure from us is the way to cure us. And besides all

this, in the enjoyment of them we could not but find that contentment was not in them, but somewhere else; and therefore our contentment (if we had any) is not taken away together with them, but they leave that still entire behind them. But it may be replied, that I said it is easier to want a thing and never have it, than, having enjoyed it, again to want it. I answer, Yes, so it is, unless we rightly understand where our contentment lies, and apply ourselves to that great good: which if we have possession of, we shall then be rather thankful that we had those things at all, if they could do us any pleasure, than repining and discontented that we do not continue in their enjoyment. That is but a piece of ingenuity to God that gave them to us at all; nay, it is but good manners to thank him for the least favour of which we did not deserve to taste. This hath been always held a piece of great wisdom; first, *non tam angi*, &c., 'not so much to grieve' for the evils that we suffer, as to rejoice that they were not (as they might have been) more grievous; and secondly, when any good thing leaves us, *non tam spectare rem deperditam, quam cum voluptate possessam*[a], 'not so much to consider its loss as the pleasure with which we possessed it.' By this means wise men have tempered their sorrows, and brought them to moderation. Considering how full the world is of troubles, they gave God thanks, that no greater number of them had fallen to their share, and that they had any taste of joy and pleasure. But this consideration will not reach all cases; therefore, for your fuller satisfaction, consider with me,

Secondly, that all those afflictive things which we may here endure are not such evils but that there is a great deal of good in them. They are pure evils only to those that think them so, and dispose not themselves to receive any benefit from them; for, if we please, they may be exceeding useful to us, and deserve a better name than evils and afflictions.

The best way to tranquillity some of the ancient philosophers thought (after they had tried all others) was to judge nothing at all concerning what befell them; neither to pronounce any thing good, nor to esteem it evil. This was the method of the sceptics, as we read in Sextus[b]; who discourses very well a

[a] Gassend. in vita Peiresk. [Lib. vi. Opp. tom. v. p. 333.]

[b] L. 1. Hypot. Pyrrh. 12. [tom. i. p. 20.]

good way, till he come at this point: "It is impossible," saith he, "for us to be ἀόχλητοι, 'free from all molestation or disturbance.' We cannot but feel cold and hunger and pain, and such like sufferings. But in these cases the vulgar feel two things: first, the impression of cold and hunger, and things that cause pain; and then, secondly, the opinion of their own mind about these impressions, which concludes them to be absolutely evil. Whereas a wise man feels no more but one thing, viz. the former of these inconveniences; and by not adding any opinion of his own about them, but suspending his judgment of them, he escapes these things μετριώτερον, with less suffering, and with a more moderate and equal temper than other men." By this means they sought to preserve themselves in an untroubled state of mind in the midst of the troubles of life, and to make a calm within whilst they were tossed up and down in a tempestuous world. And so far they were in the right, that a great part of every affliction depends upon our own opinion; but to have no opinion at all about what we feel is impossible. Therefore there is a far clearer and plainer course to that undisturbed state and calm of mind which they so much talk of[c], which is this that I am now propounding; to have a good opinion of these things, and, not to look upon them as mere evils. Let not this seem a paradox, or an odd conceit, that sickness and poverty and loss of friends, and such like things, which we fear so much before they come, and groan louder when they lie upon us, are really good things for us: for it relies upon a truth which we all grant, and therefore ought to be embraced and built upon as a most excellent truth itself.

It is this; that is good which doth us good; or, if you will have it in terms you love to hear, that ought to be accepted by us as good which brings true pleasure to us, and hath an aptness in it to give us as great a taste of joy as any thing else can do. If I can prove that the things we call evil are of this wholesome, nay, benign and kind nature, you will grant that we ought to be well contented with them, and not repine because we suffer them. To that, therefore, I will apply my discourse in these following considerations:

I. I consider that nothing ordinarily makes men more sensi-

[c] Ἀοχλησία καὶ γαληνότης τῆς ψυχῆς. [ib. cap. 4. p. 10.]

ble of God, and their dependence on him, than these afflictive things do; and therefore, how sharp soever they be, they have really some sweetness in them; like the prickly coat which some fruit wears, having something grateful to the palate within. If God be the chiefest good, then that which fills our minds most with him ought to be esteemed good. Now I appeal to all men, whether their souls are not most apt then to retire to him when other things are withdrawn from them. Then every body's mouth is filled with God. Then they cry to him every moment, and call to him as their only salvation. And their very hearts may be filled with him if they follow the direction of this providence, which points them to him as their true happiness. It is a remarkable observation which I read in Lactantius [d], for which he had good reason, I make no doubt, living among those persons of whom he speaks: "that when any adversity befell the pagans, they were wont to pray to God, (in the singular number,) and call upon him for his help; but in their prosperity, then they distributed their services among a number of gods, whom they used to worship, and paid their devotion to them all with great ceremony. When they swear or vow," saith he, "being desirous to obtain something that they want, then we hear nothing of the name of Jupiter, or any other petty deity, *sed Deum nominant*, &c., 'but they have simply the name of God in their mouths;' and say, O God, be good to us: but when all things go as they would have them, then it is quite otherwise, *nam tum Deus maxime ex memoria elabitur*, &c., 'for then God most of all slips out of men's memory,' when, being in possession of his benefits, they ought to render honour to the Divine indulgence. If war, for example, infest them; if some plague make great destruction among them, if there be but a terrible hail or tempest, *ad Deum confugiunt*, &c., 'instantly they flee to God;' then his help is implored, and they beseech him to be their friend. Therefore they never remember God, *nisi dum in malis sunt*, 'but whilst they are in an ill condition.' For after the fear is over, and the danger is gone, away they run merrily to the temples of their gods; to them they sacrifice, to them they bring their offerings, and set crowns upon their statues. But as for God, whose favour they implored in their necessity,

[d] L. 2. Div. Instit. cap. 1. [tom. i. p. 114.]

they have nothing to say to him now. *Adeo ex rerum prosperitate luxuria; ex luxuria vero, ut omnia vitia, sic impietas adversus Deum nascitur:* 'so true it is, that out of prosperity comes forth luxury; and out of luxury, as all other vices, so impiety and contempt of God is wont to spring.'" Doth not the Divine wisdom and goodness then take a great care for us, if this be the base inclination of human nature, when he sends some cross to bring him to our remembrance, or to quicken our sense of him and devotion to him? If we are at all concerned in his love, we cannot accuse these things of such malignity, as they seem to carry in them, which drive us to him, and dispose us to seek his favour, and make us sensible that in him is our help and our salvation. Let us not look upon them as such mischiefs, if they be apt to do us this kindness; but acknowledge that he bestows a courtesy upon us, even against our will; and that we are beholden to him for reminding us of the first good of all, from whom all other good things flow, and who is able to turn all evil things in this world into good too: as will appear by what follows. For,

II. Nothing makes us more to value the precious promises of our Saviour, and gives us a sweeter relish of future enjoyments, than the distaste we take at any thing in this world. Then we clearly see how miserable man had been, if God had not given him so good an hope in another life. Then we feel how our souls would have pined away, if we had not had such marrow and fatness to feed upon. And nobody sure will complain, who hath a coarser diet taken away from him and more delicate and choice provision served up instead thereof. One would not willingly indeed be indebted merely to an affliction for his soul's health, but have some more noble consideration than mere necessity move him to be sensible of the Divine benefits. But yet we are beholden to God if he will make use of this remedy when there is no other left. And as we cannot be said to perish if we be cast safely on shore by a shipwreck, so we are not undone if we suffer great losses in this world and thereby are driven to heaven. Now I appeal unto all, when is it that we take the greatest satisfaction in the thoughts of the life to come? when is it that we set the greatest value upon those treasures that are laid up for us above? when are we most sensible of the inestimable love of

God in opening to us the kingdom of heaven? Is it not when other things withdraw themselves, which were wont, as I may say, to stand in our light, or to turn our eyes too much another way? Is it not when all other comforts fail us, and confess their weakness and insufficiency to entertain us with perpetual pleasure? Then the haven is very desirable, when we are in the midst of a tempest. Then we bless ourselves in the joys that are set before us, when the sorrows of death surround and compass us about. Then we taste how gracious the Lord is, who hath made such large and happy provision for us, when, as Jeremiah expresses it in his Lamentations, *we are filled with bitterness, and made drunk with wormwood.* And therefore here we are taught we must seek our satisfaction at other times, and value those things most which are never greater comforts to us than when we stand most in need of comfort, and our condition calls for the strongest cordials.

III. And now you see easily, by what hath been said, that nothing makes a truer representation to us of the condition of all things here than any affliction doth. Now they discover how vain, how inconstant and infirm they are; how unable to support a sinking spirit, and give us that true quiet and repose which we so much seek and labour for. And is it not a great blessing to know where our happiness lies, and to be undeceived when we mistake the place of it? This is one great cause of the misery of mankind, as the ancient philosophers have well discoursed[e], that they do not diligently observe the nature and quality of all those things in which they are or may be concerned in this world. "Is it not plain," say they, "that we carry about with us corruptible bodies; that there are innumerable diseases to which we are subject, and that we are all exposed likewise to divers inconveniences from the things without us, from the air, from the water, from the fire, and from the rest? What is the natural consequence of this, but that we do not glory in the natural strength of our bodies, which a little fever can emaciate and consume to skin and bone? nor in the things without us, which are wont no sooner to come than to go away? They are all unstable; they are subject to many changes and alterations; nothing is steadfast, nothing immovable. If we thought of this, we should more equally bear the change. But

[e] Hipparchus Pythag. in Stob. [Floril. tit. cviii. 81.]

now we presume too much of these enjoyments which we possess, and consider them οὐχ οἷά ἐστι, 'not as they are in themselves,' but οἷα ἐπ' ἄκρον, &c. 'as they stand before us when they are in their most perfect state.' And so their sudden decay, and the fading of their beauty, breeds in us innumerable sad thoughts and heavy sighs and groans. This fills the world with complaints, and makes them so miserable. And therefore what we would not learn before, we are taught now; and it is high time, sure, to learn it. We may improve by the corrections of our error. We are instructed effectually not to expect more from these things than they can give us, nor to take those things for permanent which have no firm foundation. And therefore not to fasten our eyes upon them only when they are in their prime, and show themselves in their most flourishing condition, but as things that must shortly be defloured and lose their glory: and consequently not set our hearts on that which will not stay with us, but prepare for a change, and settle our affections on some unchangeable good which will never fail us."

This is the sense and meaning of every affliction. It bids us not remain always children in understanding, but grow so wise as to learn, at least, this easy lesson; that as we ourselves have here no continuing city, so all the goodly furniture that adorns the place of our present abode hath no continuance neither. This we might have learnt by the miseries of others. Common observation would have imparted to us this small degree of knowledge. And therefore it is the grossest stupidity not to have a lively sense of it now, when we ourselves are made the examples of this truth, and are taught it at our own dear cost and charges. But it is worth all the pains and expense that we are at, if this sense be settled in our hearts by this means. We shall have cause to bless God that we are made wise at any rate: the smallest degree of wisdom being of more use to us than the greatest riches or any other worldly good; which without a prudent and sober mind are wont to prove the greatest mischiefs of mankind. And truly, if we consider a little further, we shall find,

IV. That nothing brings us better acquainted with ourselves than the troubles and afflictions of this life. They open our eyes, and make us see that our souls are principally ourselves;

and they are therefore most to be valued, which nothing in the world can hurt but only themselves, and which can profit by every thing, even by those which are most contrary to our desires. They show us all our neglects of such precious beings, and, unstripping us of all disguises, make our souls appear naked to us just as they are. Then we behold all their faults, and clearly discern wherein they are defective. All their spots and blemishes are made visible, and we are sensible now of all their wants. Our consciences give us a true account of what we have done amiss, and call upon us to amend ourselves in the first place, before we study to repair our losses or remedy our afflictions. We cannot cheat ourselves any longer, nor put any fallacies upon our souls, as we are wont to do in the days of prosperity; but they deal plainly with us, and tell us we are not in the right way, and bid us turn our feet speedily into the paths of righteousness and peace. And when are we more serious and considerate than at such times, and so more likely to hearken to ourselves, and follow the counsels and desires of our own souls? Which if we will do,

V. There is nothing more apt to make our souls of a truly noble and generous temper, than this exercise under afflictions. They breed and train those up who will be taught by them to an excellent and godlike virtue. They teach us to be contented better than any thing else; and they make us able to want but a little, and that is, to be nearest to God. They set our thoughts above this vain world, and teach us with what eyes to look upon it. They learn us fortitude, patience, meekness, courage, and all other the most masculine virtues. Yea, what one thing is there that is not most effectually taught in this school? For it disciplines us to the most perfect submission to the will of God. Here occasions are presented us to win the most glorious victories, and to triumph over the most daring enemies. For whether was the greater conqueror, think you, the devil or Job? The devil robbed him of his goods, but he kept his patience. He threw him on a dunghill, but he could not throw down his confidence in God, who was his helper. His children, nay, his own health was lost; but he preserved his integrity, which was a greater treasure. Do as he did, and you will not repent, though you suffer as he did. You will gain one way what you lose another, and your gains

will be all in the nobler part, when your losses are but in the meaner.

The very pagans were not without a sense of this doctrine, if they had any sense of wisdom. They were wont to say, when men complained of the difficult and ungrateful passages of human life, "Do you know what you would have? How would you become such brave men as you are ambitious to be, if you have nothing to encounter withal? Did the heroes of former ages come to that glory which they won in a soft and delicate way of living? Τί οἴει, ὅτι ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, &c. Do you think that Hercules had been so famous, if there had been no lion, no hydra, no wild men and barbarous tyrants in the world, whom he grappled withal and foiled, and thereby became the saviour of his country? Consider this; look upon the powers and faculties, and the occasions likewise which God hath given you to adorn yourselves, and make yourselves glorious. It is baseness to sit trembling at what may happen, or to sit bewailing the misfortunes which have happened. The next thing will be τοῖς θεοῖς ἐγκαλεῖν, 'to accuse God' and to make complaints against heaven. What else is the consequence of such a cowardly spirit and ungenerous mind, but impiety and ungodliness? which is the worse, because God hath not only given us those powers by which we may bear whatsoever befalls us with an undejected and unbroken mind; but, like a gracious sovereign and a true father, (I do but translate the words of Arrianus[f]) hath so put it in our power, that none can hinder us from being thus happy, but it lies wholly in our own breast to become men of excellent spirits. Why should we not apply ourselves to this, rather than sit still and wring our hands? The condition indeed is sad wherein we are; but it need not be so long, if we will take occasion thereby to become good, nay, the best of men; more humble, that is, more modest, more charitable in a prosperous condition when we enjoy it; and more patient, more submissive and resigned to God; more constant and undaunted; more strong in faith and rich in hope; and more disposed to defend and justify the wise providence of the Almighty Lord of the world while we remain afflicted." This let us study, and we shall not suffer, as I said, more than we gain by any calamity.

[f] [Epict. lib. i. cap. 6. p 99.]

VI. Let it be considered also, that afflictions and sufferings prepare us, more than any thing else, for death, that great terror of mankind. And this, I assure you, is a considerable benefit; for the dread of this makes even life itself to be but a death. They, putting us upon continual thoughts of it, bring us acquainted with it, and put us in mind to dispose ourselves to receive it, and make us more willing to welcome it; we having little to leave but that which we call misery, which every one would be gladly rid of. But I will leave this, and consider only one thing more, which may be enlarged in many particulars, and that is,

VII. The great advantage which we may receive by these afflictions, in order to the sweetening even of the enjoyments of life. By their austerity and sharpness they make a grateful sauce to all other things that we possess. This, if it can be proved to be more than a witty saying, will be apt to give us great content. For what is there that we more desire than to lead the most pleasant life? They that look not at the pleasures of the world to come would gladly know how to enjoy as much of pleasure as they can here; and they that do would not willingly be without as much of it as they can lawfully enjoy. Now it may be made good, I think, that some crosses are very useful to us upon this account; nay, that the most perfect pleasure of some kind cannot be attained without them. For,

1. First of all this is manifest, that those things we call evil discover more than any thing else a true friend from a false: *for a friend* (as Solomon saith) *loves at all times, and a brother is born for adversity*[g]. Now you will all grant, I suppose, that there is no small pleasure and profit too in hearty friendship: it is one of the sweetest goods of human life: it renders all the delightful things of this world greater, and the troublesome things less. And therefore it is none of the things that we imagine, (as an ancient poet well expresses it in the first of Plato's epistles[h]), neither gold, nor adamant, nor silver tables glistering in men's palaces, nor large possessions in lands and houses, nor any other matter, which will so much conduce to the satisfaction of life, ὡς *ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁμοφράδμων νόηπις*, 'as the conspiring and agreeing minds of good men.' This Socrates repeats again and

[g] Prov. xvii. 17. [h] [P. 310 A.]

again, that it is neither *συγγένεια*, &c., kindred nor honours nor wealth that will make us happy, but love only. This makes heaven upon earth. Which made that great lawyer Gerbellius resolve, *nihil iniquius ferre dæmonem, quam sinceras amicitias,* 'that the devil takes nothing so heavily as sincere friendship:' whereby men are made so unlike his illnatured self, and provide so much for their own safety, security and delight. But the more value we grant this is of, the greater reason we have to desire that we may not be deceived by its counterfeit. One would not willingly be cheated in a thing of such moment, on which we rely so much for our happiness. Nay, we would fain be sure that we are not cheated with shadows and appearances of kindness, instead of substantial and solid affection. Which it is hard to be, as long as we are in full prosperity, and sail along with a fair gale, without any contrary blast of fortune. Who is there that will not be willing to court the rich and the great? and how easy is it to frequent the company of those that are well and merry and joyful? This is not the time to know who truly love us; but we are indebted very much for the certain knowledge of this great thing to some trouble that befalls us. This is the touchstone, to which when a man is brought it will try him whether he be of the right stamp. All sorts of affliction and misery presently reveals to us what friendship is sincere and what is not: and the greater any calamity is, the more certain the discovery is which we shall make. Then a grateful person will instantly be distinguished between a base and selfish wretch: and an hearty lover and an hollow flatterer will no longer pass under the same name of a good friend. In which respect the meanest man in the world is capable of more felicity than the greatest kings: for these living ordinarily in a constant prosperity never know the difference between those men that love them and those that love their fortune only; and are forced to heap benefits and favours on those who love themselves better than him that bestows those benefits.

This may be some comfort to us in afflictions if there were no other; but if we look a little further we shall find,

2. Secondly, that they discover to us, in a very perspicuous manner, the nature of true pleasure. And that consists not in having, but in using the good things of this world: and again,

not in using them intemperately, but in a sober manner; not in satisfying all the extravagancies of our desires, but in restraining and bridling those excesses into which they are apt to run. For he that finds how uncertain these things are will use them freely, and he that considers an harder condition may come will not use them licentiously: for whosoever is intemperate can of all other men least brook adversity.

3. Afflictions also make us enjoy what pleasures we have still remaining with greater affection and more ardency. Who takes more pleasure in his children than he that hath buried some? or who loves his friends more dearly than he that thinks he must shortly leave them, and can then express no tenderness towards them, nor render them any services? As long as we are discreet and virtuous, we may delight ourselves in the good things of this world; and if we may, it is certain the bereaving us of some of them will heighten and quicken the delight we take in those that are left behind. And,

4. We are mightily provoked likewise by afflictions to be highly thankful to the Almighty goodness for what we have still remaining with us. And what is there that hath more pleasure in it than a grateful mind to God? To praise him is the height of joy. To render thanks to him is the pleasure of heaven. The blessed know no greater felicity than to love and bless their bountiful Benefactor. There is no other liturgy above (as the ancients have expressed it) but singing psalms and making thankful acknowledgments to our Creator and Redeemer. Which the more we practise, the more we shall find ourselves elevated above the reach of all worldly things, or above the hurt that they can do us. There is no better antidote against the venom of any affliction which is apt to enrage our spirits, than immediately, as soon as we feel the sting of it, to give God thanks for all the benefits we enjoy, and for all the hopes we have hereafter. This will make us forget our sorrows, or rather not perceive them so much as otherwise we might. So Gregory Nazianzen[i], I remember, tells us, that his mother was ever wont to take great care, even in the sorest trials, not to utter one complaining word before she had first looked up to heaven, and acknowledged God with a thankful heart. She would not permit, as his words are, γοεράν ποτε

[i] [Orat. xviii. § 10. tom. i. p. 336 D.]

πρὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ῥαγῆναι φωνὴν, 'any lamentable or mournful accent to break forth till giving of thanks was first performed.' By which means she made the complaints no doubt more moderate and silent afterwards, and felt that the affliction did her the less harm. And if it be so good, if there be such virtue in it, I am sure we are naturally taught it then, when any affliction befalls us, which might have deprived us of all our comforts as well as one. And it also bids us delight ever to bless and praise God's holy name, which will make our life more pleasant than all the enjoyments of it without this can do. No part of any day will pass away so much to our content as that wherein we magnify the Divine Bounty for all his favours to us, if we do it with affection and an hearty sense of our obligations. For it is as much as to say, that God is our friend, and that we bear a loving heart towards him. Now if there be so much delight as I said in the interchangeable love of one another, you may easily judge what contentment there is in this reflection, that we have a friendship with Heaven; which can be maintained and preserved by nothing so much as perpetual thanksgivings to our great Benefactor, and good offices to our brethren for his sake. The excellency of the former of which I have sometimes hence demonstrated, that there was a peculiar gift of the Spirit of God in the beginning of our religion, to raise men's minds to such a pitch, that they might be able to conceive and utter the divine praises, and give thanks to God, by *singing to themselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, making melody in their hearts to the Lord.* And the excellency of the latter also, I have had occasion to show, appears in this, that the apostle prefers charity before all gifts whatsoever. It is that *more excellent way* than any other, wherein we must be sure to tread, if we mean to come into the company of the blessed. After we have lifted up our thoughts above to God in praises, we must be sure to come down to our brethren in acts of love and kindness. And both these together raise us up to a conjunction with God, and happily unite our souls to him, and gratify us with some foretastes of those joys and pleasures which inseparably attend upon the Divine nature, whatsoever it is.

5. It is not to be forgotten neither, how that the troubles of this life make us more willing to part with all those things that

are not yet taken away from us; which is a thing very requisite to render our life pleasant to us. For it is a certain rule, that no man can enjoy that delight fully which he is in continual fear and unwilling to lose. These cross accidents then may do us a great pleasure, because they excite us to enjoy them freely while we have them with the greater affection, and yet not with so great as to dread the departure of them. But it is time to put an end to this meditation; let us only therefore consider once more,

6. That they are the occasions of the greatest pleasures in our whole life, if ever our condition change from worse to better again. It is a certain truth, that much of our felicity, if not the most, *ex contrariis ortum habet*, 'hath its rise from contraries.' Pleasure is born of pain, joy of grief, riches of indigency and want. After we or a friend is recovered of a dangerous disease, then it is that our hearts leap for joy. After a shipwreck is escaped or a victory obtained, then our spirits dilate themselves in an excessive measure. So it is in all other cases; we have the highest motions of pleasure after we have suffered something which put all we had in danger; and men are not half so much delighted in what they possess, if some trouble do not bring it or restore it to them.

Hence it is, in all likelihood, that they who get riches by their own industry, and have taken pains for them, are wont more to please themselves in them, and to think themselves more happy, than they do who were born to a great estate; whenas one of them hath undergone none, and the other hath endured great labours.

All which put together make it apparent that no small part of our happiness is wont to come to us even by those things which we term afflictions. And therefore why should we be so much grieved at that which is as near a way to happiness as any else? Something harder indeed it seems to be than that by all abundance and superfluities; but so it is harder for a man to learn his lesson on the lute than on a meaner instrument: he is forced to move both the right hand and the left, and to stir every finger and every joint; and yet use makes it easy, and the music and delightful sounds wherewith it touches his ears makes a large recompense to him for all his labour and pains.

The sum of all is this: you can never persuade a wise man, though but a mere pagan, that they are blessed, or can attain felicity, who do all they are able *ut cupiditatem expleant*, 'that they may fill their desires and lusts;' for they have no measure, and will never be satisfied. And on the other side, you can never persuade the veriest fool that is, that the chances and accidents of this life are avoidable, either by skill or by force, or that there is no trouble to be here endured. If therefore we cannot have all that we would, and there are some things which we cannot but suffer, what shall we do? Some among the heathen thought the best way was not so much to seek tranquillity as stupidity; to make their minds insensible of any thing, either of pleasure or of pain. But they who were more seeing discerned that this was impossible; and therefore they wisely observed, which you may be pleased to learn from them, that every thing hath two handles, whereby we may lay hold on it. The one of which is too hot to be touched, but the other is tractable and cool enough. Now it is the part of a prudent man, they concluded, in all things that befall him, (especially in the troubles and disasters of this life,) to take hold of that handle by which they may be borne and carried very well, and not of the other which will render them not to be endured, You must not fasten your mind, that is, upon the evil and the damage that any thing doth you, but rather upon the good and the comfort it is capable to afford you. Lay fast hold on that, and let your thoughts stay there; and you will find it very tolerable. It will not be so grievous when it doth not seem so mischievous. It will pass for a good thing rather than a bad, and so it will seem as long as you do not let go this handle, but keep your mind upon the good it will do you. In like manner you must not catch so hastily, when any thing you wish comes to you, at the pleasure it will give you, (that you will find without any thoughts about it,) but take hold on the other end, turn it about, and think what hurt it may do you if you abuse it and be not a thankful and a sober partaker of it.

How happy should we be if we followed this counsel! We should not then despise the chastening of the Lord, nor faint under any of his corrections, which we see may be but a necessary discipline, and turn to our greater good. Nor should we

overjoy ourselves in any of the delightsome things of this life, or let out our whole souls to them, for fear they should turn to a greater evil. Remember that all things are as you will have them to be. According to the handle by which you take them, that is, as you use them, so you will find them. When any affliction therefore comes, say to yourself, How shall I respect it? with what countenance shall I receive it? Shall I entertain it with a frowning brow and an angry eye, or with a dejected look and an heavy aspect, as if I was going to execution? No; I will welcome it gracefully, with an humble but with a cheerful spirit. I will embrace it as a friend, and then be confident it will do me no hurt. I will ask it, what it comes for; and desire it to deal plainly with me. I will tell it that I am its disciple, and am ready to sit at its feet, to learn whatsoever it will teach me. Surely then I shall be the better for it, and we shall part with a more pleasant countenance than we meet. In this spirit if you go forth to receive it, you may expect that it will do you great kindnesses; and the more you desire them, and the more meekly you behave yourself under its discipline, the greater blessing it will leave behind it. It is certain the Author and Fountain of all good intends it should; whose wisdom and goodness is so admirable, that he can make all things alike serve his end, which is our salvation.

Hear how an excellent writer in the days of our forefathers writes to a distressed queen of England to comfort her against the storm which was then beginning to rise against her: *Quisquis vere Deum diligit*[k], &c. "Whosoever truly loves God, fixes the anchor[l] of his hope not in the barren sand of these fluid things, but on the solid rock, which no waves can stir, viz. Jesus Christ the Bridegroom of pious souls. Into his bosom whosoever can cast himself with a full confidence, and transfer all his cares and solicitudes to him who careth for us; he is quiet in the midst of tumults, he enjoys delightful pleasures in the midst of troubles: pleasures, I say, in compare with which whatsoever the world affords, it is but mere nauseating and disgust. Therefore a soul that delivers itself wholly to him, gives thanks no less in adverse things than in those that are most prosperous. Though to speak the very truth, *quid est*

[k] Erasmus, l. 19. Epist. 69. ad Catherin. Reginam Angl. [al. epist. 937. tom. iii. col. 1063.]

[l] ['Author' in the original impression.]

adversum, nisi quod nobis obstat ad æternam felicitatem properantibus? &c. 'what is there that can be cross to us, but that which hinders our course as we are hastening to eternal felicity?' and what prosperous, but that which favours and promotes it? Christ is our *Sponsus* and *Dominus* and *Medicus*, our Bridegroom, and our Lord, and our Physician. Our Bridegroom, because by his great charity being induced to die for us he contracted us to himself in an eternal covenant of love. Our Lord, because he delivered us from the tyranny of Satan, by the means of his precious blood. And our Physician, because he alone efficaciously cures the diseases of men, destroying death and restoring life. And he is often more propitious when he gives us a bitter potion[m] than when our cup overflows with sweetness. He knows what is expedient for us, and he is not asleep, nor careless what becomes of us. We judge those things prosperous very often which are most cross; and on the contrary, think those to be cross which most secure our happiness. Hereafter let us remember this therefore, that *nostrum est obsequium, sponsi judicium*, 'obedience belongs to us, judgment and discerning belongs to the Bridegroom.' All prosperity is from him, or else it deserves not that name; and from him comes all adversity, which he turns either into a remedy or into the gain of piety. By that he comforts our infirmity, that we may be able to bear; and by this he proves and crowns our faith. To human sense prosperity is more soft and smooth, but the other is sometimes more wholesome and gainful. There is no passage to celestial glory but by some cross. It is the common road, and therefore let us not seek to balk it, but go on in our way of well-doing, and it will bring us to an happy end."

PRAYER VIII.

O eternal God, who art the first and the fountain Good, from whom all other things flow; I and all men else are but as so many little drops from thee, yea, the whole world is but as the drop of a bucket, and the small dust of a balance, in comparison with thy greatness. Thou art our only happiness, the true joy and rest of our souls; and so we should feel, and not only say, were we well acquainted with thee. O what delight! What height of joy would it create in my soul, (did I but apprehend what thou art,) to think

[m] ['Portion' in the original impression.]

that thou who art so great, and needest not any thing, wilt offer thyself unto us, such poor things, to be our God, our portion, and our exceeding great reward! If my mind was deeply sensible of thee, it would be as hard to draw mine eyes from thee as now it is to turn them towards thee. I should never love to be absent from thee; I should sigh and mourn after thee. O how would my soul languish in desires to enjoy more of thee! But now in this dark and ignorant state wherein we are, alas! I can think but seldom of my happiness. And when I do, my thoughts are short, and raise me up but to small glances of thee. My meditations are as dreams that soon vanish and are presently forgotten. O what a dull and cold image of thee do they leave upon my heart! How soon doth all that warmth of love and joy which I at any time feel, expire and faint away! I adore thy unspeakable goodness, O most Blessed for evermore, that thou wilt accept of such poor love and praise and service as I am able to tender unto thee. And it is the unfeigned desire and study of my soul, to present thee with an heart more devoted to thee, and possssed with a holy sense of thee, and constant delight in thee. I bless thee with my all, my soul, for all the ways and means whereby thou bringest thyself to our notice and to our remembrance, and provokest our love and affection to thee, who hast the most absolute title to it.

Thy wise and fatherly providence is to be acknowledged, even in all the troubles and afflictions of this life: and when thou chastenest us, we ought to confess thy love is great, which makes the most distasteful things to be friendly to us, and the instruments of our eternal good. We are extremely indebted to thee, if thou wilt by any means be pleased to bring us more acquainted with thee, our chiefest joy: and accordingly ought to submit ourselves to whatsoever thou wilt order for us, with humble, meek, and contented spirits. I will never murmur, O Lord, nor repine at any thing that befalls me: I will never question thy care of me; but always say, *It is the Lord, let him do as seems good in his sight.* Join my heart in a closer affection to thee; give me but to taste and relish more the words of eternal life; lead me but more and more into the knowledge of myself, and all things here; carry me but above this world, and make me like my Saviour; and deal with me as thou pleasest.

I see the benefit I may receive even by the loss of any thing in this world. Lord, vouchsafe me the grace that I may study to improve in goodness according to my knowledge. And though my nature may be apt to be impatient of many troubles, of reproaches offered to me by my enemies, or unkindness from my friends, yet

enable me to reap much good by such evil means, and not to think so much of what I suffer as of what I have enjoyed, and of what, through thy grace, I may still enjoy, and never lose. Dispose me, O God, I again beseech thee, by all afflictions to be better acquainted with thyself; to learn to seek my happiness in the other world; (of which I beseech thee to give me a stronger taste;) to see what is amiss in my own soul, and to amend it; to improve in the most excellent virtues by entire submission to thy fatherly providence. O that death by this means may grow more familiar to my thoughts; and that while I live I may use all the pleasures of this world discreetly and thankfully, and do the more good with that which I must shortly leave; and that when thou callest for any thing I have, I may return it back willingly and cheerfully, saying, *The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord from henceforth and for ever.* Amen.

SERMON IX.

1 Tim. vi. 8.

And having food and raiment, let us be therewith content.

IT is time now to come to the other three general heads, from whence we may derive arguments for contentment of spirit in every condition: in which I shall stay the shorter time, because I have dwelt so long upon the foregoing.

IV. Let us consider, then, the frame of this great world, which is so ordered and contrived by the Maker of it, that he who understands even but a little of it will see there is no reason he should be displeased at what passes in it.

I. For first of all, that almighty Goodness which brought it forth of its womb hath displayed its rich bounty in a great multitude of creatures, which make up one entire fabric of an inconceivable bigness. That which we call the world is a vast place, of such a large circuit, and containing in it so many beings, visible and invisible, that it is not in our power to number them. By which you may judge presently, without any further thoughts, how unreasonable it is for any man to expect that every one of these things should conform its motions to his desires, and mind nothing else but his content. Doth such a person remember what he is? that he is but one small thing, and that all the rest are God's creatures, under several laws and rules of motion, as well as he? How could he then so much as wish that such an innumerable company of things should bend their studies and endeavours only to gratify his particular humour? May not other men as well expect the same? No doubt of it. And yet they are of a different humour from him, and both of them cannot be pleased together. What would you have the creatures of God do? Must they come every

day and know what it pleases you and your neighbours to have done? must they not stir for fear of disturbing you and discomposing your quiet? must they desire and act nothing till they first know your mind? A strange extravagance this is, to think that they should not move for fear of giving us any trouble; that they must satisfy our wills, who will contrary things one to another, and many times to ourselves.

Consider, O man, what a little bit of the world thou art; nay, what a small crumb of this earth; and what a crumb this earth is of the whole world which is round about us; and then tell thyself how unseemly it is that thou shouldest imagine every thing bound to humour thee. And bid thyself not be so troubled and amazed, if in such a great crowd of creatures as are here thou be sometimes justled or pressed more than thou desirest. It cannot be helped but in such a multitude some of their ways and courses will not well like thee. For consider,

II. Secondly, that the world consists not only of a multitude of creatures, but also of a very great variety in that multitude. There are creatures of several kinds, of different desires or inclinations, that have very distant ends and designs, far remote from ours. What marvel is it then, if in the pursuance of these they sometimes fall cross to some design of ours? if they put us by the enjoyment of that which we desired, or carry away from us that which we possess, or do not effect that which we expected from them, according to the projects which we had in our minds, and the train of things which we had laid? It is no more than mankind is continually guilty of towards one another. Some desire that which others cannot endure. One sort of men esteem that beautiful which another thinks to be disagreeable. No wonder then if there be as great a variety in all other inferior creatures. And their being so, it is a great wonder that we should expect in such a variety of motions, as there is in this world, to find all things fall in with our designs, when there are so many besides ours. Away with this folly. Let us remember there are other things to be pleased besides ourselves. And especially let us consider, that there being such a variety of things, we must expect to meet with that which will please another better than ourselves, and which will concur with him in his desires, but fall cross to ours: and in this we should, if not be well pleased, yet rest satisfied. One

merchant trades to this part of the world, and another to a quite different. That wind then which blows full against the one will set exceeding fair for the other. That gale which blows thee to a distant shore will send him back into his haven. And so it is in all other cases: that rain which hurts the moist ground makes the dry and thirsty to rejoice: and that heat which makes the sandy ground mourn makes the other to laugh and sing. Would we have none then to be pleased but ourselves? Would we have the wind blow every morning in that corner where we shall order it? What strange carriage of things would there be, if the ordering of affairs was in our own hands? Every man is such a lover of himself, that to please and gratify his own desires he would have every body else undone. And if they would please themselves too, how many winds should there struggle at a time? What a miserable confusion and uproar would there be here in this world! It is not to be known, but only by considerate persons, what a combustion men would presently put all things into, if they were their own choosers, and could not be content with such a state of the world as they now are in. For,

III. Thirdly, it is to be taken into consideration that the world consists of things which are quite contrary one to another. And therefore it is impossible we should be always pleased if we will have our own will the ground of our contentment. God hath made some things to act necessarily, and there are others that move themselves freely: and among those that act necessarily some do necessarily cool, and others necessarily heat; as among those that act freely some are good and some are bad, there being some that choose to use their liberty well, and others that use it ill. Now in the midst of this contrariety, it is scarce possible that a man should not suffer the loss of something or other, which should be borne contentedly, because it is according to the nature of things. Would any man have God to change their nature merely for his sake? Would you have him make it impossible that men should do wickedly? Would you have him cut out their tongues, or strike them dumb, or take away their malice whether they will or no? Would you have him make the fire that it shall not burn, or the water that it shall not drown? Or would you have him presently dispatch all wicked men and hurry them out of the world, that they

may do no hurt? Would you then let them have no time for repentance and amendment of themselves? Do you not care if they be in hell the next moment, only that you may be eased of some trouble and vexation which they give you? That is very cruel. It is plain by this how little consideration men would have one of another if all things were in their own power. It is a great deal better as it is, and very fit they should be borne withal in their wickedness, since you have other ways to ease yourselves of the trouble you receive from them, but there is no other way for them to be saved but by their repenting here of their iniquities.

This Philo hath excellently represented in a fragment of a book of his about Providence, which still remains in Eusebius: "We see," saith he[a], "many times that the lovers of virtue and wisdom are in no very thriving condition, nay, on the contrary, they are obscure and little regarded; whilst the wicked abound in riches and are highly honoured, and attain even to principalities and the greatest dignities. Which hath made many men suspect there is no Providence which takes care of this world. But let such consider," saith he, "that the Governor of the world is no tyrant; he delights not in cruelty, violence, and fierceness, and such like things, whereby men exercise a barbarous power; but he is a King, who with great mildness and clemency, as well as justice and equity, governs his kingdom of heaven and earth. Now there is no name more proper for a king than that of a father; for what a parent is to his children who are begotten of him, that a king is to his people, and that God is to the world. He joins together in one two of the most beautiful things by bonds that cannot be dissolved, τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν μετὰ τοῦ κηδεμονικοῦ, 'sovereign power with the most careful providence.' Therefore you must remember that as parents are not wont to abandon and cast off their dissolute children, but bear with them, and taking pity on their folly pursue them with kindness, that if it be possible they may recover them; so you must conceive God doth with the wicked, whom he thinks not fit presently to forsake and undo, but rather to deal gently and graciously with them, and bestowing many favours on them, by that means win their hearts to him. Nay, you shall see parents sometimes express more kindness, tenderness, and indulgence

[a] L. 1. Præparat. cap. 14. [p. 386 sqq.]

to those unthrifty children, than to the more sober; knowing very well that these are satisfied in their own sobriety, modesty, and temperance, and have no doubt of their father's love, but the other have no hope save only in their parent's care, which if it desert them they must starve. Why should not God then, λογικῆς συνέσεως Πατὴρ ὤν, 'being a father of the most rational understanding,' take a singular care of all reasonable beings, and in a particular manner sometimes cherish the wicked and perverse? Whereby he doth two things at once, first give them καιρὸν εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν, 'a time and space to correct and amend what is amiss,' and secondly, τὴν ἵλεων φύσιν αὐτοῦ μὴ ὑπερβαίνων, &c., he gratifies himself 'by not going out of the way of his own sweet and gracious nature.' It pleases him to do good, and as long as there is any hope to do them good by this way, why should not he indulge them a great many of the good things of this world, at least spare their lives and continue them here, that they may reform and become better men?

"And for so great a benefit to them, truly it seems very reasonable that we should be content to suffer a little inconvenience to ourselves, some pressures and vexations from them for a small time, rather than they be thrown into long torments, from whence we know of no redemption. We ought not to be so hasty to be rid of them, since God is their parent as well as ours, and he knows how long it is fit to bear with prodigal sons before he utterly disinherit them, and cast them out of his love. Upon this account, if there were no other, there is great cause we should be satisfied; and our discontents are unreasonable. But, besides, we are to consider that God can make use even of men's wickedness; nay, there is great use of it, if it be but to punish such murmurers and complainers as these discontented persons are, who would have all the world, and God himself, only study how to humour them."

For shame let us learn to satisfy ourselves in all things, and not expect that God should make the world anew for our sakes. If some men can use their liberty so ill as to do harm, let us show that we can use ours well; and that will be by not doing them hurt through revenge, nor ourselves hurt through discontent. Say, Let it be as the Maker of the world would have it; let his creatures go their own way; let them follow his orders and directions, and I will follow them too. There is not

any saying of wisdom more ancient than that, Ἕπου Θεῷ, 'Follow God.' And it was so much admired, and that justly, by the old world, that they contended who should have the honour to be the author of it. The Greeks ascribe it to some of their seven wise men[b]. Others father it upon Pythagoras[c], and others will have it that he stole it out of Homer, who hath words to the same effect, — κατ' ἴχνια βαῖνε Θεοῖο[d]. But Philo[e] confidently entitles Moses to it, and says expressly that it was a counsel of his. But it is no matter whose it was at first, let every one of us make it ours by conforming to his motions, and complying with his desires. Let us say, as that excellent man Epictetus did, Προσκείσομαι διάκονος[f], &c. "I will adhere to him as a servant of his; I am but his lacquey or follower, to attend his motions; I go forward together with God; I desire with him; I simply will together with him; what he would have, that I would have also, and nothing else." *Non pareo Deo, sed assentior*, (as Seneca speaks[g]:) 'I do not merely obey him, but I assent and agree to him;' I am of his mind, I follow him heartily and *ex animo*, not merely because I must. This is the way to be dutiful and happy both together, to please God and to please ourselves. Thus we may enjoy full satisfaction, but otherwise we shall be miserable.

I suppose none will be so bold as to say, But might not God have made things otherwise? might he not have made it impossible that we or any thing else should do ourselves or others harm? Yet lest any should have so much as a thought arise or remain in them to that purpose, let us pass to the next general head: and,

V. Consider what God is, and what he doth; and that will give us the most solid foundation of contentment and heart's ease.

I. And here let us first remember that God needed not have made any thing at all: and so you might never have been, nor any thing else to be enjoyed, of which you are masters, or in a possibility to attain. Can you think it better never to have

[b] [Sosiad. apud Stob. Floril. tit. iii. 80.]

[c] [Boeth. de Consol. pros. 4.]

[d] [Hom. Od. H. 38.]

[e] [So S. Ambros. de Abrahamo, lib. ii. cap. 2. tom. i. col. 315; referring apparently to Philo, de Migratione Abrahami, tom. i. p. 456.]

[f] [Arrian. lib. iv. cap. 7. p. 402.]

[g] [Epist. xcvi.]

been at all, especially since you are capable of knowing God, of living immortally, and of enjoying him for evermore? If not, rejoice then in what you are. Thank him that you are brought into being, and that you are endued with the knowledge of him and of eternity, and have any hopes to pass it happily. But do not complain that you are in want of any thing at all here; for you might have wanted even your selves. Which of you that are discontented are willing not to be? Nay, is not this one cause of men's discontents, that they fear death; though it be not the end and extinction of their being neither? Can you neither be pleased with a being nor without it? How strangely do you use yourselves; that you would not willingly leave the world, and yet cannot stay contentedly in it? Is it not very perverse to hang back when you are to go away, and yet not be thankful during your continuance here? Remember, always, you might have been so far removed from all power of being discontented, that you might not have had any being at all. That condition you do not like, therefore like this wherein you are.

II. Consider, again, that God having made you and the world, he is the Governor and Ruler of all things. He hath power to dispose of the work of his hands as he pleaseth: and therefore why do you murmur that you can make yourselves no better, seeing you did not make yourselves at all? If you had formed any thing, would you take it well if it should complain that it is no better than you pleased to make it? As little reason there is that you should repine at that condition wherein God your Creator hath placed you: and you may as well be angry and quarrel because you are not angels, as because you are not richer or more honourable persons. And so when we lose any thing in this world, it is mere forgetfulness of God, who hath the disposal of things in his hands, to afflict ourselves, and fret for the parting with that which was none of our own, and so we had no right to keep. We are God's tenants, and he may turn us out of all when he thinks good: and that he doth not turn our souls out of their dwelling is only his favour. We are just like silly children that rejoice when they see the fruit which their father's orchard yields, and the corn that grows in his field, thinking that all this is his land, and when he is dead shall be theirs: but when they are grown up,

finding that nothing is theirs but the fruit of their labour and sweat, (the ground belonging to their lord,) they begin to be no less sad and full of trouble and care than before they were pleased and full of joy.

So, I say, it is with us: we think in our own childish imagination that all the goods we have are perfectly our own; and so we count ourselves happy: but when the true Owner of them requires them again, and calls in the lease that he hath let us, and makes us understand (seeing we would not know it otherways) that we are not lords of what we enjoy, then we begin to grieve and lament and complain, seeing ourselves so sadly confuted. But this we ought to have considered before, and daily it should have been in our thoughts; whereby we might have prevented this misery, and not have grieved at all. However, it is never too late to be wise. Let us grow to the understanding of men as soon as we can; and that will save us from all childish and weak complaints for the time to come.

III. And, thirdly, consider that it was not only his power whereby the world was made, but his great goodness. And therefore, as he is the Lord and Disposer of all things, so we should consider that he hath a tender care of them. He that was so good as to create the world cannot but be so good as to provide for every thing that he hath made, and especially for the very best of things. Can you be so injurious to him as to think that he hath made wolves and dogs and cats to be better satisfied than the most noble beings, in whom there is an image of himself? No, the very knowledge of his goodness is enough to content and quiet us, if there were nothing else. This assures us that nothing passes here in this world but what comes out of the most tender compassion to us. Children cry and whine lamentably, we see, when their parents take from them that which they know is hurtful for them; and when they will not suffer them to have that which they passionately long for, and have set their hearts upon: but the parents are well satisfied notwithstanding in what they do, and see no reason to relent; knowing very well that their children would be well satisfied too if they were but grown up to the age of wisdom and understanding. All that we have to do is only to understand that God is our Father; that he exercises a singular care over us: and then, though we lament and bemoan ourselves

before we know this, afterward we shall be well pleased, nay, very glad that we have such a loving Father to choose for us.

IV. And not only loving, but very wise too: for you must consider (as the psalmist speaks, Psalm civ. 24) that in wisdom he made all things. He created them in such a beautiful order, that when he looked upon the works of his hands, still as he made them, it is said, he *saw that they were good.* And at last he expresses his great satisfaction in them, when they were completed, in these terms: *He saw that they were very good.* Do you imagine, then, that his management of all these things ever since is less wise? Cannot he keep them in as good and comely order as they stood when they came out of his hands? Who can think that he can please himself in letting things be tumultuously huddled together, and tumbled all on heaps, in a confused and disorderly manner? No, howsoever they may seem to us, no question he beholds them so well placed, that they cannot be in better order. If any thing use its liberty of motion ill, and break its rank, still it cannot get out of the verge of his wise providence, nor go as far as it list itself; but is bounded and limited by him, and also governed and overruled to serve some excellent end. Why then should not we like that which we are sure is more wisely done than we could do it ourselves? Why should we desire a change, if we did believe that it is a foolish thing to desire it? And so it is, if we believe the wisdom of God interposes in our affairs; which none, I suppose, doubts of who believes there is a God. If he had abandoned the government of the world, and committed all things to chance, then we might have some colour for our complaints. And yet to what purpose would it be to complain of that which could not be helped but only by the same chance. But now that we are sure God doth not leave the world altogether to go as it will, but presides and rules over all affairs, there is not the least shadow of pretence for our murmuring: it being to find fault with God, and to applaud our own wisdom as better than his. Lay these two things together, and see what satisfaction arises from them. God is infinitely wise, and therefore cannot but see what is best for us: and he is infinitely good, and therefore must needs bestow that which his wisdom sees to be best for us. He is so skilful, that he cannot judge amiss; and he is so gracious, that he cannot go against his

own judgment, and send us that which his wisdom did not think to be most fit. He is not so weak as not to discern the best things and the best times and seasons for us; nor is he so envious as to give us worse when he knows that something else would be better.

V. To this add the consideration of the great power of God, and it will give you high satisfaction in all events. For (as I have discoursed when I treated on this attribute) nothing can do us good without him, and therefore why should we so eagerly desire it; and nothing can do us hurt without him, and therefore why should we be so afraid of it or troubled about it? I mean, the operations of all things depend upon the Almighty's pleasure. Nothing can work but as he will command or suffer it. Be it never so good and valuable in our esteem, it cannot do us the least good, if he withdraw his power from it. And be it never so evil in our account, it cannot do us the least evil, if he suspend the virtue which gives it all its strength. What need we trouble ourselves then about any other thing but only this; to stand right in the thoughts of God, and to be in his favour and love? If this be obtained, we are sure of the favour of all things. For they all serve his will, and can neither do us hurt nor pleasure, but as he will let them. You may desire many things if you please, but none of them can do you a pleasure unless it please him; and if it do please him, then you need not trouble yourselves to desire them. And so you may dread many things, and be troubled for them, but they can do you no mischief if he be not displeased. Secure but that, and they shall either not come, or not do you such harm as you imagine. Creatures do not act always either as they will or as we will; they cannot do us that good which we would; nor can they do us that evil which perhaps they would. All their activity and force depends on a higher Cause: he abates it or hinders it, or quite destroys it, as he pleases. His favour therefore, I say again, we should make it our study to attain; and in that we should be confident, secure, and undisturbed, whatsoever happens to us.

VI. So we shall be disposed to do, if we consider further the infinity of God, and how highly he is above us. If we had but this one thought continually in our mind, it would be sufficient to assure us that it can be no pleasure to him to see us miser-

able, and to triumph in this, that he can trouble us when he pleases. Alas! he is so high, that it is no glory to him to oppress any of his creatures, if he had any mind to it. If we should wholly set aside all thoughts of his goodness and his wisdom, yet even the infiniteness of his essence doth abundantly secure us from any such suspicions, that he designs to raise himself a glory out of our unhappiness, misery, and discomfort: or thinks of showing his power and mightiness in making us complain under the weight of any pain or trouble that he lays upon us. It would have been a strange weakness in Domitian, if he should have triumphed in his killing of flies, which was his daily exercise. But it would be far more out of the way, if we should impute such a weakness to the almighty boundless Being, as to think that he delights in treading us under his feet, and keeping us in affliction. For a fly may better compare with the greatest prince, than we or the greatest prince on earth with the King of heaven. We may be sure then from hence, that what comes to pass is not done merely out of his will, but out of his counsel and infinite wisdom; in which, as I said before, there is the greatest cause that we should be well pleased. Nay, there is infinite reason we should be contented, because there is infinite reason for what is done. It is the highest reason in the world by which it is governed. It is the result of an understanding that comprehends all things at once; and therefore what he resolves is the more to be embraced, because it is the conclusion of infinite counsel and infallible judgment.

It follows indeed, from this consideration of the infiniteness of God, that we cannot comprehend all the reasons of his government. *His wisdom is unsearchable, and his ways past finding out. The judgments of God* (saith the psalmist) *are a great deep*[h], or a vast abyss. And so the reasons of several things, as St. Basil discourseth upon these words, *are inconceivable, and cannot be fathomed.* Ἐν μόνῃ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ γνώσει[i], &c. "The reasons by which God administers all things lie in his own knowledge alone, and we cannot find them out. Therefore though thou inquirest," saith he, "why the life of a sinner is prolonged many times, and the days of an excellent man are cut short; why the unrighteous flourish.

[h] Psalm xxxvi. 6. [i] In Psalm. xxxiii. [tom. i. p. 136 D.]

and the righteous are miserably afflicted; why such a child is snatched away before he comes to perfection; why wars and shipwrecks and earthquakes and droughts often happen; why so many things are created, which are destructive to mankind; why one is born free and another a slave; one rich and another poor; why a poor maid is sold to an impious master, and thereby the most precious jewel is endangered; yet remember, the judgments or counsels of God are a great abyss. Something we may say; but the deep reasons of these things are locked up in his treasures, which our little understandings cannot open."

This let us always acknowledge; but yet when this is done there are two things which will manifestly follow from hence, which must likewise be acknowledged. First, that we ought to be so modest as not to censure God's government, nor charge any passage of Providence with injustice, or accuse him of any partiality and ill-management, much less admit any suspicion that there is no Providence at all. We should remember in these cases, that as his wisdom is infinite, so is his goodness likewise; and therefore there is a good end of these things for which we can give no reason. The good he designs is as much out of our reach as the reason by which he acts; and therefore it doth not become us, considering our shallow apprehensions of both, to pass any judgment upon either; or to desire to have the ordering of our affairs in our own hands. "But," as the same person expresses it in a letter of his to a friend in great affliction [k], "since all things are dispensed by a very wise Governor, who hath withal a love for us, we ought ever to accept them, though they be troublesome to us, and the reason why they come be hidden also and kept to himself." And that is the second thing which follows hence, that in all reason we should submit with great humility, and with patient and quiet minds, to whatever befalls us, though we know not the bottom of it. Nay, for that very reason we should submit; because things are disposed by a deeper wisdom and a more boundless love than our own. This was Job's case. He could not comprehend the cause why he was so afflicted in his goods, in his children, in his body, and in his friends; who, instead of giving him some relief, added to the greatness of his calamity: yet

[k] [Epist. ci. tom. iii. p. 197 A.]

he did not murmur, but received with a very submissive mind whatsoever came from those hands which had bestowed on him so many blessings. This the same admirable writer (in a sermon of his concerning not adhering to the things of this life [m]) hath thus expressed:

"Let none of you, from what he hath suffered, imagine either that there is no Providence which governs and moderates our affairs, or presume to accuse the dispensations and decrees of our supreme Lord. But let him look to that great champion Job, and he will teach him to be a better judge. Let him first of all recount, in order, all the afflictions which befell that person, and then consider how he behaved himself.

"First, you remember how he was by several means despoiled of his goods, and left a naked man, who just now had such an abundance. How did he receive these tidings? Just as a rock receives a great wave, which turns into froth by beating against it, and leaves the rock immovable. He doth not complain; no, not say a word that we read of, notwithstanding these disasters. If he opened his mouth, we may well presume it was in those decent and becoming words which we read in the conclusion, *The Lord gave*, &c. Well, but there comes one that told him a most lamentable story concerning the death of all his children. At this, it is true, he rent his garments; and it is the first expression of his grief that we meet withal, in compliance with the passions of nature, and to declare himself a most tender father. But he set some bounds to his grief, and adorned what had happened with those pious words: *Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord.* As if he should have said, 'I was called their father as long as he that made me so pleased. But now he hath taken away this crown of children from my head, and it is not fit for me to contend and dispute with him about his own. Let that be which seems best to the Lord. He was the former of them, I was but the instrument. Why should I, who am but a servant, foolishly complain of my Master, and repine at that decree which I cannot alter?'

"With such words as these that righteous man wounded the devil, and, as one would say, shot a dart through his heart.

[m] [Tom. ii. p. 171, 3.]

This, perhaps, was it that enraged him: and therefore seeing him still a conqueror, he made an assault upon his body: which he turned into corruption, and made it become such a bag of worms, that from a throne it was cast upon a dunghill. And yet the good man remained immovable; and when his body was torn, he preserved still the hidden treasure of piety in his soul, of which the devil could not rob him. At last his dearest consort became an evil counsellor to him, being impatient any longer to behold his misery. 'How fruitless,' said she, 'is this piety, if this be the conclusion of it! What a lamentable reward is this of all thy offerings and burnt sacrifices! It is the wisest way not to see thy own unhappiness and mine any longer, nor by an unprofitable patience prolong so great a calamity.' There was nothing more offended him than these words, as you may read in the story. They provoked his spirit to a greater indignation than any of the foregoing mischiefs could do: insomuch that he burst forth into these sharp expressions, that she talked *like one of the foolish women,* and not as became one of her wisdom and gravity, which we may suppose she had hitherto preserved. 'Compose yourself,' saith he, 'and consider better what you say. *What! shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?* Remember all the past happiness which thou hast enjoyed. Oppose those better things to these worse. No man's life is altogether of a piece, or free from all misery. Τὸ διὰ παντὸς εὖ πράττειν, μόνου Θεοῦ, 'to be always happy as we would, belongs only to God.' If thou art grieved at what is present, look back, and comfort thyself with what was before. Now thou weepest, but before thou didst laugh. Now thou art poor, but there was a time when thou wast rich. Thou drankest of the pure fountain of life, drink now the more patiently of the troubled waters. Behold the rivers; their streams are not every where clear. And our life, thou knowest, is like to one of those rivers which slide away continually, and oftentimes is full of waves, which come one upon the neck of another: one part of it is passed by, and another is running on its course: this part of it is gushing out from the fountain, and another is coming after it when that is gone. And we are all making great haste to the common sea; death, I mean, which swallows up every one at last. If we receive good from

the hands of the Lord, shall we not bear evil? Think of that again. Shall we go about to compel the Judge to supply us for ever with the very same thing? Shall we teach our Lord and Master after what manner he shall govern our life? He hath the power of his own decrees. As he will, so he appoints our portion to us. But we know that he is wise, and that he measures to his servants what is most profitable and commodious. Do not curiously pry into the counsels of thy Master. Only take in good part what is ordered by his wisdom. Love his administration. Have a high opinion of his management: and whatsoever he gives, receive it with pleasure. Declare in a miserable condition that thou wast worthy of thy former happiness in a better.

"This Job said; and in this manner he repelled the enemy once more, who thought to wound him by the hand of a friend. Thus he completed his victories, and the devil fled quite away from him. And what then? how did this matter conclude? Why, the disease fled away too, as being able to do him no harm. His body returned to youth again. His estate also flourished, and was restored him: nay, his riches were increased, and flowed into his house so plentifully, that they were double to what they were before: first, that he might lose nothing by his affliction; and secondly, that he might have a merciful reward of his patience under it. Therefore it was that his horses and mules and camels and sheep, and all the rest of his revenue, were doubled; only his children were no more than equal to the number he had before, seven sons and three daughters. The reason was, because his beasts indeed perished entirely, but the better part of his children still lived when they were taken from him. And therefore being adorned again with as many sons and daughters as he had before, he had a double portion of them also: those who were here, and those who expected him in the other world. Behold then what good things this Job heaped up to himself by his patient submission to God. And do thou therefore, if thou feelest any thing troublesome and grievous to thee, bear it constantly, and soften the grief with these better thoughts. Lay the passion asleep, as one may say, with such comfortable reasons. Charm thyself into a pious belief that all shall be well at last. Do not doubt of it, but how black soever the

cloud be, look beyond it; and rejoice in him who made Job glad with the light of his countenance. He will not abandon thee; and therefore, according to what is written, *cast all thy care upon the Lord, and he shall sustain thee.* To him be glory for ever. Amen."

To this purpose that great man speaks, and I shall add nothing more to his words at this time.

PRAYER IX.

O eternal God, who only hast immortality, and dwellest in such unapproachable light and glory as our clothed spirits cannot behold, nor enter into its brightness; if we can at any time look out of our bodies, and see beyond this world, and have some little beam of that light communicated unto us, we can apprehend nothing so beautiful and attractive, nothing so satisfying and contenting, nothing so delicious and ravishing to our spirits. It even invites them to quit these bodies, and makes us willing then to go from hence, that we may be with thee.

It is thy goodness which hath imparted such a capacity to us, that we may understand thee in some measure, and the things that thou hast made; which all represent to our great admiration and delight thy wisdom, power, goodness, and infinite majesty, in their vast numbers and comely variety wherein they stand or move. It is but fit that we should absolutely submit ourselves unto thee who art so great, and that we should never in the least dispute thy orders who couldst contrive such a mighty fabric as this, and who supportest and governest it continually in an admirable constancy. Behold, O Lord, in a firm belief that thou art, and that thou art most perfect, in a high admiration of thee, and an unfeigned desire to agree with thee, I yield up myself to follow thy counsels, to obey thy orders, and to endure whatsoever it is thy pleasure shall befall me in this world. It is by thee alone that I or any other creatures have a being. And I know thou art so good that thou hast not made me to be miserable; and that thy wisdom is so great, as to be able to bring the greatest good out of that which seems most to prejudice my happiness.

I adore thy power, and trust myself in the arms of thine infinite mercy, which embraces all creatures. I believe that thou, who art so incomprehensible, canst not please thyself in grieving such poor things as we are; who, if we were greater, have no power to resist thy will. Imprint these thoughts, O Lord, so deeply in my mind,

that I may ever reverence thee, and give thee my thanks that I have a being, and am capable of immortality; and rejoice that I live under thy wise and good government; and acknowledge thee in all the good things that I enjoy, which can do me no good without thee; and humbly bear thy chastisements, which cannot hurt me whilst my mind and heart is fixed on thee. Enlarge my thoughts beyond myself, that I may be well pleased if others gain by that which is my loss. And help me especially to desire the eternal happiness of mankind, and to rejoice in thy long-suffering and patient charity even towards those who are evil: nothing doubting but that thy fatherly love will have a more tender regard to me while I endeavour to do good.

O that the same spirit may be in me which was in those holy men, who have left us an example of contentedness and patience; that I may not only commend them, but imitate and follow them, as they were followers of thee and of our Lord. Fix my mind so steadfastly on thee, that it may be my constant and unmovable will to follow thee whithersoever thou leadest me. And possess me with such a deep sense of thy unsearchable understanding, that I may neither presume to judge thy providence, nor be so foolish as to distrust thy conduct or murmur at thy appointments: but still remembering that thy judgments are a great deep, all the displeasure, and disgust, and sorrow, and grief, and fears, and cares, and other troublesome passions that are apt to arise in my heart, may be swallowed up in the thoughts of thy infinite wisdom, and no less infinite love.

I have the greater reason to submit myself with an humble confidence in thee, considering all the good that I have received already from thy bounty. Thy benefits are innumerable, so that if I should spend all that time which I am too ready to waste in complaints, in recounting thy favours, I should not be able to come to the end of them. O God, raise my spirit more and more to that heavenly employment. Let the remembrance of thy mercies be ever dear and sweet to me. And let not the bitterness of any affliction ever make me to forget the sweetness of them; but rather excite me to show myself more grateful to thee that I was not always so afflicted. I commend both soul and body unto thy care and blessing, not knowing to what thou hast reserved me; but resolving still to say in every condition, *The Lord is good and doth good. Let it be as seemeth good in his sight. And blessed be the name of the Lord.* Amen.

SERMON X.

1 Tim. vi. 8.

And having food and raiment, let us be therewith content.

VII. IT ought to be considered also, that God is exceedingly pleased in all his works; and therefore so ought we to be. This consideration takes its rise from the certain notion we have of the happiness of the Divine nature, and the perfect felicity and bliss which is inseparable from the supereminent perfections of it. All they who conceive there is a God, at the same time have a conception that he is most perfect, and consequently most happy and blessed. And therefore we may be sure that he neither can be troubled from any thing else, nor will he ever trouble himself, or have the least discontent. Which is a demonstration that the world is governed according to the best counsel and wisdom, and that the course of it goes in the most excellent manner; for he could not be well pleased and happy if all things did not go handsomely, in a most sweet harmony and perfect agreement to his most excellent nature. He could not, I say, give himself satisfaction, if those things that he doth (and I told you he governs the affairs of this world) were not managed with so much skill and so much goodness, that, all things considered, there could not be greater expressed. And therefore the psalmist saith, *The Lord shall rejoice in his works*[a]. That is, as in the very beginning of the creation he did, as it were, show himself highly pleased in what he had done, and said that all was very good; so still in the carriage of things ever since, in all his acts of providence, he takes the like pleasure; and sees that all

[a] Psalm civ. 31.

things are so disposed as will be most conformable to himself, and yield him still the same delight and joy.

Is it not a great folly then in us that we should not thankfully take our share in that divine joy, but trouble ourselves about that which God himself cannot do better to his own satisfaction? For if he could it would be done, because he could not be perfectly happy till he had done what is most pleasing to his own most perfect mind and understanding.

Whatsoever then we poor idiots think, according to our small apprehension, we must conclude, upon deeper thoughts, that there is no man, no creature dies, no ship is cast away upon the sea, no sickness or plague comes, but God is perfectly pleased with it; and it is impossible that any should judge so well as he what is most convenient. He sees it is most fit, and best for the whole world considered together, and most tending to the support of his authority and government, that those things should happen which we feel most grievous. And therefore he being so well satisfied in it, doth it not become us to be so also? It is a token, I am sure, of our great respect to him, (if I may lawfully use so mean a word,) to express our joy that he is satisfied, though we be very much grieved. It is impossible that we should lose any thing by this high regard to him, and forgetting, as it were, our little concerns, so he the the great Lord of all be but well pleased. He will requite us well for it, and let us know that he takes it in good part that we are so submissive; nay, so full of love to him, as to desire he should please himself.

Let us not therefore lament with too much passion that with which, if it could be altered, God himself could not be so well pleased. Something he allows to our weakness; but we must not take too great a license, lest we impute any weakness to him also, viz. either imprudence or envy, or want of power to do that which his understanding and good-will directs him to do.

VIII. But we are sure he is capable of none of these infirmities, nor any other. For as he is the most perfect Being, so he is eternal, and his nature is unchangeable. He is always the very same perfect goodness, wisdom and power, which alters not. From whence we may raise these three meditations, which all bid us be well contented:

First, that he having steered the course of the affairs of this world from the beginning, after this manner in which they now are, it is impudence in us to desire a change now, and a great folly to expect it. Especially if we consider,

Secondly, that in all this time he hath not seen any reason to make a change, or to mend any thing that he hath made. And,

Thirdly, if he did see cause, and will not, it is madness for us to struggle with him whose will cannot be bent otherways than it pleases himself. Let but these things be diligently weighed, and you will soon see how reasonable it is to be satisfied in all events.

God hath governed the world thus long in the way wherein now it is; and do we expect a change at this day, merely because we desire it? Is this a better reason for an alteration, than all that he hath had for the continuance of things in their ancient order? Nay, have the wise men of all ages left their testimony to the wisdom and goodness of God's government; and shall we now, in these times, go about to dispute it or call it in question? If he had not foreseen all things that might happen, yet after the observation and experience of so many hundreds or thousands of years, he could not but discern the defects, if there were any, in his workmanship: and after so many complaints and murmurings, if they were reasonable, surely he hath goodness enough to amend them. But if he be resolved that things shall go as they are, as by their long persisting in this course it appears he is, be sure we cannot with all our tossings and vexations amend any of them, but only make ourselves worse.

Folly and wickedness are their own tormentors. They carry their rods at their own backs, and make all those miserable who are led by them, even then when they are projecting to make themselves most happy. It will not be in the way wherein they are. The order in which God hath set things is unalterable, like himself. And this is as unchangeable a law as any else, that there is no peace, no quiet, but in conformity to his will and pleasure.

And truly there is this further reason for our conformity with it, when we consider, which I shall but briefly mention.

IX. The largeness of God's sovereignty, and the vast extent

of his dominion. As his *kingdom* (to speak in the psalmist's words) *is an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion endures through all generations,* so it is an universal kingdom, and reaches unto all things. And is he so wise and able as to govern the whole world, heaven and earth, and may he not be trusted to dispose of thee and thy small affairs? Let that be sadly pondered, and no man can have the heart to oppose one thought against the administration of such an universal Monarch, who sustains the weight of such a great empire, and hath so long, as I said, governed it with the greatest satisfaction to himself, and without seeing any cause to change his orders.

And there is a particular reason why we should confide in him, rather than any other part of his creation that we are acquainted withal; which is the last thing I shall mention upon this general head, because,

X. God hath expressed this wisdom, goodness and power of his in a singular manner for the good of mankind, and declared that he hath an unmovable will to do us good, and to make us happy. If a special concern for us will not satisfy us in the midst of all the alterations of life, what will? Would we have him, the Most High, to bend to our petty and low desires in every thing? Is it not sufficient that he assures us he hath a regard to our contentment above all the creatures that we know? May we not well admire and applaud his grace, which would condescend to give us such particular satisfaction? What need did he stand in of us, that he should take such care that we might not murmur, but *speak good of his name?* or might he not have done less for us, if he had not been much concerned in our happiness? You know very well what I mean; and I need instance in nothing else but only this, (which contains all in it,) the gift of his only begotten Son, whom he hath sent into the world to dwell among us, yea, to die for us. Do you imagine that God hates mankind, or that he loves to see them troubled and afflicted, when he thought not his Son, his only begotten Son, too great a boon to bestow upon them? Is it likely that they should want necessary things, nay, any thing that is profitable and fit for them, who are so much in his favour? The apostle St. Paul thought he needed only propound such a question to every believer's mind, and they themselves

could resolve, without his assistance, what to judge: *If God spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him give us all things?* As much as to say, What an absurdity is it to suppose that he will deny us any thing that is really useful, or let us suffer any thing that is not good and wholesome for us! None can believe that he hath given his Son for us, and be of the mind that he should be sparing in any other gifts. It is not consistent with any man's judgment to think that he should confer such high benefits, and yet withhold from us such as he freely gives to the poorest creatures in the world. Resolve therefore that it is most just and wise to be contented in the present estate wherein we are: for God, who is so good as to contrive our happiness in such a remarkable manner when we did not desire him, cannot let us remain one moment in a state that is not good for us, now that we depend on him and refer ourselves wholly to him.

And that might be a consideration distinct from all the rest; that if we wholly give up ourselves to him, and trust ourselves with him, he thinks himself the more engaged to look after our welfare, and cannot in any honour let things go so ill with us that we should complain of him. All men in the world that have any goodness in them are never more concerned for other men's comfort and safety, than when they devolve all they have upon them, and leave their estates and children, suppose, wholly to their care and prudent management, professing to depend and rely merely on their kind help and assistance. And therefore God Almighty, from whom all those good qualities come which are in any creatures, will be far from deserting those who have cast themselves entirely upon his providence and tender love, and take no other care but to please him, and to be pleased with him in all that he doth.

And truly there is the greater cause that we should refer all to his care and conduct, trusting him absolutely with the government of all our concerns, because his counsels are so much above ours, that those things which we think most hurtful he makes to be exceeding useful to us, as those which we admire he many times makes unprofitable. It is an observation as old almost as the world, (to give an instance of the last,) that our mother Eve called her eldest son Cain, as if she had got a mighty purchase, (for that is the import of his name,) and her

youngest son Abel, as if this was but vanity, (so his name signifies,) and good for little in comparison of the other possession. Whereas this became the most worthy and valuable person, and the other vain and unprofitable. So God lifts up those (as some of the Hebrews gloss upon this passage) whom we despise, and makes that despicable which we are apt to dote upon. For what could fall more cross (to give an instance on the other side) to old Jacob's wishes, than the disaster which befell his beloved son Joseph? He mourned, you know, and lamented for him, as if he meant to overtake him as soon as he could, and lie down in the grave where he thought he was. And yet this was the way to his preservation, and to the safety of all his family.

There are a vast number of examples both in Christian and heathen writers to the same effect, which it would be too long to mention. But they all prove this, that the greatest calamities are sometimes the means of men's greatest felicity. Nay, it hath been seen that when men even despair of pleasing themselves, they presently find that they are there where they would be: just like the famous painter Apelles, who when he had drawn a horse, and could not to his content draw the foam of his mouth, in an angry mood threw the brush at his picture, and by that means accidentally made the thing which he desired. This *Sextus Empiricus*[a] applies to his sceptics, who sought for an untroubled mind by endeavouring to understand all things, and found it by finding they could understand nothing. But we may better apply it to our purpose, to whom start up, even when we least think of it, sudden occasions to make ourselves happy; nay, the very confusion of our thoughts leads us to keep them in better order. Their restlessness bids them be quiet, and the uncertainty of all things advises us to put our trust in God; which we have the greater reason to do, seeing it is so certain that he hath a particular affection to us, and is exceeding desirous of our welfare. This will be more apparent if we take a brief view of what our Lord Christ hath done for our satisfaction; which is the last of those six things from whence I told you we might draw arguments of contentment.

VI. And truly the knowledge of him furnisheth our minds

[a] L. 1. cap. 12. [tom. i. p. 19.]

with a number of excellent thoughts, which are of great power to quiet and compose our spirits, whatsoever occasion there may be of trouble and vexation. I will mention some of them.

I. And first of all, consider how little he enjoyed, and yet how well he was contented. He was born of mean parents, he was brought up in a poor calling, he was neither rich nor honourable; and yet he neither thought himself poor, nor was he at all ashamed. Look what it was, as I told you heretofore, that satisfied him, and the same will infuse the like contentment into your hearts, if you be his true disciples.

The Book of Job was writ by Moses, as Origen thinks, to comfort the Israelites when they were in the wilderness, and to inspire them with patience during their long travels, which would have in conclusion a good issue. Certain it is, that it is one of the most ancient books of holy Scripture, and this is no improbable conjecture, that some good man (for it is not the style of Moses) might compose it on this occasion; that having such a noble example before them of virtuous patience under the sorest sufferings, (though we find no promise he had of deliverance,) they might not murmur nor repine at their tedious march in the desert, where they were so well provided for by the bounty of Heaven, and had assurance at last to come to a *land flowing with milk and honey*. How much more then ought the example of our Lord Christ to compose and settle our mind in perfect peace, who may say to ourselves, as he did in another case to the Jews concerning Solomon, *Behold a greater than Job is here!* One that is a pattern to the whole world, as he was to that nation, not only of this, but of all other virtues whatsoever. By whom it is apparent that we may be entirely beloved of God and highly favoured of him, and yet be poor, and despised, and obnoxious to many affronts and abuses. Such a companion as this, in a mean or miserable condition, is able to sweeten it and take away the tediousness of it. It is no disgrace to be in his fashion; and we may justly think he will like us the better if we be not ashamed of it, but content ourselves with his love and his promises, which, as you shall hear, are infinitely beyond all that was heard of in the world before. For,

II. His charity, you must remember, was exceeding great to all men that resorted to him. He did a world of good with the greatest forwardness, and many times unasked, to those

who were in any need. So careful he was, that the multitude which followed him into a wilderness should not so much as faint by fasting too long, that he wrought a miracle rather than that they should be unsupplied; and indeed all his miracles were wrought for the relief of others, and not to enrich himself. He regarded not his own ease, so he might but do the people a benefit; he was in danger to faint himself for want of food[b], that he might let none of the multitude which thronged him go away unsatisfied. And will he now, think you, see us want necessary things? now that we are in no wilderness, (as the people then were,) and now that he is in heaven, as you shall hear presently, in a more glorious condition? now that his followers have fewer wants, and he a larger power to supply them? We cannot possibly entertain such thoughts without the greatest forgetfulness of him who gloried in this charity, and thereby won this character, that *he went about doing good*[c]. Nor was he less willing to suffer than to do the will of God. For,

III. You may consider how much he endured, and yet *he was dumb; as a lamb before the shearers, so he opened not his mouth.* Why should we complain, then, who have neither so much innocence nor so great sufferings as he had? We are not so good as to our persons, nor so bad as to our condition, and therefore cannot with any modesty murmur at what befalls us. We profess to follow him, but it is at a very great distance; for he deserved better, and we deserve worse usage than we meet withal in the world. If we cannot tread in the steps of his contented patience and submission to God in so slow a pace, and on such reasonable terms, we may continue to commend, but we have little love to his great example. Shall we not endure a little, who offend much; when he endured so much, who offended not at all? We forget, sure, the honourable name by which we are called, and the glorious reward likewise which he hath made due to our small patience. For,

IV. Consider, I pray, in what estate he now is: no less than Lord of all, the Sovereign of the world, who hath all power in heaven and in earth, to do us good both here and eternally. And it is apparent that it is such a power as can do us good by sufferings and troubles, as much as by any thing else. He hath

[b] Mark iii. 21. [c] Acts x. 38.

such a dominion over angels and men, and all creatures, that, as St. Paul saith, *all things are ours*[r]. He is able to make them all serve in his government of the world, for his servants' welfare. And,

V. How, I beseech you, did he come by this power? Was it by aspiring and lifting up himself? No, but by being contented to humble himself as low as God pleased. For *he took upon him*, as the apostle tells us, *the form of a servant, and made himself of no reputation, &c., and therefore God highly exalted him, and gave him a name above every name, that all might honour him.* To be lowly and submissive, that he chose himself; but the honour he did not take to himself. No, he was called to it of God, as you read Heb. v. 4, 5: *Christ glorified not himself, to be made an high priest; but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.* As he saith also in another place, *Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedeck.* By this, you see, the sure way to be better is to submit to what we are. Not to advance, but to humble ourselves to any thing that is pleasing to God, that he may exalt us in due time.

VI. And truly, if you consider what Christ hath promised to do for us by this great power of his which he hath obtained in this way, you will be the more willing to resign yourselves to him. The very next words, after those I treated of at first, tell you that he hath said, *I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee*[s]. The lions may suffer hunger, but he that fears the Lord shall not want any good thing. Why should we be troubled who have a Lord so rich, and hath these riches given him on purpose to bestow upon us as he sees fit? Did the children of Israel want while they were in a barren wilderness? Did not God rather cleave a rock, and send bread out of the clouds, than suffer his word to fail? And, if you observe it, those words (*I will never leave thee*, &c.) were first spoken to them, to the whole congregation of Israel, as afterward more particularly to Joshua, Deut. xxxi. 6, 8, where it is twice repeated. Which teaches us that the apostle would have Christians believe (to whom he applies that promise) that God still continues the same resolution to provide for those who depend upon

[r] 1 Cor. iii. ult. [s] Heb. xiii. 5.

him, and that they can never be in such straits but he will find means for their support, and make them acknowledge that he is gracious. And now that I am speaking of his promises, it comes into my mind and seems very remarkable that,

VII. Among the beatitudes or blessings which Christ pronounces to his followers, the very first is to contented persons. Matt. v. 3, where by *the poor in spirit*, it is so plain he means those who set not their hearts on greatness or riches, but are well satisfied in their present condition, (though of the lower sort,) that there can be no good reason alleged to make us doubt of it. For St. Luke, repeating this sermon, leaves out the word *spirit*, and saith only, *Blessed are the poor*[t]: in opposition to the *woe* he had pronounced a little before to those who sought their consolation in riches and abundance.

This is a sufficient indication that the Christian poor here commended are such who seek not their happiness in riches: and therefore do not solicitously desire them when they have them not, but are contented with their portion; and when they have them, are not so in love with them as not to be willing to lay them out cheerfully for the good of others, and to leave them with an equal mind when God thinks good. This is true poverty of spirit, to be so affected in our hearts as not to be too earnest in the pursuit of riches, when they are wanting; nor to cleave to them too passionately, as if they were our principal goods, when we enjoy them: but whether they come, or whether they go away, to have an equality of mind, and to rest satisfied in the providence of Almighty God. This is such a temper of spirit, that our Lord highly values it as very suitable to his kingdom; and as that which renders a man's mind most capable of his religion, and disposed to entertain it into his affection. And therefore he places it in the forefront of all the rest, as a principal virtue, to which a special blessing belongs. And,

VIII. If you consider things well, you will find that the blessedness is very great which our Saviour is able to give to such persons: there being no sort of goods but he hath the power to dispense them; which is as much as to say he can make us completely blessed. There was never any man yet that could think of more than three sorts of good: 1. The

[t] Luke vi. 20.

goods of the mind; 2. The goods of the body; 3. The goods of fortune, as they were called anciently, or those without the body.

For the former of these, it is easily confessed, that there never was any such master of wisdom as he; who taught the way of God in truth, and led men into the possession of that knowledge, and those virtues and hopes which are the greatest ornament and beauty and satisfaction of the spirit of man. And as for the other two, do we not clearly see in the history of his life how that while he was present with his disciples, none of them was in any need, but they were instantly relieved; none were sick, but he presently restored them to health; none in pain, but he gave them ease; none tormented by the devil, but he freed them from his power? If they were in danger, as they sometimes happened to be upon the raging sea, they no sooner cried *Master, we perish,* but he as soon rebuked the furious storm, and made peace upon the foaming waters with one breath of his mouth. He was so bountiful and open-handed in these blessings, that he would not suffer them so much as to mourn or weep, but filled them with perpetual joy and consolation. Nay, tells them plainly that whilst he remained with them it was absurd and incongruous for them to fast, as the disciples of John and the Pharisees did; for they were the children of the bridechamber, whose time of lamenting was not till the Bridegroom was removed into the other world. And therefore, though there be this great difference between the time of Christ's bodily presence with his disciples, and the time of his absence from them, that then they were in a state of joy and contentment without bodily grievances and molestations, and now we have joy and inward comfort, mixed with the grief and pain of bodily troubles; yet these two things our Saviour declared for our greater satisfaction by what he did in those days when he was with his disciples: first, his great power; and secondly, his great good will and readiness to bestow even these sorts of goods, which belong to our bodies and outward estate. First, the power, I say, which he hath to provide us with all plenty, and health, and ease, if he saw it proper for us in this time of his bodily absence from us. He cannot have less power now that he is made *Lord of all* than he had before; and therefore we ought to be satisfied that

there are no goods belonging to our bodily and external happiness (none of the goods of fortune, as we call them, riches and abundance of wealth) but he is owner of them, and can as easily give them as speak a word; if he judged them to be most for our profit, and suited to that condition of probation and trial wherein we are to declare the sincerity of our love and affection to him in all estates of life. We ought not to admit of any doubt concerning this; nor at all to suspect his kind inclinations and his goodwill: but, on the contrary, to believe,

Secondly, that it is his absolute will and pleasure to exercise this power of his one day, for the putting all his disciples into the possession of complete happiness in the whole man: the proper time for which will be, when they shall enjoy his bodily presence again in the other world. This is the least that we can gather from the happiness which accompanied his bodily presence here upon earth. We should in reason look upon it as a picture of that fulness of joy and satisfaction which we shall have entirely, even in our bodies, when we shall be made partakers of the same bodily presence in the heavens. Then there shall be no mourning, no sadness or heaviness of heart, no cause so much as to fast, (no more than there was at his first appearing,) but we shall keep a perpetual feast of uninterrupted mirth and gladness, without any fear of exchanging it for sorrow again. For then, as St. Paul saith, we *shall be ever with the Lord.* And he that was so good to those that followed him when he was present with them, as to bless their bodies with all that they could reasonably desire, will not be sparing of the like and greater favours, when he shall again present himself, and gather all his friends together in a far more noble place.

It is of no small use then to consider in these days, what our Saviour did when he was here upon earth. How bountiful and free he was to his disciples, without injuring of any other people. Nay, how he feasted the multitude, and spread a plenteous table for them, without diminishing the provision of the country. How he gave them to eat, and there was never the less victuals in the places round about. How he provided sometimes not only for their necessity but for their delight and decency, as he did at the marriage feast. How he restored

sight to the blind, and legs to the lame, and life to the dead; and asked nothing but their love for his pains. This shows that he is indeed the Lord and disposer of all blessings or parts of happiness; those which concern the body and outward estate, as well as those that appertain to the mind. And it shows that it cannot be want of power which makes him not give all these now as he did then; no, nor want of kindness, for there are the same objects of pity, and he had nothing else to move him but only his own goodness. And therefore we ought to be contented under all our infirmities or encumbrances in this life, as the condition he thinks best at present, in hope that he will hereafter employ his power even for the good of our bodies: as he certainly will in the season which is most proper for it; that is, when he shall be present again with us in a bodily manner as he was then, but in a far more glorious and excellent condition. It will be a great shame for us if we be not contented. For consider,

IX. How many did forsake all and follow him, and that when he was but in his low estate; and before they knew any thing concerning his glorious exaltation in the heavens. Why should not we then be well contented, who are called to his service not in his poor and mean, but in his rich and high condition, now that he is King of glory, and now that we are not called yet to forsake all things for him neither?

X. And consider again in what relation he stands unto his church, which may breed in us a strong confidence that he will make good his promises, and fulfil his kind intentions. He is the head and the husband, and all his disciples are the body and the spouse. Now *no man ever hated his own body, but nourisheth and cherisheth it*, and so doth Christ the church.

XI. Consider also how he hath made good his promises hitherto in all ages. We may say as the psalmist, *Thou, Lord, hast not forsaken them that seek thee*[u]: or as it is in another place, *The Lord is gracious and full of compassion, he hath given meat to them that fear him: he will ever be mindful of his covenant*[x]. And so the church sings, *Just and true are all thy ways, O King of saints*[y].

XII. Lastly, consider how he hath promised to bestow an everlasting inheritance upon us in the world to come: and to

[u] Psalm ix. 10. [x] Psalm cxi. 4, 5. [y] Rev. xv. 3.

make that blessedness which then shall be conferred a perpetual good without any decay or alteration at all. Who is there, though poor, that would be troubled and vexed, if he knew certainly that shortly he should be a king, and likewise reign for evermore in the greatest splendour and glory? He would not lose these hopes for the greatest lordship in the land, nor greedily catch at a lower preferment, with the loss of that undoubted title to an immortal kingdom. Now this is the hope and expectation of Christians. Their calling is to *God's kingdom and glory*[z]. And our Saviour tells us it is the express will of his Father, that he should give those that heartily believe on him *everlasting life*[a]. If this will not satisfy us, nothing will be of sufficient power to bestow this great good of contentment on us. We must always remain miserable, and the more because we have such means in our hands to be happy. In other cases we feed ourselves with hopes, and we live upon them: what a piteous folly is it not to do so, when our hopes are so assured as I have told you, and are entertained with such valuable, or rather inestimable promises, which Christ hath made us! If these, together with such a number of other considerations as I have presented you withal, can do nothing to procure rest and quietness to our desires, whither shall we send them to seek for it? What shall we do with those who are empty, after such a fulness of thoughts to satisfy them? Whether shall we smile or cry at the folly and madness of men, who pine away and starve themselves in the midst of such plenty and abundance of good cheer provided for their refreshment? Is it not a ridiculous thing at first sight, to behold the unsatiableness and disquiet of men's spirits about these worldly goods; their strange ravings when they are any ways crossed and disappointed in their desires? And yet upon serious consideration, it is rather sad and lamentable, and with constant tears to be bewailed.

There were two men, you have often heard no doubt, in ancient times, the one of which was always laughing, and the other always crying: so that they took them to be mad and distracted persons. But concerning him that always laughed, (Democritus,) one of the wisest persons among the heathen, Hippocrates by name, who was sent for to cure him of his

[z] 1 Thess. ii. 12. [a] John vi. 40.

frenzy, as it was generally esteemed, gives this account, which it will not be amiss to hear and consider [b]. How that he, seeing *τὴν σπουδὴν περὶ τὰ ἀσπούδαστα,* 'the diligence and busy labour of mankind about things which were not worthy of such pains and toil,' could not forbear to burst forth into a laughter at their folly. "They go," saith he, "over the earth and sea to get a little money. They penetrate into their mother's bowels, and cut her veins to furnish themselves with a small treasure. And indeed they love that very earth which yet they tread upon. Nay, it increases my laughter to see how they love that earth which is hidden, and trample upon that which is seen and apparent. Being desirous to rule over many, they cannot rule themselves. Digging their land they seek money, and having found money they would buy more land. Having no wealth, they long for it; and when they have it, they hide it and seal it up even from themselves. They are so mutable in their desires, that now they would dwell on the land, now on the sea, and then on the continent again. In war they commend fortitude and valour; but then they have none, but are overcome by reason of their every day's luxury, riot, covetousness, and such like vices. Why therefore should I not laugh," said he, "for no man will laugh at his own follies, but everybody laughs at another's?" Neither did he laugh at those who ordered their affairs wisely, and who were moderate in their desires; but at those who extended their appetites without any bounds, always commending that which they have not, and loathing that which they have, throwing themselves by lust, covetousness, and such like sins, into the *pit of destruction,* (these are his very words [c], which the apostle uses in like case, 1 Tim. vi. 9.) In their judgments they differ not from children; in their desires they having nothing different from brutes; but only that the brutes live *ἐν αὐταρκείᾳ,* 'in contentedness,' and are well pleased with what they have. What lion is there that scrapes into the earth for gold? What wolf is there that, when he hath gotten his prey, doth not rest satisfied? Only man neither night nor day hath any satisfaction, but is ever troubling himself with his restless thoughts and desires. From whence he concluded, that *ὅλος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γενετῆς νοῦσος*

[b] Epist. ad Damagetum. [tom. iii. pp. 801, 2.] [c] [*Εἰς Βυθὸν ἀπωλείας,* p. 808.]

ἐστι[d]· 'Every bit of man from his very birth is all sick, or rather a mere disease.' And therefore they needed a physician to cure them more than he, who only laboured to laugh them out of their follies.

As for the other (Heraclitus) who wept continually, he gives this account of it himself in a letter to Amphidamus; "that he mourned perpetually for the wickedness of mankind. They wonder," saith he, "why Heraclitus is always sour and sad: but they do not wonder that men are always so wicked and sinful. Let but men cease a little to do evil, and I will cease to mourn: let them but become better, and I will presently laugh, and be the most merry man among them." And in another epistle of his to Hermodorus he writes, "that the Ephesians had a mind to banish him from their city; and therefore made a law that every one who did not laugh should be gone out of their gates before the setting of the sun. I know very well," saith he, "that they all laugh besides myself, and therefore can have no other design but to be rid of me. O men! will you not understand what the reason is that I am alway so sad, and never laugh? I do not hate men, but only their sins. Make your law in this manner, If any man hate wickedness, let him depart the city, καὶ πρῶτος ἔξειμι, and you shall see that I will be the first that shall go out. I will flee presently, not my country, but its vice and wickedness. Or if you would make a decree that they who by their wickedness make Heraclitus that he can never laugh should be put to death, it would be a great deal better for you, and procure you greater reputation."

My beloved, is the world amended since those days? are not men still covetous and insatiable? or do they not spend their treasures upon their lusts and filthy desires? Are they not ever unquiet and discontented? Is not God and virtue, in a manner, quite out of all their thoughts? Yea, though they have the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, what are they the better for it? what considerable reformation hath it made in the world? Who is there that steadfastly believes his promises, and contents himself with a pious life in hope of immortality? How few that study real and impartial godliness, endeavouring to conform themselves in all things to our Lord! Democritus

[d] Ibid. [p. 810.]

would laugh louder if he were alive, to see men such fools as to love the earth more than heaven: and the other weep more bitterly to see the love of our dearest Lord so vilified and contemned. Which of them shall we imitate? Truly if we will be troubled about any thing, it should be this, that men have no more care of themselves, and that they no more value the words of eternal life. *Rivers of tears run down mine eyes,* (saith the psalmist,) *because men keep not thy law*[d]. *Horror hath taken hold upon me, because of the wicked that forsake thy law*[e]. This is the most justifiable grief, and it is best to join ourselves to these mourners; for the next blessedness to that I mentioned is to such persons. There is some ease in this kind of trouble; a joy in this sorrow; a singular refreshment in this sadness. It is the express word of our Lord, that they who mourn *are blessed: for they shall be comforted*[f]. But as to all other things, we ought to be contented and well pleased; to *rejoice in the Lord always,* and to be glad in his salvation. Let us not suffer our tears to flow too fast on occasion of any worldly crosses; but placing our hope in God let us be merry and joyful. Let not our affections be so much engaged to our enjoyments here, as to leave us in too great trouble and disorder when they will not conform to our desires. For we have multitudes of reasons from ourselves, from other men, from all things, from God, and from our Lord to prohibit our discontent. Let us but digest such considerations, and they will be a cordial to our spirits, a stay and support at all times to our souls, which will never fail us. Instead of busying ourselves so much about other things, which either we cannot get, or not get contentment by them, let us employ ourselves in making ourselves masters of these holy thoughts; and they will be instead of all other possessions. And whereas we fear this or that which may befall us, let us but fear lest we should offend our heavenly Father by distrust of him, or murmuring against him, as not improving those great talents of wisdom which he hath lent us, and we shall soon find cause to be in no great dread of any thing. I may say to all such as good old Tobit doth to his son, when he sent him from him a long journey; *Fear not, my son, that we are made poor; for thou hast much wealth if thou fear God, and depart from all sin, and do that*

[d] Psalm cxix. 136. [e] Psalm cxix. 53. [f] Matth. v. 4.

which is pleasing in his sight[h]: or as the son of Sirach excellently speaks to all; *Whether a man be rich or poor, if he have a good heart towards the Lord he shall at all times rejoice with a cheerful countenance*[i]. And what better heart, I beseech you, can we bear towards the Lord than to repose our whole trust in him, and commit ourselves in well doing to his merciful providence, and to rest satisfied in what he orders, and still speak good of his name, howsoever our condition alters? This is a disposition of mind which the very heathens could not but highly applaud; and upon which they accounted themselves God's witnesses to the world, and testified that he was good and wise and just in all his doings. A most honourable employment, of which a man should be ambitious, as the greatest dignity he can ascend unto.

They are the words of Arrianus, in the name of Epictetus[k]: "Thou art stripped of thy robes, and comest forth now in poor apparel. What then; canst thou not utter one brave word in this estate? In what quality dost thou come up into the theatre? Ὡς μάρτυς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ κεκλημένος, 'as a witness cited or called by God.' Come thou," saith he, "and bear witness to me, if thou art worthy of such a great place. Let me ask thee, Is there any thing good or evil without a man's self? Do I hurt anybody? Have I placed happiness any where but in thy own self? What sayest thou? What testimony wilt thou give to thy God? Wilt thou cry and complain, saying, Ἔν δεινοῖς εἰμὶ, κύριε, &c.: 'Lord, I am in a very lamentable condition; I am exceeding unfortunate; no man cares for me; no man gives me any thing; all dispraise me; all speak evil of me.' Is this thy testimony? Wilt thou thus disgrace thy calling to which he hath called thee? When he hath done thee such an honour, and thought thee worthy to be produced as his witness in so great a cause, wilt thou basely reproach him? Then hear thy doom. He that hath authority pronounces thus; Κρίνω σε ἀσεβῆ καὶ ἀνόσιον εἶναι, 'I judge thee to be an ungodly and profane wretch.' Is this all? Yes; this is all. Thou art ungodly and profane."

And would not any man of sense be afraid of such a sentence? Is not this a more sad and lamentable condition than that which

[h] Tobit iv. ult. [i] Ecclus. xxvi. 4. [k] Lib. i. cap. 29. [p. 163.]

he complains of? And yet this is the state of all murmurers and repiners at God's providence. Instead of defending him, when he expects it, they accuse him. When they should justify him in the face of the world, and it is in their power to do him the greatest right and honour, they reproach his administration, and are injurious to its reputation. They turn to the other side, when they are brought forth as his witnesses on his behalf; and they represent him as faulty in his government, when they have the only opportunity that can be given them, to clear him of all harshness, by being quiet, contented and patient in the midst of troubles: they made a vile use of it, and impute to him the greatest rigour or neglect of them, by their perpetual complaints. This he cannot but take exceeding ill at their hands, and it will turn at last to a heavy account; which it will be safest for us to prevent, by being faithful to him, and giving true evidence for him, when we are called to it, and when he expects it from us, and when he intends it as an honour to us, that we, rather than others, should be produced as the witnesses of our God. Let us, I mean, when any affliction befalls us, give God the honour due unto his name; and declare openly by the meekness, and patience, and cheerful contentedness of our spirits that we think him to be wise and good, as well as powerful and just; and that nothing shall alter this opinion, and make us think otherwise. Let us profess that we believe God can choose better for us than ourselves; and that as we trust other skilful persons in sundry cases, rather than our own judgment, so we will trust God with the government of our whole life, which is a business too big for us to undertake. By which means God will approve us for holy and virtuous men that bear a great love to him. He will pass, not only a favourable, but a kind and honourable sentence upon us: and we shall certainly receive great commendation at that day when every man's praise shall be of God. He who is the true and faithful witness, Christ Jesus, to whom all judgment is committed, will not forget our hearty affection, but reward us as his faithful followers in that race of patience which is set before us. Amen.

PRAYER X.

I adore and praise, O Lord, thy greatness, thy power, wisdom and goodness, which shine in all thy works of creation and providence. They all show forth the majesty of thy glory, and are placed and move in such comely order, that thou thyself rejoicest in all thy works, and art perfectly pleased even in that which gives us grief and trouble. It is our duty, O blessed God, to be pleased too, and to rejoice in this knowledge which thou hast given us of thee, who art from everlasting to everlasting, and changest not; but art ever the same immutable Love, exercising the most wise and tender providence in every part of this great world, and more especially over mankind, to whom thou hast shown the highest kindness, and given unquestionable testimonies of thy singular care of them, and goodwill towards them.

There is nothing, I am sensible, so unseemly as a discontented mind, repining at the present, or distrusting thee for the future, especially in us, who have been so strangely favoured by thee, and had particular assurance of thy most gracious inclinations and purposes to make us happy for ever. I am ashamed, O my good God and loving Father, that so much as one complaining thought should arise in my heart; beseeching thee to pardon me, and to represent thyself so fully and feelingly to me, that I may with a serene and untroubled mind receive whatsoever shall befall me; yea, rejoice that thy most holy will is done, though never so cross and contrary unto mine. O, sweet Jesus, who didst possess little and enjoy much; who didst endure much and not complain at all; whose charity was far larger than all the wants of miserable creatures; who providedst even for their pleasure and decent entertainment; and by humbling thyself hast obtained a most glorious power, and promised to bless us, and never leave us nor forsake us; bless me, I most humbly beseech thee, with the same contented mind and spirit. Imprint on my heart the image of thy humble, meek, and patient goodness. Make me feel that thy merciful kindness endures for ever; and fill my soul with that meat which abideth to everlasting life, as once thou didst the bodies of thy disciples with the meat that perisheth. While I think of what thou wast, and what thou art, and what thou hast done, and what thou art able and hast promised still to do for us, transform me by that means into the very spirit which was in thee. That I may be lowly in heart, and satisfied with my present portion; and do good and endure evil,

and conform to thy will in every thing, in imitation of thy most excellent example, and in hope of that complete bliss which thou art able and intendest, I see, to bestow upon me, both in soul and body, in an immortal life.

O God, what things are those which thou hast laid up for those that fear thee; for those that trust in thee, and depend entirely on thy goodness, and submit to thy will and pleasure! In what a kind relation art thou pleased to stand unto us, that we may be confident thou dearly lovest us, and wilt take care of us! All ages have experienced this love, that thou, Lord, hast not forsaken them that seek thee: therefore thy face evermore will I seek. I will never doubt of thy merciful kindness; but always believe that thou art gracious and full of compassion, just and true in all thy ways, O thou King of saints. Confirm and strengthen these holy purposes in me, by the assistance of thy good Spirit, making these thoughts more strong, more lively and mightily affecting my heart. So that I may be able to say, The Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man can do unto me. He hath not spared his only Son, but delivered him up for us all: how shall he not with him give us all things? I will bless the Lord at all times, his praise shall be continually in my mouth: my soul shall make her boast in the Lord, and I will rejoice in his salvation.

O blessed day, when we shall see Jesus again, and feel him changing this vile body, and making it like his glorious body, by the power whereby he can subdue all things to himself! O happy day, when all tears shall be wiped away from our eyes; and there shall be no sighing or sorrow, but present satisfaction and joy for evermore! Help me always to comfort myself in every condition with the hopes of that joyful time, and to prepare myself for the blessedness of it, by doing thee all the honour I can in this world; especially by testifying through a meek, patient, and cheerful suffering of all the troubles of this life, that thou are wise and good, and bountiful to all thy faithful servants, and that thy service in the midst of my sufferings is better than all the pleasures of sin, which endure but for a season.

O God, I desire always to give thee this glory; and to count it an honour that I can bear witness to thee, by a contented virtue in every state and condition of life. I esteem that approbation and praise which I hope for from thee, far above all the dignities and preferments of this world. Do thou, O Lord, but allow of me for thy good and faithful servant; and make me but to feel the comfort of that joyful voice, which I hope to hear; *Well done, good and*

faithful servant, enter into thy Master's joy; and do with me what thou pleasest. I confide in thee for that happiness, and for all things else. I leave myself wholly to thy disposal. I depend absolutely on thy wisdom, and thy good-will and kindness, which I entrust with all that concerns me. I resolve to be satisfied with what thou orderest, and still to speak good of thee: hoping that whilst I have this good heart towards thee, I shall at all times rejoice with a cheerful countenance. Amen, Amen.

SERMON XI.

HEBREWS XIII. 5.

Be content with such things as ye have.

I AM now come to the last of those three things which I propounded to be treated of in the beginning of these discourses, which is,

The means whereby we may obtain so great a blessing as this of contentment and satisfaction of spirit. The very truth is, all those reasons that I have given why we ought to rest contented in our present state are so many helps to this happiness if they be considered. And if they be not considered, then nothing that can be said will prove helpful to us, because our consideration will still be needed.

But yet, because the often repeating of a thing doth much impress it upon our spirits, and that which doth not move us at one time strikes us vehemently at another, and that which being delivered in one form of speech is not much understood or regarded, becomes very plain and perspicuous when it is delivered in another, I shall therefore give you some rules to observe, which, though they may border upon what hath been said already, will much conduce to set you forward in the way to contentment.

I.

And it is very easy to see, from the foregoing discourses, that we ought in the first place to inform our minds very well about the nature of those things which are apt to give us discontent. Contentment is the good of the mind, and therefore, as Seneca [a] hath well expressed it, we must go into ourselves

[a] ["Animi bonum animus inveniat."—Sen. de Vit. Beat. cap. 2.]

for it, because "the good of the mind is to be found nowhere but in the mind." And if we listen to the instructions of our own minds, they will direct us presently to a remedy for our vexatious thoughts, by bidding us consider what it is that we are vexed about. Let it be any worldly good which we want, or any such evil which we endure; I have plainly shown you that the former are not of such moment but we may be happy without them, nor the other so afflictive but we may be happy under them. Let us not magnify either of them in our fancy above their just proportion, and we shall soon satisfy ourselves in things that are truly great beyond all estimation, either with or without these that give us so much disquiet. I list not to spend the time in repeating all that hath been said to this effect; but shall only recommend to you this meditation of the royal philosopher Antoninus[b]: "If thou canst find," saith he, "any thing in human life that is more worth than justice, truth, sobriety, fortitude, and, in a word, the satisfaction of doing that which right reason prompts thee unto, turn thy whole soul towards that good, and enjoy that most excellent thing when thou hast found it. But if nothing appear better in this world than that divine being which is in thee, following its own best inclinations, and having the government of its own motions, and subjecting itself to Almighty God; if all things else confess themselves mean and poor and vile in comparison of this, give not place to them, nor quit thyself to pursue any of them otherways than as thy own reason directs thee;" viz. as smaller goods, that ought not to be purchased with our own disquiet, nor enjoyed without the enjoyment of our better selves. To this purpose that great man speaks; and if I have helped out his sense a little, I have done it no wrong.

And that now leads me to the second thing. After we have rectified things in our minds, we must next proceed to regulate our desires after this manner.

II.

Let us make as few things as we can possibly to be necessary to our contentment. Which is as much as to say, Let every man moderate his desires. This is grounded upon as great reason as the soul of man affords. For it is manifest unto all that

[b] Lib. iii. c. 6. [p. 42.]

they are our own desires that trouble us, and not the things themselves which are without us. And it is as manifest, that if we enlarge our hearts to desire too many things, then we shall be obnoxious to a great many troubles, because we may not have all those desires satisfied. The more we would have, the more we shall be liable now and then to want, and so be the more displeased; unless our desires be very indifferent, or very cool and temperate. For there are two parts of this advice, as there is a double moderation, one respecting the measure of things which we desire, the other respecting the measure of the desire itself. Then we are happy when we do not desire much, or not with much desire. If we cannot observe both parts of the rule, let us observe one; and we shall be less troubled than otherwise we are like to be. If some thing, for instance, prove so agreeable to our inclinations that we are strongly drawn with most passionate desires after it, yet let us provide that there be not many such things. Let us content and satisfy ourselves there; and seek a remedy for the disappointment we may meet withal in the enjoyment of that passionate desire by submission to the will of God and the expectation of better things, and such like means as I shall mention. For it is most certain that there is not a nearer way to contentment than this, if we can hit it, to make our desires as few as we can, or not too eager and violent, but easily satisfied with disappointments. Which is no such difficult advice neither, because really there are but a few things that we want, as I have formerly demonstrated.

This was the wisdom of the ancient pagans, who by bringing themselves to need but a few things, *effecerunt* (as Tully saith of Diogenes[c]) *ne quid sibi eripi possit*, 'ordered the matter so that nothing could be taken away from them.' When any thing was gone that before was with them, they could say with cheerfulness, 'We have not lost it, for it was superfluous, and there was no need of it.' It was a great gallantry of spirit that was in Marcus Curius among the Romans[d], who when he was found fault withal for giving the greatest part of the lands he conquered to the public use, and but little to particular men, replied, "I pray God there may never be any Roman, ὃς

[c] [Lege Sen. de Tranq. Anim. cap. 8.] [d] Plutarch. in Apophth. [p. 149.]

ὀλίγην ἡγήσεται γῆν τὴν τρέφουσαν, 'who shall think that land to be but little which gives him food and raiment.'" He thought that so much was a great deal, because it was enough. And so Phocion among the Greeks, when Alexander sent him an hundred talents, returned them back again, Ἐπιδείξας πλουσιώτερον τοῦ διδόντος τοσαῦτα τὸν μὴ δεόμενον[e]· 'showing thereby that he was the richer man, who did not need so much, than he that gave it to him.' There was no greater truth he thought than this, Τὸ πλουτεῖν ἐστι τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι περιττῶν, 'that to be rich is not to need unnecessary things.' And thus Xenocrates in like manner, after he had taught himself, endeavoured to teach others this art of contentment. For when the same prince sent him fifty talents, he entertained the messenger with a frugal supper, which had sufficient, but nothing superfluous: and when he was asked the next morning to whom he should pay the money, answered, "I thought you would have understood by last night's supper that I do not need any more money." They were much instructed by this lesson, and it was the more effectual, because he did not speak it out of a dogged and melancholy humour. For seeing the messenger something dejected at his words, he took part of the money, lest he should seem to contemn the king's liberality. The like I might relate to you of Socrates, who seeing in a fair, or a great solemnity and public show, abundance of gallantry and bravery, cried out in a much greater, Πόσων ἐγὼ χρείαν οὐκ ἔχω, 'How many things are there that I have no need of!' But I will not burden you with such stories, nor deny that in much of this there seems to be a greater affectation of a mean estate than needs. There was no cause that they should refuse those riches which were fairly put into their hands, (unless they thought there was an intent to bribe them to consent to some unhandsome action); but their meaning was good and generous. They would teach themselves not to be greedy of too much, nor too forward to catch at great things; but inure their minds to moderation in desires. And shall we think scorn to learn of them? We may rather be ashamed if we do not that which they did, seeing we have a better way of learning their lesson. Our Lord hath been pleased to teach us this

[e] [Id. in Phocion. cap. 18.]

by a greater example; and therefore let us contract and lessen our desires, let us bring them into a small compass, and confine them to necessary things. And when they stretch their wings further, (as who can hinder some motions after things that appear desirable?) clip them presently; or let them not fly too fast, nor carry us with too much violence in the pursuit of them; but with equal and gentle motions, lest they transport us quite from the satisfaction we may find in our present enjoyments, and let us fall at last, when we cannot catch our prey, into a pensiveness and dejection of spirit as great as our hope and expectation of it. For the prevention of which, follow this third advice:

III.

Make nothing necessary to your contentment but that which you can never want. Which is as much as to say, Desire nothing principally, and as your happiness, but that which you can certainly compass. To have always that which we desire is accounted happiness. Now the way to it is, to set our hearts on that only or chiefly which we may always have. And let me tell you those things which we may always have are not small things, and such as will not fill us: no, they are the most excellent as well as the most necessary; and such as are instead of all things else beside. What are they, will you say? I answer as briefly. First, such as are naturally in our own power; and, secondly, such as by the divine grace are in God's promises.

The heathens anciently distinguished between the τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, 'those things that were in us to accomplish,' and the τὰ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, 'those that are not in us to order as we will.' The former, say they, we should concern ourselves about; the other we are to let alone, and not give ourselves any trouble for them, because they are not things that will submit to our will and pleasure. It is in our power, for instance, to bear an injury, to forgive it, to pray for those that do it, to requite it some time or other with a good turn, to speak, at least, all the good of them that they may otherways deserve, and to govern the rest of the motions of our own breasts: but to suffer no injury, and to hinder all manner of affronts, is not in our power, as I have elsewhere discoursed. To rejoice in all conditions, to praise God, to be thankful for what we enjoy, that is in our

power; but not to be in such a condition, that is wholly out of it. The way to our contentment, then, is mainly to desire such things, and to apply our best endeavours to attain them, as we may certainly make ourselves masters of; and to pass by the rest, or not concern ourselves too passionately in them, as being matters not fit for our management, but in the disposal of other persons.

But we Christians have something to add to this truth, which is, that there are certain things which God hath told us he will not deny us, and others which he hath not obliged himself to bestow upon us. All things are in the power of God, though they be not in our power; but all things are not in the will of God to grant unto us. His power, we know, is infinite, and extends to every thing; but his will we know only by his promises, which are nothing else but a declaration of his will to us. Now he hath nowhere promised us continual health, abundance of riches, honour and preferment, the constant enjoyment of our friends, and such like things; and therefore we ought not, if we study our own repose, to set our hearts very much on these things, but still with this remembrance, (which may dispose us to be without them or to part with them,) that there is no assurance of them. But he hath promised us himself, and forgiveness of sins, and his Holy Spirit, and his grace to sanctify every condition to us, and his power to help and support us, and his good angels to be ministering spirits to us, and eternal life to be the reward of contented patience, and the greatest reward to those who not only do, but quietly suffer his will. And therefore these we should earnestly desire and most heartily seek, because we may certainly have them, and the having them will certainly give us contentment and satisfaction. For, first, by having them, we shall have so much of the other, which are not absolutely in our power nor in his promises, as he sees on all occasions to be fit and needful for us; and, secondly, by having them, we shall also be able to be without the other, when he doth not see them needful.

But some will say, perhaps, how shall we bring our desires to this moderation? Here we must have recourse back again to our mind. And,

IV.

Study the use of all those things which we desire, before we

engage ourselves too much in the pursuit of them. This will, in great part, answer that question. We must ask ourselves on all occasions, What are these things good for, and what shall we do with them? and then we shall soon see whether there be such reason, as we imagine, to be so careful for them. This was the rule which Philip king of Macedon gave to his wife Olympias, Δεῖ πρότερον τὴν χρῆσιν ἢ τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν ἀγαθῶν σκοπεῖν[f]· 'We ought first to mind the use of all good things, before we mind the getting or possession of them.' And it is founded in a great deal of reason, because all things are desirable for their use, otherways we may as well be without them. Apply it then to all manner of things that you long after, and cannot be satisfied (as you think) without their enjoyment. Why do you desire so much money, for instance? to what use do you intend to put it? Is it to buy you food? A great deal less will serve that purpose. Is it to buy you clothes? They may be provided also with smaller sums. Is it to lay up and purchase the reputation of wealthy persons? That is to no use at all. Is it to fare deliciously and delicately every day? There is no need at all of that neither: many have lived happily without such superfluities. What is it then that we would do with them? Why do we desire such abundance of wealth? Is it to do much good in the world? That is an unworthy desire indeed; but God will accept of our good will. if we have not the means to do it. Let us not torment ourselves about this, for that is the way to hinder us from doing what good we can in our present condition. We are bound to do much good when God bestows much plenty upon us; but till then he expects no more from us than we are able to do, and a pious disposition to be bountiful when we are better able. That which can most reasonably be pretended in this business, to countenance our bold desires, is the regard we ought to have to posterity, that they may be well provided for when we are dead, and can take no further care of them. But they may be happy enough hereafter without our being miserable at present. It is absurd to pester ourselves with innumerable cares, that they may live without care when we are gone. And perhaps most men can satisfy themselves in this point by reflecting how God hath graciously provided for them, and succeeded their

[f] Epist. ad eam. [Inter Epistt. Divers. Philosoph., &c., sign. μ. viii,—4to. Ven. apud Ald. 1499.]

honest and religious endeavours, though they had but very slender provision made for them by their parents. This is a thing therefore that will justify our diligence, but not our extreme solicitude and carefulness.

In like manner, when we desire to come to such preferments, we should ask ourselves again the use of them before we be so eager for their possession. Is it not commonly that we may live more splendidly, or have more applause, or gain a greater name among our neighbours, or some such unnecessary thing? Why should we not then rather bid our souls not be so desirous of them? Let us remonstrate to them the true state of things, and they will presently confess that they are carried after that which either they do not need, or have no great use of; and therefore those desires may be discharged as unprofitable. Which was the thing I was to direct you unto, as one way to contentment. Another is this, to

V.

Live in the exercise of the other parts of sobriety, which I have lately treated of, and they will help us to this. They were these two, you know, temperance and humility.

1. As for temperance, or moderate use of all pleasant things, it doth most effectually teach contentment, because it shows how little will serve the turn. It weans us also from the inordinate love of sensual things; which love is the only cause that makes the want or the loss of them so troublesome: it makes room likewise for sober thoughts. And, in short, it is a constant exercise of contentment in one particular, which must needs dispose us the better to practise it in all other instances. The more sparingly we taste of these fleshly enjoyments, the better pleased we shall be in any other estate, even when we cannot have them. It is no great matter to be deprived of that which we have often forbidden to ourselves. We cannot feel the mischief so sore, when we are denied those things which we were wont before to deny to our own use. We want nothing but what we could want whilst we had it: we are not merely necessitated to be without these things; for we chose before not to enjoy so much of them as we might. So that in truth we may say, as Seneca doth, *Hoc est præoccupare tela fortunæ*[g], 'This is to be ready prepared against the blows of fortune,' as they called the changes that are in the world. We are beforehand with any alter-

[g] [Epist. 18. § 9.]

ation, and have prevented its assault. Nothing can give us any wound that shall smart so much as otherwise it would, for we have tried already what the want of such things can do upon us. *Occupavi te, fortuna,* (said Metrodorus[h],) *atque cepi, omnesque aditus tuos interclusi:* 'I have got before thee, whatsoever thing thou art which mayest come; I have taken thee, and have thee in my hands; I have intercepted all thy approaches, and thou canst not touch me. Nothing can come but what is here already. I know the worst of all things, for I have inured myself unto them.'

They do very ill, certainly, who desire to live a contented life, that study how to make much of themselves, and how to fare deliciously every day. They are the enemies of their own happiness who love to swim in all manner of pleasures, and to gulp down as much as they can of these sensual delights. They do but prepare for themselves the straiter prisons, while they take so great a liberty; and render themselves too tender and apt to shrink at the smallest prick of a pin, while they indulge themselves all manner of delicacies. They would not be so miserable hereafter, if they did not now allow themselves to be too jovial. They would endure more, if they would please themselves less. Afflictions would not rob them of contentment, if they could content themselves with a moderate use of their present enjoyments. All our virtue, the ancients were wont to say, consists in bearing and in forbearing. The former would not be so hard, would we but make the latter more familiar.

II. As for humility, the other part of sobriety which I have long treated of, it is a virtue of such a quality that it contains in it the reason of abundance of those reasons which I have given you for contentment of mind in all estates. It is an acknowledgment of the supremacy and high authority of Almighty God; in which, as I said, we should be satisfied. It bows our will in submission to his, which is the very secret of contentment. It makes us think we deserve nothing at all, and so disposes us to be well pleased with what we have. *To the hungry soul,* saith Solomon, *every bitter thing is sweet*[i]: and to the humble the smallest favour is an high obligation. It teaches us to renounce our own understanding in many

[h] [Apud Cic. Tusc. lib. v. cap. 9. Plutarch repeats the saying, with the omission of the author's name: —Προκατείλημμαί σε, ὦ τύχη, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν σὴν ἀφῄρημαι παρείσδυσιν,—De Tranq. An. p. 476.]

[i] Prov. xxvii. 7.

things, and to think that best which seems so unto God. It brings us to him, the true good, by making us feel that we have nothing of ourselves, but all from his infinite bounty. It is an utter enemy to ambition, envy, vain-glory, confidence in riches, as I have formerly distinctly shown you: and these being banished, we are thereby freed from so many enemies to our peace and contentment. In brief, it teaches us not only to want, but also to suffer what God pleases; because we are his creatures, but not so good as we ought to be; and every thing it embraces as good which will make us better.

On the contrary, pride doth little less than distract the mind: so far it is from all contentment. For (1) it makes men think they know that which they do not know. And this is a great degree of folly, though it be not so accounted; because most men labour with this disease, and it is incident to us all if we take not care to prevent it. It makes men also (2) hope and look for more than ever they are like to enjoy: which is a piece of foolishness, as all are ready to confess. And (3) it disposes them to believe that they can do no more than is in their power, and that they have that which they have not; which puts them upon many vain enterprises, and is not so much folly as *perditæ dementiæ*, (in Cardan's language,) 'a piece of desperate madness.' He therefore that would have contentment must keep himself free from this infection, and be as humble and lowly as he can in his own eyes. He must remember that the greatest part of foolishness, yea, the whole of it, consists in too great an opinion of oneself. The modest and the timorous, though they do not use all occasions as they ought, yet they live more securely than others. They are less busy, but they are thereby more at rest. They may miss many things, but they are safer, and have greater peace in what they have. I must add, that to the practice of this must be joined the exercise of all other virtues; which, indeed, are all included in true humility of spirit. Then we must needs be provided of great satisfaction, and well guarded against all attempts to disturb and disquiet us, though we be liable to be invaded by the rude violence of other men, and sometimes, perhaps, be ill treated by them. For, first, it is to be considered, that none but those who are very bad will have the confidence to do mischief to those who are very good. They that are completely virtuous may reasonably expect fair quarter

from those who are not extremely wicked. Modest sinners will be ashamed to do them hurt; according to that of St. Peter, *Who is he that will harm you if ye be followers* (or, as copies have it, *if ye be zealous*) *of that which is good*[h]*?* None, that is, who are not desperately bad. For, as our Saviour saith, *the meek shall inherit the earth.* As long as there is any shame left in men, they have not the heart to trouble those who are of a quiet, meek, humble, modest, charitable and peaceable disposition. As long as we have a care to please God exactly, there is something beside his omnipotent power that restrains and withholds men from hurting us; even the power of impartial godliness, the confessed splendour and brightness of entire virtue; which overcomes men that are not strangely impudent, and howsoever will make all sober people cry shame of them that harm those who do harm to nobody, but good to all. Besides (secondly) when we do suffer we shall be the less affected with it; and that not only because we shall have Divine supports, but because it is honourable to suffer for well doing. When we know that we suffer not by our own fault, but by the fault of others; it is not only a great comfort to us, but a great glory. And (thirdly) we shall be the more contented, because all well-minded people will not only pity us very much, and pray for us, but also be moved with compassion to succour, relieve, and be helpful to us in a suffering condition. Whereas if we suffer being riotous spendthrifts, idle, injurious, covetous, talkative, contentious, or unpeaceable, all men are apt to upbraid us; and some will little less than rejoice in our calamity. And again (fourthly), when we suffer thus virtuously and contentedly, it will be the most effectual means to make even those that harm us relent, and honour that goodness which before they despised. They will be the rather moved to this when they hear one neighbour commending our humanity and courtesy; another, our humility; a third, our temperance; a fourth, our diligence; a fifth, our devotion to God and our charity to the poor; a sixth, our readiness to do them any kindness, or some such virtue or other: which must needs render those the most wretched and wicked sort of men who are but inclined to do wrong to those whom all but themselves commend and praise.

[h] 1 Pet. iii. 13.

As for those things which we suffer from the hand of God, and which the law and condition of our nature makes us subject unto; humility teaches to bear them with the most equal and submissive mind: to lay our hand upon our mouth, and not complain of the Author of our being; who is not of such a nature that he should make any thing to be miserable. Let us discourse and give prescriptions as long as we please, we shall never attain satisfaction and contentment till we understand and believe this, which I shall add as the last thing that I shall mention at this time.

VI.

Possess your mind with right notions of Almighty God; and persuade yourselves that he is, and that he administers all things well and wisely. This, as Epictetus[i] hath truly observed, is κυριώτατον τῆς περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας, 'the principal part of our religion and piety towards God:' in which he exactly conspires with the divine writer to the Hebrews, when he saith, *He that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is the rewarder of them that diligently seek him*[k]. This persuasion being wrought in our mind, saith the same philosopher, it will make us both obey him cheerfully, and submit to all that comes to pass willingly, as ordered and disposed by the most excellent mind and counsel: and so we shall never find fault with him, nor complain as if we were neglected by him. Whereas, if we imagine this to be ill done, and that to be a mischief that befalls us; we shall fall into murmuring against the cause of all those things. For this is natural to all living creatures, to fly from and avoid with a great aversation, both all those things they apprehend hurtful, and the authors of them: as, on the other side, to love and admire that which they apprehend profitable, and those who are the cause of it. Upon which passage another excellent philosopher[l] hath made a notable discourse to this sense: "Observe," saith he, "wherein the right notion of God consists. First, that we judge him to be the first cause of all things; and then that he advises and consults for the government of the world, and doth not let things go at all adventure; and, lastly, that he disposes

[i] [Vid. Arrian. lib. i. cap. 9. p. 107.]

[k] Heb. xi. 6.

[l] Simplicius in Epict. cap. 38. [pp. 192, 4.]

of all things well and wisely. He therefore that either believes there is no God, the Creator of the world; or if there be, thinks that he regards nothing, and doth not exercise any providence over his creatures; or if he grant both these, yet is not sensible that he governs all things in the most excellent manner, agreeable to the highest wisdom, justice, and goodness; he will never honour him nor worship him as he ought: nor will he subscribe to what he appoints, nor submit himself to it as proceeding from the best judgment. No, nor will it be possible for us to direct our lives aright, so that we never reproach or accuse that which is ordered by the best mind, unless we think likewise that those things only are the good and the evil in which we are concerned, which are within our own power. For if we seek our good and happiness in external things, and there also imagine that our evil and misery lies; since we cannot but be often frustrated in our desires to enjoy that good and to avoid that evil; we shall naturally fall into a secret repining at the author of those things, who, when he could, would not give us the one, and keep from us the other. For all things that have sense in them naturally abhor that which they conceive hurtful, and embrace, as you have heard, that which they conceive most delightful; and they are affected towards the authors and causes of them according to the hurt or good which they take to be in the things themselves. Is it not necessary, then, that we rectify our thoughts and apprehensions of things? Otherwise it cannot be avoided but that he who thinks himself mischieved and undone by any thing, and believes God to have a hand in all events, should be apt to complain, and have an evil heart towards him. He will never delight in him that is the cause of his misery; for every one is affected towards him that doth the damage, like as he is towards the damage itself. Children themselves, we see, are angry at their parents when they withhold that which they apprehend necessary for them, or when they inflict that which they think unnecessary. Who doth not see, then, I say again, an absolute necessity of establishing firmly in his mind the notions forementioned? that is, after he is rooted in this belief that God is the first cause of all things, to persuade himself that he still governs all things; which those are most apt to doubt of who have ill success even in good enterprises. Notwithstanding

that we see the evil unpunished according to their merits, and the good unrewarded, and in want of these things which we think they should be encouraged withal; let this principle remain unshaken in our minds, that things do not fall out by chance, but are disposed by Almighty Providence, and a better wisdom than our own. Especially the affairs of mankind, who are the only pious and religious creatures in this lower world; and therefore are no small and contemptible portion of God's goods and possessions (as one may call them), which are valued by him according to their worth and dignity. Do we not see how the mind of man takes care of its own works? nay, how it governs whole nations, and manages the affairs of kingdoms? Why should we think then that the Divine mind is unconcerned in its works, even in the principal of them, or that it is wearied in its inspection over them? Let not any of the cross things that we meet withal, particularly the troubles and afflictions of the good and the prosperous flourishing condition of the bad, be of any force to supplant our belief of this matter. And that we may always preserve it and hold it fast, let us always remember that it is impossible the Divine mind should not do justice, and manage things with the greatest prudence, and have the greatest love to those who are his worshippers and cordially obey his laws. We ought to think that those things are not so good as we imagine which pious men want, nor those things so evil as we fancy which they suffer, rather than think that God is not good when he denies them the one and when he lets them endure the other. And by the same reason we should not be offended at the prosperity of the wicked, nor think God to be of so weak a nature as to be bribed by a multitude of gifts and sacrifices (which their riches can furnish his temple withal) to be more liberal to them in his benefits than to the poor pious persons. There is nothing more absurd than this. We may be sure there are other reasons in his most excellent mind for this sort of dispensation; which if we cannot comprehend, yet this we ought to be sure of, that he is so just and good as to do good always to those that are good, and to make them better even by their calamities."

This discourse shows how needful it is to imprint the first rule in our minds, and to join it together with this. For if we

had not so high an opinion of those things which we desire as our good, nor so bad an opinion of those things which we would by all means avoid as our evil; if we thought the one could not do us any such great good, nor the other such great harm, and that to be the true good and evil which we do ourselves; we should not be tempted to have, in the least, worse thoughts of God for want of that good which we long for, or because of that evil which we suffer. The better we practise the first rule, the better we shall follow this: and this will ease us of all our troubles. If we think that God is good, notwithstanding what we want or what we endure; nay, that he can do us good by either; and that he doth not, nor we ought, to esteem that so good which may do us hurt, and that so evil which may do us good, we should be easily satisfied and acquiesce in that which he is pleased to appoint or permit. The course of the world cannot run amiss under his guidance. Which way soever the current or storm drive us, we shall still meet with our haven. If our main interest be secured, nay, promoted by what happens, there will be no cause of making complaints, much less of bitter lamentations. And truly it argues a great defect in the minds of men, and that their judgment is blind, as Philo the Jew[m] still better explains this matter, in that they admire these outward petty things so much, and regard not how matters are within:

"Men do not think that God hath as much wisdom and care as a common physician; who going to administer to a man's body, though he be a prince that sends for him, doth not regard the brave front of the house, nor stands to look upon the noble porch and walks, or the fine pictures in his gallery, as he goes along, or the numerous attendants and the servants that wait to receive him; but goes straight to the bedside of his patient, and, not regarding what the curtains or coverings are made of, or any thing else, applies himself presently to his business: and sometimes hastily throwing all aside, when there is great danger, he lays his hand directly upon his pulse, to feel how it beats, and sometimes goes further, and feels his breast or his belly and his legs, that he may know exactly in what condition he is. Nay, he throws off all the clothes, perhaps, as if he was in a passion, that he may make a speedy application to his feet,

[m] [Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. viii. cap. 13. pp. 388, 9.]

or some other part, where he thinks it will be most effectual: which may make ignorant people think that he is rude and uncivil; a man that understands not the reverence he ought to have to that great person and those that are about him: but he, knowing very well what the necessity is, goes on with his work, and, not regarding their censures, administers what he thinks most fit. Perhaps he lances, or cuts, or burns the flesh, if the case require it. Is it not easy to accommodate this to our present purpose? There is no wise man who professes *τὴν ἰατρικὴν τῆς βασιλίδος ψυχῆς*, 'the cure of that great princess the soul of man,' but he contemns all those things which the foolish opinion of the world, after the manner of blind folk, is wont to be amazed at. He searches into the soul; he touches the very heart, to feel if it beats with unequal and hasty motions of anger. He touches the tongue, to see if it be rough, and prone to evil-speaking, or if it be lascivious, or too talkative; he feels the belly, if it be unsatiable in its appetite; and so all the rest of the passions and perturbations and diseases of the mind, he examines them strictly, lest the man should perish. Whereas, on the contrary, people that are astonished at the outward splendour of things ever live in error. They never come to the mind, which is the reigning part in man, but they stay without doors. They stare upon the porch, and all the things without the gate of virtue, such as riches, glory, power, health, and all the rest of that kind: these they admire; and these they imagine, not only all men, but God himself also should take the principal notice of, and provide for their preservation and increase. But it must not be so. The method of God I have described before in the practice of wise men.

He hath the greatest regard to the soul, as the physician, I told you, hath to his patient's body. As he is little concerned for all the outward ornaments of it, but looks after the man himself, so we should believe the most high God doth, who knows the mind is most a man's self. The body is but an external thing, and as much beneath the soul as the fine house and garden, and all the rest I mentioned, are below the bodily health. If the soul be but safe, all is well. To this he directly makes his applications, passing by the other, as less considerable, when this is in great hazard. Nay, perhaps he throws all things else aside, like as the physician doth the bed clothes, as

if he was displeased. He strips us naked, and lays affliction upon our loins, and puts us to great pain, and all to do a cure upon the more excellent part. If we be rid of all its inward diseases, it is no matter how the cure be wrought; though it be, as I have shown heretofore, at the expense of our bodies and worldly estates."

If it were not for fear of being too tedious, I would have added the words of a Christian writer; but I shall only give you the sum of them, which is this: "We suspect almighty Providence, because we behold, as we think, many irregularities: whereas that very irregularity ἔχει ὁμαλόν τι παρὰ Θεῷ, 'hath something equal and regular in it in the sight of God[n].' Just as you see the several materials of a piece of work, which asunder seem to have no beauty, no order at all in them, when they are all put together by the artificer appear a very elegant structure. We must not therefore conclude that God is ἄτεχνος, without art or skill in his government, because we are rude and unskilful ourselves, nor think that he manages things without order, because we understand not the reason. The truth of it is, we are like to those who have a swimming in their head, or are sick at sea, who think all things turn round, when they are giddy themselves". . . "Let us remember that he is God and we are men. Let us acknowledge that as he is the builder of the world, so he is the supervisor of his own work. And especially let us acknowledge that he takes care of us; and though contrary things govern our life, let us not question his providence; for perhaps they are unaccountable to us, that we may admire that supreme Reason the more. Ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν ῥαδίως ληπτὸν ἅπαν εὐκαταφρόνητον, &c., 'for that which is easily apprehended is generally despised:' but that which is above us, the harder it is to compass, the more admirable it appears. And therefore let us not admire all health, nor nauseate every disease. Let us not set our hearts on riches, and, as it were, give them a part of our souls, nor think poverty detestable, and turn our minds with utter aversion from it." But let us, without any disputing or solicitous care to resolve all questions that may be asked, believe this, (as Arnobius, another of the ancients speaks,) that *nihil a Deo principe quod sit nocens atque exitiabile proficisci, &c.*, 'nothing comes from the

[n] Greg. Naz. Orat. 16. [ed. Ben. Orat. 24. §. 31—34. tom. i. pp. 280, 2.]

most high God which is hurtful and destructive[o].' This we hold, this we know, in the knowledge of this truth we stand, that there is nothing done by him but what is salutary to all; nothing but what is sweet and most full of love and joy and gladness, which hath infinite and incorruptible pleasures attending on it.

And therefore, why should we be discontented with that which comes from so good a hand? It would be impossible we should be so, were we from the very first bred up to these thoughts, and had not our minds been poisoned with other pernicious opinions. If Christians had always been as careful as some heathens were to preserve worthy notions of God, the world would be more happy and at a better pass than now it is. Good thoughts of God could not choose but breed in us good and cheerful dispositions of mind, whatsoever befalls us. And therefore Plato very discreetly takes special order in the government of his commonwealth[p], that children should be taught nothing out of the common fables that passed up and down the country in those days, which represented God not to be good, or to be the cause of evil. "For God," saith he, "can do no evil, nor hurt his creatures; but some other cause must be found out of all the evils that are in the world. This ought therefore to be the law," saith he, "by which poets and fable-makers should regulate their discourses, that God is *αἴτιον μὴ πάντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν*, 'the cause and principle only of good things.'" This he thought would breed generous thoughts and noble dispositions in their minds: and therefore would much more do so in us, who know God to be more than good. So Tertullian excellently expresses it, *Bonum Deum novimus, solum optimum a Christo ejus addiscimus*[q]; 'We knew God to be good, but that he is the best or superlatively good, we learn only from his Christ.' Who, as I told you the last time, hath assured us of an extraordinary good-will which God bears to us; and hath made such clear demonstration of his abundant goodness, that we have no reason to distrust him; but all the arguments in the world to confide in him, and acquiesce in what he orders for us. So we shall most certainly

[o] Lib. 2. adv. Gentes. [Max. Bibl. vet. Patr. tom. iii. p. 455 F.]

[p] Lib. 2. de Repub. [p. 379 C.]

[q] Lib. de Resurrect. Carn. cap. 9. [p. 531 A.]

do, if these becoming and worthy thoughts accompany us concerning our Creator. They will produce in us an ingenuous love to him, a hearty trust in him and resignation to his providence, as you shall hear another time; and a handsome courage and resolution under any hardship that it is his good-will we should endure. For why should we fear? why should we decline any thing so passionately which the good God would have to be our portion? There is no cause we should start at it, much less fret and vex, and toss ourselves up and down in perpetual unquietness. We ought rather to bear it decently and with a submissive generosity; remembering, as I said, that he is not tied to one way of doing us good, and that all ways are alike to his power; and that he hath no inclination to do us any thing but good by all that befalls us; and that he hath promised, as you will see in what follows, to provide for our welfare, both here below and in the upper eternal world. We may trust him, and we are very unwise if we do not; for nothing will more disoblige him than mean and unworthy thoughts of him and unkind jealousies and suspicions of his inclinations, which make us diffident and distrustful of his Providence, and with a pensive sadness to groan under his government: which we ought by our cheerful and patient obedience to commend and praise. Amen.

PRAYER XI.

O most holy and ever blessed God, when we turn our eyes from this world towards thyself, we cannot but account it our highest happiness that we know thee to be the Author of it, and that we know thou rulest and governest in heaven and earth, and humblest thyself to take a special notice of us, the children of men; whose affairs thou administerest with such great reason, wisdom, and justice, and hast declared thyself so abundant in goodness and tender mercy, that we ought not to suspect thee of any unkindness to us, or entertain any hard thoughts of thee, notwithstanding any misery that may befall us: but in every estate and condition of life to adore thy power, and commend ourselves to thy wisdom, and hope in thy goodness, and rest satisfied of thy intentions of giving us better goods than we are naturally apt to desire.

Accordingly, O Lord, I here bow down my very soul before thee, and with the greatest humility of spirit submit myself, both to what thou wouldst have me to do, and what thou wouldst have me to endure.

I know that I cannot but be safe in thy hands, and that no harm can come unto me, while my heart is possessed with a due care to please thee, rather than to ease myself. Settle in me, O blessed God, right notions and apprehensions of thee. Persuade me perfectly, as of thy being, so of thy providence and excellent counsel, and fatherly care and almighty love, that can turn the greatest evils of this world into our greatest good. Fill my mind with such a strong and lively belief of thy most blessed and gracious nature, that none of the crosses of this life may ever shake my hope in thee, or make me murmur and repine at any thing which thou thinkest fit should be my portion. Endue me likewise with a right sense of the nature of all those things, whether good or evil, which we desire to enjoy or to avoid; that the want of the one or the suffering of the other may not seem so considerable, as to alter my thoughts of thee, or weaken my belief in thee, or disturb the holy peace and joy which the thoughts of thy good-will towards me are apt to raise up in me. Help me by wise and composed thoughts to moderate all my desires after those goods that are without me; to be contented with those that are within myself, which none can take away from me; to value all things by their end and use; to enjoy what I have temperately; and to live in an humble sense that I have nothing but what comes from thee, and is the fruit of thy free bounty; that so I may return it quietly, and acknowledge that in all conditions I have more than I deserve.

Adorn my soul with all the graces of thy holy Spirit, that so I may have peace within, in the midst of all troubles which surround me; and the splendour of Christian virtues may shine forth in the greatest darkness. Enable me always to prize innocence more than pleasure or greatness, or any other worldly good; to show forth the power of godliness and a divine nature under all the pressures and sufferings that I may lie under: that honouring my religion it may be an ornament and a crown of glory to me, both now and in the great day of the Lord Jesus.

I commend myself unto thee, O God, who canst not misguide me, and perfectly knowest what is fittest and most convenient for me in every part of my life. Bear me up against all discouragement, by wise and pious thoughts, especially by a firm and mighty sense that thou art good and dost good, and hast shown thyself most excellently good to us in our Lord Christ Jesus, by whom I will give praise and thanks unto thee for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON XII.

HEB. XIII. 5.

Be content with such things as ye have.

WHEN our minds are once established upon this bottom, that God is, and that he guides all things, and is excellent in counsel, and doth not manage his affairs amiss, but so well that all wise men have ever satisfied themselves in his government; we shall find great cause to welcome another advice for our content and quiet in every estate. Which is,

VII.

To live in the constant exercise of a divine faith. We have a revelation to guide us and support us together with our reason, which bids us rely upon the word of Almighty God. And it is a famous saying, you know, of the prophet Habakkuk, often cited by the holy writers of the New Testament, that in time of distress and danger, (such as those were when he wrote,) *The just shall live by his faith*[a]. That is, he shall be saved and delivered, or live in cheerfulness and good comfort, by his faith and trust in God, and constant adherence to his religion. Now there are these three things which we should constantly believe, among many others:

I. First, the promise which our Saviour hath made us, that he will take care of us here in this world, especially when we are in trouble and distress. I mentioned it the last sermon but one, and it follows immediately after those words which I chose for the ground of this discourse: *He hath said, I will not leave thee, nor forsake thee*[b]. Let us depend on the truth of this saying. Let us build upon his word that we are under a most loving and indulgent Providence, which will be so tender of us as not to withhold any thing from us, nor suffer any thing

[a] Hab. ii. 4. [b] Hebrews xiii. 5.

to befall us but what he thinks most fit, either to be denied us or to try us. In this you know Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and David, and all the faithful in old time, (to whom God's great love was not so manifested as it is to us,) continually comforted themselves: and therefore let not us be so ungrateful to him and such enemies to ourselves as not to accept of this consolation. *When they went from one nation to another, from one kingdom to another people,* (i. e. had no certain dwelling-place, no fixed habitation, but, as it is said of Abraham, *were called to God's foot*[c], that is, went whithersoever he would have them,) *God suffered no man to do them wrong, yea, he reproved kings* (such as Abimelech and Pharaoh, Gen. xii. and xx.) *for their sake, saying, Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm*[d]. And is he not the same still? Or rather, is he not more now to us than he was to them? For he is in our flesh, all the fulness of the Godhead dwells in our Lord bodily; and therefore he will not suffer us to take any harm, he will not leave us in the most forlorn and forsaken condition. May not a man well content himself in this treasure of the Divine Providence so rich in mercy? Is there not wealth enough in these words of the Lord of all, *I will take care of you?* Either we have no faith, or if we have, it cannot but constrain us to say, as it is in the next verse, *The Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man can do unto me.*

Read but Psalm cxlvi. from the fifth verse to the end, and see how the good man comforts himself in the knowledge and belief that they had of God in those times. He begins thus, *Happy is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help, whose hope is in the Lord his God.* And then he proceeds to tell us from what considerations this happiness and comfort sprung out of that fountain of life and bliss. First, from his great power, ver. 6, *Which made the heaven, the earth, the sea, and all that therein is.* Secondly, from his faithfulness, *Which keepeth truth for ever.* Thirdly, from his justice, ver. 8, *Which executeth judgment for the oppressed.* Fourthly, from his bounty and commiseration towards all men, *Which giveth food to the hungry: the Lord looseth the prisoners, the Lord openeth the eyes of the blind.* Fifthly, from his more singular

[c] Isa. xli. 2. [d] Psalm cv. 13, 14, 15.

care over the good and pious, ver. 1, *The Lord loveth the righteous.* Sixthly, from his preserving of persons as well as providing for them, ver. 9, *The Lord preserveth the strangers,* &c. Seventhly, from his executions on the evildoers, *But the way of the wicked he turneth upside down.* Lastly, from the consideration of the eternity of his kingdom and dominion, his never-failing power, truth, justice and mercy, ver. 10, *The Lord shall reign for ever, even thy God, O Zion, unto all generations. Praise ye the Lord.* And great reason, truly; for it is but just to rejoice in God, and praise him who hath given us this knowledge of him the Supreme Good; and made us know him better and more fully: having given us new and strong instances of his power, and truth, and love, and tender mercy; which hath intrusted one of ourselves with all these, and the most sovereign authority over all to the world's end. Have we not cause to be satisfied if we consider this? Yea, to believe, in the second place, which will strongly compose us, that,

II. That condition is best in which we are. For this is but the consequent of the former. God always makes good his promise. It is not a care that he sometimes exercises, but a constant watchfulness over our good. And therefore whatsoever our present estate be, we ought to believe that it is not without his care, and for that reason must needs be such as he judges best, and therefore so it should seem unto us likewise. If we could always persuade ourselves that this is the condition which God hath promised in which we are, we should be satisfied with it, if not rejoice in our Lord's care over us. Had we attained to this degree of faith, we should not be so desirous of alterations, for fear that if he accorded to us, we should have something that may prove bad for us. We should dread our own desires as childish and foolish, and say, It is well as it is; it suffices; this is God's pleasure, and for the present I have reason to think it cannot be better. And therefore why should I not be exceedingly well pleased; so well at least as not to murmur nor afflict myself, no more than I do in that which we call a better estate?

So necessary a duty this is, that even they who had a rich and plentiful fortune promised to them, yet were bound to believe that another was at present better for them, and in

that to be satisfied; and their not being so was their great sin, and exposed them to great miseries. The Israelites, I mean, to whom God said that he would give a land flowing with milk and honey, became high offenders against him by being no more contented in a wilderness; which he would have them take in their way to that Canaan. One of their sins is thus described, *They soon forgat his works, they waited not for his counsel*[e]. In the Hebrew it is, (as the margin of your Bibles will inform you,) "They made haste, they forgat his works," &c. And so the LXX, or Greek interpreters, ἐτάχυναν, 'they made too much speed;' that is, they were vexed and displeased because they were not instantly brought into that pleasant land, abounding with all good things, which God said should be their portion. They murmured and said, (as you read Numbers xx. 5,) *Wherefore have ye made us to come out of Egypt, to bring us into this evil place? it is no place of food, or figs, or vines, or pomegranates*, i. e. not such a country as you told us God would bestow upon us. Here are none of those blessings which we came out of the land of Egypt to enjoy, and which you put us in hope of. If we had thought of this, we would have chosen to stay where we were before; for then it was better with us than it is now. This made them take their own way, and forsake God; and upon any new difficulty presently cry out that they were betrayed by Moses, and that he had fed them with deceitful words, and brought them out of Egypt to their undoing. Now because they made such haste, and would not wait God's season, because they called this desert *an evil place* (a bad condition) wherein they were, therefore he brought them into a worse estate. He sent many plagues upon them, and at last, after sundry murmurings, he shut them quite out of that good land to which he intended to conduct them. The true original of this was their unbelief, according to that of Isaiah, *He that believeth* (the word that is spoken by the prophet) *will not make haste*[f]. And therefore we must take heed of such rash conclusions if we have any faith. We must never say, This is an evil condition, this is an unsupportable calamity. And we have the more reason to be patient, because we have not such promises of temporal things as they had, and therefore have not the

[e] Psalm cvi. 13. [f] Isaiah xxviii. 16.

temptation to think in any adversity that God doth not take care over us, but ought to rest the more persuaded that by this means God will bring us to better things, which we have his word for. We are never (as I have said heretofore) out of our way to them, unless we will turn aside from following of God: and there where we are we should be confident it is best for us quietly to remain till he be pleased to order otherwise, who is the Disposer of all things. Thus we shall find ourselves very much comforted; and we shall also put ourselves in the readiest way to any other more plentiful condition, when God sees it good for us.

III. But above all, let us believe the promises concerning the life to come; for the persuasion of them will yield the most abundant refreshment unto us in this life present. There is no such way to contentment, as to live in a constant expectation and assured hope of the rest which is prepared for the people of God. With the thoughts of this it is that the apostle comforts the Christian Hebrews in the midst of all their sufferings, as Moses did their forefathers in the wilderness with the promise of rest in the land of Canaan. I have shown you as much already, and therefore I shall mention but one place in that Epistle, where he calls this hope *an anchor of the soul, sure and steadfast, which entereth into that within the veil*[g]. It will keep us, that is, if it be well grounded in our souls, as an anchor doth the ship, from being driven with the storm, and swallowed up in the waves and billows of this troublesome world. We shall be preserved from the violence of those winds which blow without us, and of the more fierce gusts of our own passions and desires that are within us. For it is fastened in heaven; it enters within *the veil*. That is, it depends upon the steadfast promise of God, who hath undertaken to bring us into his own most holy place, where he himself dwells, and into which Jesus is gone, and whither none of these troubles can follow us: for none can enter thither but only good and holy persons. As the high priest, you know, and he alone could go within the veil to appear before the mercy-seat where the majesty of God sat, all the rest being prohibited to enter into it; so that it was a place free from any approaches but only of him that God would admit into it: even such a place is that, where

[g] Hebrews vi. 19.

our High Priest Christ Jesus now appears in the presence of God for us, secure from the assaults of any enemies, free from the invasion of any troubles, a mountain of joy and gladness, whither none can ascend but only pious persons, who are now made priests unto God, for ever to praise him and bless him, together with our Lord, in that high and holy place to which he is ascended. Let us lay hold then on this promise: let us cast our anchor on this rock, and it will not be in the power of any thing to trouble us; while we see ourselves in no more danger (let the worst that can come) but only to be carried thereby to this place of security, ease, rest, and eternal repose.

And let me add thus much before I leave this consideration; that God never more made good his word to the Israelites than when they were in the sorest state of afflictions, and under the most miserable oppressions. One of his promises you remember was, that they should be multiplied like the stars of heaven, or the sand upon the sea shore. Now if you mark their story well, you will find that during the days of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, which was about two hundred years, they were increased to no more than seventy-five persons. This was the number that went down into Egypt; which proved, you know, an house of bondage after Joseph was dead, and they became no better than slaves. But then, notwithstanding, was the time that they increased exceedingly. Then they were fruitful; and the more the Egyptian tyrant oppressed them, the more they fructified and grew numerous. So that in the space of about as many more years as those now named, they were become a mighty nation; and there marched out of Egypt no less than *six hundred thousand men, besides children*[h]. A vast increase! and a great encouragement to depend upon the promises of God, which we shall then find the greatest comfort of, when we may be apt to think our condition is most sad and miserable. The more we endure here with submission to God, the more satisfaction we shall find in the thoughts of heaven; the more we shall rejoice in hope of the glory of God, the more will our refreshments and joys be multiplied, and the more will the most excellent graces and fruits of the Spirit be increased, even as the seed of Abraham was in the time of their affliction. By continuing patiently in well doing, we

[h] Exod. xii. 37.

shall feel our hearts filled with joy unspeakable and full of glory. And for that end,

VIII.

We must live in the exercise of divine love, which is the proper work of that faith I have now spoken of. Let us but love God with all our hearts, and with all our souls, and all our strength, and then we shall not easily be discontented with any thing that he doth. And is there not great reason that we should love him most passionately, when we consider what he hath done, and what he hath promised further to do for us? Need I stay to persuade you to enlarge your hearts in the greatest affection to his divine goodness? Your own minds will instruct you and excite you to it, if you will but give them leave to reflect how deeply you are indebted to him, and how amiable he is, and how desirable it is to be still more beloved by him. Let us proceed then to consider how this love of God will charm all our unquiet and troublesome passions, and put our souls into the sweetest and most pleasing humour. For, first, when our heart is thus full of him, there can be but little room (as I have formerly said) for any thing else. Some troublesome thoughts may enter in, but they cannot dwell there, for the love of God possessing the heart will thrust them out again. And secondly, the love likewise which we feel towards him is very powerful to beget a persuasion in us, that he loves us so entirely as to take a complacency and delight in us. For our love is the product of his, and nothing is more comfortable than to think that God loves us. Love also, thirdly, is apt to make us well pleased with all that they do to whom we bear an hearty affection. We take nothing ill at their hands; we think they mean well, especially if we be satisfied of their wisdom and judgment, as well as their kind inclinations towards us: it pleases us that they should please themselves; and therefore, if we love God, it will bring forth the same satisfaction in all his providences: we shall love them, because we love him, and believe that he loveth us. Nay, we find, fourthly, that we can be content voluntarily to displease ourselves; I mean, to suffer many things which otherwise we should avoid, for the sake of one that we love. And therefore how can the love of God fail to reconcile us to that which he orders by his excellent will? Though we be not pleased with the thing itself, yet for

love's sake we shall be pleased. And indeed, fifthly, the love of God is as directly opposite to all inordinate self-love, which is the root of all discontents; and therefore this divine love must needs be the root of true satisfaction. Contentment is a stability of the soul, whereby it stands in one temper; it is a pious indifference, a steadfast unconcernedness in all things compared with God's love and favour. And how is that to be had, but only by such a strong love to him as conquers the love of ourselves and other things? As long as that inordinate love of ourselves reigns, it carries us headlong to every thing that is pleasing to any of our carnal appetites. It makes us range up and down the world in pursuit of every thing to which we have a fancy. It makes us vex if we be crossed, and sets us in a restless motion without any possibility of ever fixing ourselves; and therefore, till it be vanquished, we are not like to find contentment. Now, the love of God, being of the quite contrary nature, possesses us of this happiness; for it concentres and unites all our roving thoughts and affections in one great good, which we may always have, and which we may always have satisfaction in. It carries our souls continually above; it sets us out of the reach of these worldly things, because it raises us beyond ourselves, and makes us touch and feel him that is infinitely better; who also rules and disposes of all those things according to that excellent goodness which we feel to be in his most blessed nature. Let us love him therefore as much as we can, and the more we grow in this love to him the more we shall be pleased, because every thing will provoke us to love him.

And if to this love of God we add that which is the natural consequence of it, a great love to all mankind, yea, to all God's creatures, we shall still be the better satisfied: for that which is prejudicial to our worldly interest may be very beneficial to others. When we suffer in our private concerns, the general good may thereby be promoted, and in this (as the very heathens considered) we may find some contentment: Οὐ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἑκάστῳ καταθύμιον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ πᾶν δεῖ βλέπειν, as Plotinus[i] speaks; 'for we ought not to have respect merely to that which is agreeable to our particular desires, but to the whole universe,' of which we are but a little portion. The order

[i] Ennead. 2. lib. 9. cap. 9. [tom. i. p. 377.]

of all ages, saith St. Augustine, is just like a fit song composed by God *ex quibusdam quasi antithetis*[k], 'of certain opposite and contrary notes,' which, skilfully mixed together, make up a rare harmony and melodious concord. Which is the very doctrine of Solomon, who, in his wisdom, hath preached the same lesson, when he saith[l], *In the day of prosperity be joyful, but in the day of adversity consider: God also hath set the one over against the other, to the end that man should find nothing after him;* i. e. after God had so disposed things in such vicissitudes, no man should be able to alter this order. And thus Arnobius argues rarely well against the heathens: "You find fault," saith he, "with several things as evil, which to the world perhaps are not evil. But you, measuring all things by your own particular convenience and profit, blame the events of nature, and charge them with your false and wicked opinions. It doth not rain perhaps, and there is a scarcity of corn; what then? Must every thing needs serve thee so far as to take care that thou mayest live in perpetual delicacy? What if a man that is desirous to put forth to sea should complain that the winds have not blown a long time; shall we say therefore that a calm is bad for the world? And what if a man that is wont to dry and harden his body in the sun, should find fault because it doth not shine; shall we say that cloudy weather is destructive? O men! know that these events are not to be weighed *commodulis nostris*, 'by our trifling emoluments and gains,' but by the general reasons of things, and the orders of nature. And if any thing happen which doth not favour us and our designs, must it therefore be presently counted evil, and put into the number of hurtful accidents? No such matter. Whether the world rains or not rains, it rains or not rains to itself. Pestilences, diseases, famines, and such like calamities, do but take away, for any thing thou knowest, that which is exuberant, and by lopping off some parts, finds a remedy for, and sets bounds unto, the luxuriance of things. *Tu audeas dicere*, &c., Darest thou then say, that this and that is evil in the world, whose original and cause thou art not able to explain and resolve? And because a thing hinders thy delights, and perhaps libidinous pleasures, wilt thou be so bold as to call it pernicious, and intolerably grievous? It seems then, that be-

[k] [De Civ. Dei, lib. xi. cap. 18. tom. vii. col. 285 E.] [l] Eccles. vii. 14.

cause the cold nips thee, and is in danger to freeze thy blood, there must be no winter in the world. And because thou art not able to endure the fervent heat of the sun, there must be no summer. Such an herb is poisonous to thee; ought it therefore not to grow? The wolf tears the silly sheep in pieces; was nature in fault for producing such a beast of prey? It is too proud and haughty a thing, when thou art not thine own, and remainest wholly in another's possession, to desire thus to prescribe conditions to those who are so much thy superiors, and to will that to be done which thou in particular wishest, and not what thou findest fixed in things by ancient constitutions." Thus he, to which I may add, that it is also an ill-natured thing to measure all good and evil merely by our own conveniences, when we are such an inconsiderable part of the whole, and there are so many others to be served as well as we. Let us enlarge our thoughts but a little beyond our poor selves, and we shall take better measures. And let us remember that the *lovers of their own selves*, who would have nothing go besides their own particular persons, are reckoned among the most hateful persons, nay, set foremost in the catalogue of vile and abominable people[n], as the *poor in spirit*, or contented, are placed, I told you, in the head of the blessed company of Christ's disciples. Alas! what are we that we should stand so much upon our own wills, and expect that all things should lean and bend to serve our interests? Let us first demonstrate, (as the forenamed author speaks,) before we think of this, whence we are, and that the world was made for us alone, and that we did not come into it as strangers from other regions. Which since we cannot do, let us not imagine that all appertains to us which is done under the heavens; for things are not done with partiality, but are referred to the good, and turn to the account of the whole.

IX.

Let us therefore exercise ourselves very much to praise God, and to give thanks unto him; which the love of him will necessarily provoke and force us to do. This is another most pregnant rule to fill us with contentment. And how is it possible that we should want occasions for this duty, if we consider all that we do enjoy, and have enjoyed, and still hope to be made

[m] Lib. i. adv. Gent. [Max. bibl. vet. patr. t. iii. p. 432.] [n] 2 Tim. iii. 2.

partakers of? There can be no condition so sad wherein we may not find reason to employ ourselves in this heavenly devotion. Which if we give ourselves to, it will reward us with continued pleasures. For besides that then we enjoy our God, we also refresh our souls with the memory of our past enjoyments, and we taste all our blessings and comforts over again. They are present to us though they be gone, and they pour out a new pleasure upon our spirits as when we were in possession of them. The truth is, we do now again enjoy them, and our spirits feel them, though they do not touch our outward man.

Therefore all wise men, even those who were guided only by the light of their own minds, have still put their disciples in mind of this, when they spoke of tranquillity and peace of spirit, to remember all the past part of their life and the happiness of it. It is manifest, saith Plutarch[o], that we have our happiness or misery lying in our own minds; for foolish people overlook their present good, and have their thoughts wholly intent on what is to come: whereas prudent persons make even those goods which are past, by a clear remembrance of them, to be again present to their souls. For that which is for a little moment only touches us, and then is sensible no more, is all that fools enjoy; when it is gone by they think it doth not belong to them, nor is any longer theirs. Just like the man whom the poets painted in hell, always wreathing a rope of hay, which he suffered an ass to eat up as fast as he could wreath it[p]. Such doth a stupid and ungrateful forgetfulness of all enjoyments and performances render every one of us. It will not suffer a man's life to be one continued piece, (*οὐκ ἐᾷ τὸν βίον ἕνα γενέσθαι,*) having past things knit to those that are present. It divides to-day from yesterday, as if it were another thing; and so it doth again with to-morrow, as if what is gone had never been.

Let us not be, I beseech you, in the number of these senseless fools, but by due remembrance of all God's benefits make

[o] Lib. *περὶ εὐθυμίας.* [p. 473.]

[p] [So Propertius,

"Dignior obliquo funem qui torqueat Ocno,
Æternusque tuam pascat, aselle, famem,"—

Lib. iv. eleg. 3. 21. Cf. Pausan. x. 29; Plin. H.N. xxxv. 40.]

our life one continued piece of gratitude to him. And if we can find reason to be thankful for what is past, will not our present enjoyments, think you, affect us? This is another counsel of wise men, that when any ill accident befalls us (as we speak) that is any thing grievous to our nature, we would be sure presently to consider what we enjoy, and fix our thoughts on those delightful and pleasing things. Is it not very preposterous (saith the same Plutarch[q]) for those very men who are wont to turn their eyes from objects too bright and splendid, that they may refresh them with greens, or some such agreeable colour, to fix their eyes notwithstanding on all their miseries, and pore upon them night and day, withdrawing their thoughts wholly from their better enjoyments? These are like the person whom his servant described, when he was asked what he left his master doing, Ἀγαθῶν παρόντων κακὸν ζητοῦντα[r], 'Seeking,' said he, 'evil, when good things are present with him.' Why, what good things have we? will some say. Nay, rather what have we not? One hath an excellent reputation; another a pleasant dwelling; another is happy in his marriage; another in his friend. And Antipater of Tarsus, when he was a dying, and reckoned up all the good things he had enjoyed, forgot not to put in his safe voyage from Sicily to Athens: δεῖ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ μὴ παρορᾶν[s], 'the most common blessings are not to be neglected, but to be put upon account.' "We ought to rejoice," saith he, "that we live, and that we are well, and that we see the sun, and that there are no wars perhaps, nor seditions; and that the earth is tilled, and the sea open, and that we may speak or hold our peace, be busy or at rest. And these things will be the more pleasing to us if we represent them to ourselves as if they were absent; often thinking how desirable health is to the sick, and peace to these who are harassed with wars, and a good name and reputation in a city to one that is a stranger. By which means these things will not seem great and precious to us only when we lose them, but while we enjoy them. For the loss of any thing, sure, doth not add a price to it. It was worth as much before, if we could have seen it. But, as Arcesilaus said[t], many men are wonderful exact and curious in judging of another's poems, writings, statues, or

[q] [Ibid. p. 469.] [r] [Apud eund. p. 469.] [s] [Ibid.] [t] [Ibid.]

pictures; but their own life, having in it many delightful passages, they wholly neglect, and admire always the fame and fortune of other men. Just like an adulterer, who is fond of his neighbour's wife, and cares not for his own. This is so hateful a quality, that the *unthankful* are also put among those persons of a black character whom I mentioned before [u]. On the other side, the apostle seems to make this a peculiar character of a Christian, that he thanks God in every thing. I am sure he sets a peculiar remark upon this duty, as I showed when I discoursed some time ago upon those words, *In every thing give thanks: for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus concerning you* [x]. In every thing? that is impossible, will some say. No, it is not. The will of God hath made it possible, and made it our wisdom too so to do. "If thou sufferest any thing that is evil," saith St. Chrysostom [y], "if thou wilt it is not evil. Give God thanks, and the evil is changed into good." Remember Job; he saith, *Shall we receive good from the hands of the Lord, and shall we not receive evil? The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.* This is a truly grateful mind, to give thanks even in adversity. This is a noble spirit; there is something excellent and beyond the ordinary rate in this, to acknowledge God not only for benefits, but for chastisements. When thou givest thanks in prosperity thou dost but pay a debt, but when thou givest thanks in adversity thou makest God thy debtor. For he that receives a benefit and is thankful for it doth but return what he owes; but he that receives an evil thing and is notwithstanding thankful, hath something, we may think, owing to him. God takes it very kindly at his hand, and thinks himself obliged by it. And is it not a great satisfaction to have such an one indebted to us? a paymaster so able, so liberal, so wise both to know what is the best recompense for us and when is the best time to bestow it? Let us not then be so much our own enemies as not to practise this duty at all times in every thing. For (as a Spanish writer thinks it ought often to be inculcated) one thanksgiving in adversity is worth more than many thousands in a more prosperous condition. It is more obliging, and endears us more to God; and I am sure it eases our hearts strangely, and fills us with heavenly joy and satis-

[u] 2 Tim. iii. 2. [x] 1 Thess. v. 18. [y] [In loc. tom. xi. p. 497 E.]

faction. When it is well with us therefore, (as St. Augustin expresses it,) let us thank God and bless his mercy; and when it is ill, let us praise and bless his justice too. And that not only because we still have much to praise him for, but because there may be much good even in the present affliction; and it may likewise turn to our greater good, especially if we thank God for it. It is said of Phidias, that he was such an excellent artist, that he was able to make a statue, nay, a figure of one of their gods out of any materials; not only of gold or silver, of marble or ivory, of brass or iron; no, nor only of wax or wood; but of the most unhewn and ill-shapen log, and of the poorest dirt or clay. This made his skill admired by all. And Christianity professes to make us no less ingenious artificers, teaching us to draw something of God, of his wisdom, justice, holiness, yea, and of his love and goodness too, out of the worst of things, and those which else would seem ill-favoured. Nothing can befall us, but the gospel learns us such dexterity and understanding, that we may turn it to a blessing if we will; and no way better than by perpetual thanksgivings to God, howsoever it fares with us.

This no doubt is a piece of excellent learning, and it seems to be proper to Christianity to teach us in *every thing to give thanks*. "For benefits," saith St. Hierom, "even idolaters themselves can be thankful, but for calamities and miseries only good Christians, and they who had a Christian spirit in them. Such an one was holy Job, whose gracious deportment one cannot sufficiently admire. For when he was struck with a fourfold message of grievous disasters fallen upon his children and all his substance, and when these came one on the neck of another, giving him no space to breathe; yet he omitted not to do any thing, as I told you before, that became either a loving father to his children, or a dutiful child to his heavenly Father. For, first, he arose and rent his mantle and shaved his head, (as the custom of mourners in the eastern countries was,) whereby he showed himself sensible of his loss, and that he was a lover of his children. But then he fell to the ground and worshipped, saying, *Naked I came, &c., and naked I shall return, &c. The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be his name:* which showed he was a greater lover of God, and one that had considered beforehand his providence, and looked

upon all things as coming to pass thereby. For he doth not say the Chaldæans, or the Sabæans, or the devil hath robbed and spoiled him, but that the Lord had taken away what he gave; knowing that nothing comes to pass without his wise providence, who disposes even of the evil affections of men, and makes them serve his holy will. This made him still bless God, and not utter one unhandsome word, when he was provoked to it by so many and so great afflictions.

And thus the apostles of our Lord were *as men sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, yet possessing all things*[n]. Yea, some report of St. James, that when he was put to death by degrees, first one member then another being slashed off from the rest, he still said, "Thanks be to God," and bid them proceed. If they cut off a joint of a finger, "Thanks be to God," was all they could get from him. If they cut off another joint, still he seconded the execution with another "Thanks be to God." And so to every joint or limb that was severed from his body he added so many *Deo gratias*, 'Thanks be to God,' for all his benefits. Let us go and do likewise, and we shall find the same peace and contentment of spirit, in the midst even of our sufferings, which they found under such long and sharp torments. This will not only relieve us, but exceedingly raise us; for it is, as I have told you heretofore, to begin heaven upon earth, and to join ourselves with the happy society of those who feel no pain at all, but praise God in eternal joys.

X.

What shall I add more but that, as a help to all this, we must get our minds as well furnished as we are able with store of good thoughts. The soul of man is a busy thing, and will be working within itself. Let it have therefore always at hand abundance of pleasing and comfortable thoughts to entertain and employ it. If there be not plenty of these still ready to present themselves, and press in upon all occasions, it will be turning towards its own mischief, and working upon some matter or other of its discontent: but if these be so numerous, that it cannot miss of some of them, but find them still next to the mind and forward to offer their service; there will no place

[n] 2 Cor. vi. 10.

be found for the other, or if they thrust in themselves they will be presently discharged. And is there any want of them? Need our minds be unfurnished with a large provision of them? Though other things are not in our power, yet our thoughts are; and you see by these discourses that our minds are fruitful, and will yield us great plenty of them.

Let us settle as great a sense therefore as we can in our souls of God and of his attributes. Let us remember continually, that we live and move and have our being in him; that all things are guided by him; that he hath manifested himself in his Son, who hath power and authority over angels and men and all creatures. In short, let us remember actually such things as I mentioned in the reasons why we should be contented, and they will not let us be otherwise than well pleased. The things that molest and trouble us are near and press hard upon us; now if those things that should comfort us be far off and removed at a distance from us, how is it possible we should find any relief? Let us therefore bring them near to our souls also, and lay them close to our hearts, and make them one with us by continual meditation, that we may feel their power to revive and refresh us, as great as other things have to discomfort and vex us. If a man can think of nothing else, yet let him think of himself. Who is nearer to thee than that? What is there that thou shouldest desire to know so much as thyself? And if thou wilt not be ignorant of that thou canst not be discontented. There lieth in every one of us greater matter of admiration and praise than there doth of vexation and complaint. Hear only St. Basil speak a little of this business:

"Thou hast received," saith he[o], "an understanding soul, by which thou perceivest God, and discoverest with thy reason the nature of things, and reapest the most sweet and pleasant fruit of wisdom. All earthly things wild and tame, all in the water, all in the air, are servants to thee, and subject to thy command. Is it not thou, O man, who hast found out all arts? Dost not thou build cities, and invent all manner of things, which conduce either to the supply of our necessities, or the advancement of our pleasure? Hath not thy reason found out

[o] Hom. εἰς τὸ, Πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ. [tom. ii. p. 22.]

a path in the great seas, and taught small vessels to cut their way through the dreadful waters? Do not the heavenly orbs show thee their order and their comely motions? Dost not thou understand their dances, and perceive the music and harmony which they make? Τί οὖν μικροψυχεῖς; What is the matter then that thou art so faint-hearted? Why doth thy mind fail thee, and grow so little and feeble? Is it for such an one as thee to shrink up in trouble of spirit, because thou hast not, suppose, a fine horse with goodly trappings, as another man hath? And yet thou hast the sun all the day running his course, and showing thee his illustrious face. Thou hast not the splendour of silver and of gold, but thou hast the moon and the stars which surround thee with a glorious light. And to what purpose is it to reckon all the rest; these are human things, they that follow are divine. Was it not for thy sake that God vouchsafed to be conversant here on earth? Did he not distribute the gifts of the Holy Ghost to men like thyself? Death is abolished, the resurrection is preached, the divine commandments which perfect this life are published; there is a plain way to God by keeping them; the kingdom of heaven is prepared, crowns of righteousness are ready for those who will not shun the labours of virtue. Attend but thyself, and finding all these, and many other things there, the effect of it must needs be this: Καὶ ἀπολαύσεις μὲν τῶν παρόντων, οὐ μικροψυχήσεις δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔνδεον· 'Thou wilt both enjoy that which is present, and not be basely dejected for that which is absent.' Thou wilt never lose the pleasure of what thou hast, nor be in pain for that which thou hast not. The sight of so many goodly things will comfort thy spirit when it begins to faint; and raise thee up when thou art ready to sink. They will bid thee be of good cheer, both because thou hast the possession of them, and because, unless thou wilt be so careless, thou canst never lose them."

PRAYER XII.

O most blessed and glorious God, who art to be acknowledged and praised by all understanding creatures as much as they are able: for according to thy name, so ought thy praise to be; very great and excellent. And so likewise ought to be our fear of thee, our faith in thee, our love to thee, our desire after thee, and our delight

and joy in thy love. All good men have magnified and extolled thy power, by which the heaven, the earth, and the seas, and all things therein, were created. They have acknowledged thy truth and faithfulness, which endureth for ever. Thy justice and mercy have been wonderful in their eyes, and all ages have celebrated thy particular care of those that fear thee, and put their trust in thee. Thou hast preserved the strangers, and relieved the fatherless and widows; and, blessed be thy goodness, I know that thou reignest King for ever unto all generations.

But above all I rejoice in this, that thou hast not disdained to appear in our flesh: but hast loved and honoured us so far as to secure our hope and confidence in thee, by dignifying our nature at thine own right hand with the greatest glory.

What praise, what love, what joy, what service, is great enough to render to thee, O Lord, who art so high, and whose kindness is so great, far exceeding all our conceptions? I make thee, O my God, a present of all that I have, with the most ardent and hearty affection: desiring but to be so happy as to have a perpetual sense of thee possessing my soul with delightful thoughts of thee, and engaging my heart to the most passionate love of thee, and preserving me in perfect quietness and peace by an entire trust in thee.

I will trust in thee, O Lord, at all times, I will love thee with all my heart, and with all my soul, and with all my strength. The meditation of thee shall be always sweet unto me. I will rely on thy precious promises, that thou wilt never leave me nor forsake me: and still be giving thanks unto thee in every thing, according to thy will declared in Christ Jesus.

Thanks be unto thee, that thou hast made me such an excellent creature; and endued me with a mind so great and large; and to all the riches of nature added those great treasures of thy grace in Christ Jesus, which are unsearchable and inestimable. I thank thee for all the blessed fruits of his passion, resurrection, and exaltation; for the power of the Holy Ghost, for the service of better creatures than these which thou hast put in subjection under our feet, even the ministry of the celestial host, and all the kindness I have received by their means.

Vouchsafe, I beseech thee, to replenish my mind more and more with abundance of Christian wisdom. Fill me with holy thoughts; make them familiar and natural to me, that they may be ready at hand on all occasions to present themselves, and to quell all those unquiet thoughts or desires that are apt at any time to rise in my heart. Settle my faith and hope in thee, and make them more

strong and vigorous. Raise that love which I acknowledge is due unto thee to a greater height; that I may feel the power of it composing my spirit, and making me well pleased in what pleaseth thee, and satisfying me fully with a constant belief of thy love and kindness towards me. Raise me, O God, to that noble pitch of faith in thee, that I may be able to embrace my present condition, whatsoever it be, as best for me; and accept of all crosses from thee with an equal and thankful mind; and wait on thee with a patient and resigned will for what thou seest good for me; and not be too hasty in my desires of deliverance from the greatest burdens that may lie upon me.

Preserve that divine reason which thou hast inspired me withal, by thy holy gospel, in such clearness, force, and activity, that it may perfectly subdue and govern all my passions, and be ever at hand to assist me against all temptations to discontented thoughts and fretfulness of spirit. Possess my heart, O my God, so entirely therewith, that I may be of good comfort, yea, rejoice in every estate, and still say, Thanks be to God, thanks be to God: until I am set free from all the troubles of this life, and from the straitness and burden of this body too; that I may give thee thanks with more enlarged thoughts and affections in the happy company of the blessed. Unto which I hope thou wilt conduct me by all that befalls me, according to thy wise love manifested in Christ Jesus; by whom all honour, glory, and praise, all hearty love and cheerful obedience be rendered to thee eternally. Amen.

SERMON XIII.

HEB. xiii. 5.

Be content with such things as ye have.

I HAVE finished the great and principal rules for the leading a contented life, which are contained in faith, hope, and charity. Something to trouble and molest us, as hath been often said, we must always expect, and not imagine that we can find ἕνα βίον ἄλυπον, 'some sort of life void of all grievances and vexations.' We do but lose our time and labour if we go in the search of any such state; whether we fancy it to be in the country private life, or in the unmarried, or even in that of great princes and kings: for as Plutarch (whose words these are[a]) hath observed out of Menander, ἔστι συγγενές τι λύπη καὶ βίος, 'there is a certain kindred between life and trouble.' You cannot divide it from the delicate life; the honourable hath its company, and it grows old with men of meaner condition.

But God hath not left us without a remedy; that is our comfort. And it chiefly lies in divine faith, and a heavenly hope which springs from thence, and in a great love and gratitude to God, and an hearty affection for all mankind.

But, besides those general rules which have been mentioned, there are certain particular advices that are not unworthy the consideration of those who would live quietly in this world, and will tend very much to make their passage through it more easy, less offensive to others, and consequently less troublesome to themselves. I will briefly propound them to you at this time, and conclude them, as I did the former, with a direction or two which are of the largest use.

[a] [De Tranq. Anim. p. 466.]

I.

The first is, to have something still to do. For though idleness seem easy, and to have nothing to trouble it, it lays upon us a great burden of unquiet thoughts, and breeds a number of vexatious desires. If our condition therefore leads us neither to public nor private business, let us employ our time in honest studies. That is Seneca's rule, I remember, to a man who affects not public employment, or cannot have it, nor finds much to do in domestic affairs; *In studia conferas quod subduxeris officiis;* 'Bestow that on study which thou takest away from business.' By this means a man shall be *nec sibi gravis nec aliis supervacuus,* 'neither burdensome to himself nor impertinent to others.' He will invite many to his friendship; the best persons will love his company. For even an obscure virtue cannot always lie hid; it gives some signs of itself, which will make it honoured and courted.

And here it will not be amiss to subjoin that the very same rule is to be observed which was given before concerning the desire of riches; not to affect too much of them. *Give me neither poverty nor riches; but feed me with food convenient for me* [b], is the prayer of Agur: which the gentile wisdom conspires with in these words; "The best measure of money is that which neither falls so low as poverty, nor is very far removed from it[c]." And by the same measure we should govern ourselves, say they, in our studies. Many books are a trouble. Like variety of meats, they burden the stomach, or breed diseases, but do not give much nourishment. Or like a man that is always in travel from place to place; he hath many inns, but no friends, and few acquaintance[d]. Multitude of books distract men's minds, and therefore when thou canst not read all that thou hast, it is enough to have all that thou readest. It is a sign of a squeamish stomach to be tasting every thing: read those that are approved: and, if thou wouldest turn aside from one to another, return to the first again by which thou hast profited. And be sure," saith he, "to provide thyself of something every day which will serve as a remedy against poverty, against the fear of death, against the rest of the plagues of human life. And when thou runnest over many things, *unum*

[b] Prov. xxx. 8. [c] Seneca de Tranq. [cap. 8.] [d] Id. [epist. 2.]

excerpe quod illo die concoquas, 'Pick out some one thing to digest and concoct that day.'" But I intend not to insist long upon these advices, there being many of them; and therefore let us pass to the next: which is this;

II.

Let us never attempt any thing in our enterprises but what is of good report and praiseworthy. This I find recorded in the life of a famous person[e], that he was wont constantly to comfort himself in this, *Quod nihil tentasset non laudabile*, 'that he had never assayed any thing but what was laudable.' In this if a man miscarry, yet it is some comfort to have endeavoured it. And he may again renew his endeavours; according as the same person was wont to say, "Let us resume our work, and not despair." Fishermen do not break their nets because they sometimes cast them in vain, and catch nothing.

III.

The third is, to do nothing of consequence without deliberation and good advice. I do not mean only of our own, but of our friends also. For if any thing fall out ill, they will help to bear a part of it.

IV.

The next is, to repent of nothing that we have done advisedly: for we could not tell then how to do it better. These two are joined together by the wise son of Sirach, from whom I borrowed them: *Do nothing without advice; and when thou hast once done it, repent not*[f].

V.

Another rule is, to be of a stable and fixed resolution; and not to be still changing of our purpose. No man's life can be quiet and orderly who hath not a settled judgment and intention. And especially to run after a new thing, before we have finished the former, is the way never to be at rest. But as we should not be uncertain in our designs and desires, always fickle and given to change, so,

VI.

We ought not to fear those changes which will come unavoidably. Let us accustom our thoughts, and reconcile our affec-

[e] Gassend. in vita Peireskii. [Opp. tom. i. p. 333.] [f] Ecclus. xxxii. 19.

tions to them, by considering that every thing in this world is effected by changes. It is Antoninus's[g] observation. Τὶ δαὶ φίλτερον, &c., "What, I beseech you, is more friendly and familiar to universal nature than changes? Thou canst not go into a bath unless the wood be changed whereby it is heated. Nor canst thou be nourished without the change and alteration of thy food. No profitable thing can be produced but by the change of something or other. Methinks then that thou shouldest discern that changes in thyself are no less necessary and good too, in order to some useful and excellent end."

But since there will be changes in our condition, it makes the next advice necessary, which is,

VII.

To order things so as not to be taken unprovided. For which end we must think beforehand of all that may come, even of the worst. That which we look for will be less troublesome to us. It was the wise observation of Carneades[h], that the greatest griefs of our life come from hence, that the tempest arose unexpected. It is just as if a great many guests should come in upon us when we are wholly unprovided, and there is neither meat nor fire nor servants nor any thing else in the house. Then it is that we run up and down, and keep a stir, and make a noise, and all is in a great confusion. Whereas, if we had known of it before, all things would have been done in quiet, and we should have given them entertainment with ease and pleasure.

The old story was, that if the wolf saw a man before he saw him, the man was struck dumb; but the same happened to the wolf if he was first espied[i]. The tale may be thus interpreted; that if dangers surprise us before we are aware of them, they are wont to bereave us of our succours, otherwise we can defend

[g] L. 7. sect. 18. [p. 137.]

[h] [Plut. de Tranq. Anim. p. 474.]

[i] [Theocritus makes use of the proverb: Λύκον εἶδες, ἔπαιξέ τις, ὡς σοφὸς εἶπεν'—Idyll. xiv. 22: on which the scholiast remarks, Οἱ ὀφθέντες ἄφνω ὑπὸ λύκου δοκοῦσιν ἄφωνοι γίγνεσθαι. Plato has a happy application of the same notion in the person of Socrates, de Rep. lib. i. cap. 10. p. 336 D.

So Virgil, Eclog. iv. 53.

——— "Vox quoque Mœrim
Jam fugit ipsa, lupi Mœrim videre priores."—

Compare Terent. Adelph. iv. 1. 21.]

ourselves well enough, or receive them without harm. Sudden frights commonly astonish us, and take away our voice, and extremely trouble us; but that which we are prepared for can make no such terrible assault nor frightful noise, but silently falls upon us. If we foresee what may come, it will not give us such a shock as it will if we have no theughts of it. Foresight will put us upon the use of all those means which I have formerly discoursed of, and therefore we are not to suffer ourselves to be without it. Take advice of the son of Sirach: *When thou hast enough, remember the time of hunger: and when thou art rich, think upon poverty and need. From the morning unto the evening time is changed, and all things are soon done before the Lord*[k]. This you will find he condemns in another chapter as a great folly, that *in the day of prosperity there is a forgetfulness of affliction: and in the day of affliction there is no remembrance of prosperity*[l]. If we will be wise and happy, we ought to balance one of these with the other: that is, in the day of good things to remember evil; and in the evil day to remember good. But enough of that.

VIII.

It will add also much to our tranquillity if we take care to contend with no man unnecessarily; no, not with those of whom we are like to get the victory. It is better a great deal to sleep in the quiet of peace, than to be awakened from our repose by all the trumpets of conquest, and the loudest shouts and acclamations of praise. Suppose a man will say that which you know not to be true, let it pass rather than dispute it with him, if he be a captious, proud, and quarrelsome person.

IX.

Another is, not to scoff at anybody. For few can endure to hear themselves abused, or pass it by without an endeavour of severe revenge. The mention of this is sufficient, and the reason of it apparent.

X.

It is no less prudent as well as pious to speak ill of no man, except when it is necessary to do some good to others. This is one of the psalmist's counsels for a contented life. *What man*

[k] Ecclus. xviii. 25, 26. [l] Ecclus. xi. 25.

is he that desires life, and loveth many days, that he may see good? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips that they speak no guile[m]. This is so true, that it is safest not so much as to open our ears to others that speak evil of their neighbours. If we do not entertain their speeches, they recoil and wound the speaker; if we receive them, they wound and trouble us.

And indeed the tongue is wont to procure us so much mischief, that,

XI.

Wise men (let me add in the next place) have advised us, if we would live happily, to accustom ourselves to speak sparingly, at least among strangers; especially concerning great persons it is best not to speak at all. This is a rule which Arrianus[n] gave in his time, when there was danger from such men. Words, though innocently meant, yet may be ill interpreted. And it is better (as Cardan[o] was wont to say) to pretermit an hundred things worthy perhaps to be heard, than to say one that should not have been spoken. Again,

XII.

It is of great service to accustom ourselves to be cheerful, and to find all the means we can to preserve ourselves in that temper. For we shall the more easily pass by a great many occasions of trouble without much notice, and feel the rest less heavy and more supportable. Sadness never did anybody good, nor lightened any man's calamity, but is a new misery itself. It is apt also to look on things otherwise than they are; for it sees them in the twilight, and not in the clear sunshine of our spirits. Seneca, I think, was in the right, when he said that, of the two, one had better imitate Democritus than Heraclitus. For he that laughs at things looks upon them but as slight and vain; and so they will be the more equally enjoyed or equally borne. There is more of humanity also in it to smile at things, than to frown and lament. He that laughs deserves better of mankind, because he leaves some good hope; whereas the other bewails that which he despairs of amending. But the best of all is to receive all accidents quietly, with a smooth

[m] Psalm xxxiv. 12, 13.

[n] L. de Vita Prop. cap. 50. [tom. i. p. 49.]

[o] [Vid. in Epict. lib. ii. cap. 12. p. 201.]

and placid temper: neither with much laughter, nor with lamentations.

XIII.

If we would live happily, we must likewise take care that we be no busybodies. For such people are very unacceptable to others, and uneasy to themselves. They have a great deal to do, when in truth they do nothing but trouble themselves and the neighbourhood. This is Antoninus's[p] rule, "Do not trouble thyself about other men's matters, unless it be for the common benefit. For example," saith he, "do not be still fancying what such a person is adoing, and why he doth this or that, and what he saith, and what he designs and contrives, with such like things. This is but to wander from one's self, and to forsake the custody of his own soul. Therefore avoid these superfluous thoughts which belong not unto thee. For upon this depends, as Seneca[q] hath observed, that *teterrimum vitium*, 'most foul and odious vice' of listening after, and inquisitiveness into the secrets of others: desiring to know much, even those things which are neither safely told nor safely heard. A man that would live in peace should be so far from this busy prying humour, that he should not let his secret thoughts run this way; but rather accustom himself, (as the aforesaid great emperor and philosopher speaks,) always so to employ his mind, that if any other person be so curious as to demand of him what he is thinking of, he may not be afraid to tell him. By this means, saith he, it will appear that all things in thee are simple, good-natured, sociable, and void of envy, emulation, suspicion, impurity, or any such like thing which should put thee to the blush. Such a man ought to be ranked among the best and the happiest, being ἱερεύς τις, 'a priest and minister of God,' who uses with due respect that divine image which is within him."

XIV.

And to make our lives still the less burdensome, we must not be too stiff and rigid in the form and manner of our life, nor too peremptorily resolved in things that are not absolutely

[p] Lib. 3. de Seipso. § 4. [p. 38.]

[q] ["Illud teterrimum vitium auscultatio, et publicorum secretorumque inquisitio, et multarum rerum scientia, quæ nec tuto narrantur, nec tuto audiuntur."—Sen. de Tranq. An. cap. 12.]

good or evil. We shall but disorder ourselves the more, by keeping too strictly to our own orders in indifferent things. We must be easy and yielding if we would be happy, and not stick too pertinaciously, no, not to our own determinations and appointments. We must comply with occasions, provided lightness do not move us to it; for that is as great an enemy to peace as the other. All pertinaciousness, and obstinate adherence to our own set forms of life, is anxious and miserable: because accidents will always contend with us and struggle against us, and still be wresting something from us. And levity is as grievous, if not more: because it hath no certain bounds, nor can contain and rest itself in any thing. Both are very contrary to tranquillity, to be able to alter nothing, and to endure nothing.

XV.

A simple and a kind of careless behaviour is best also for those who would live in tranquillity. They cannot be happy, who, as Seneca is wont to speak, do *anxie se componere*, 'compose themselves, and form their behaviour with an anxious study and care.' Such a constant observation of themselves in every small thing torments and racks them. It cannot be a pleasant life, because too solicitous; though all things should succeed as they desire. But that is not to be expected, and therefore, as there is no end of their cares, so their vexation is perpetual; because many things will still fall out against their wills. They are surprised oftentimes, and do not appear the same as usually. This they are afraid of, and when it happens they fret to be found out of their set and studied garb and way. On the contrary, what pleasure is there in a sincere, unaffected, and self-adorned simplicity, which feigns nothing, but shows itself as it is! Some may despise it, but it is better to bear that despisal than to be tormented with perpetual constraints in the acting of a person which is not ourselves.

This rule of Seneca I take to be the same with that of Antoninus [9], which is brief and easily remembered, Ἐπὶ τὴν σύντομον ἀεὶ τρέχε, 'ever go the shortest way.' And the shortest way is that of nature, for it is straight on; and a right line which hath no crookedness is always the shortest. Near of kin to this is another rule, which is,

[9] Lib. 4. [§ 51. p. 78.]

XVI.

To avoid too much niceness and curiosity in all things; for this is an humour which is very hard to please; it is so wanton that it regards not what it hath, and will not be much better satisfied with what it desires: and truly it is a sign that such persons are in no great need of what they crave; if they had less they would be more thankful, even for those very things which they now contemn. According to the proverb among the Hebrews, *Qui insufflat poculo suo non sitit*[q], 'He is not athirst that blows into his cup;" that is so curious, they mean, as to stand to blow away the froth. Again,

XVII.

A man that would live in peace must not much regard the vain censures of others, and their trifling opinions of him. No man's esteem is worth any thing but his who lives according to nature, saith Antoninus[r]; as for other men, remember but how they live at home, and how abroad; how they are in the night, and how in the day; who the persons are that they mingle themselves withal and make their companions; and you will never think the praise of such men worth any thing, nor that it is worth your pains to study to please those who cannot tell always how to please themselves. I might add, that their calumnies are no more to be regarded neither: for if we despise them, they gain no belief at all; whereas if we receive them with anger and desire of revenge, they will be confirmed with many, and seem to be confessed and acknowledged.

This is a certain rule which Erasmus inculcates to a great friend of his, *Vere magni est animi, &c.*[s] 'It is truly the part of a noble and great mind to neglect some injuries, and to have neither cares nor tongue for some men's reproaches.' And this is as certain, that we can never be at rest if *ad rumorem componimur*[t], 'we form and shape ourselves according to the common talk and rumour:' we must not follow other men's opinions, but our own; nor fashion our behaviour and conversation according to their humour, but our own reason: nothing hath entangled men in greater mischiefs than this, that they are

[q] [R. Jehuda, in Gemara Sanhedrin, cap. xi. § 42. apud J. Coccеium, tom. ix. p. 254.]

[r] [Vid. lib. vii. § 62. p. 151.]

[s] Lib. ii. Ep. 27. Petro Ægidio. [al. Epist. 219. tom. iii. col. 204 B.]

[t] [Sen. de Vit. Beat. cap. 1.]

overborne by the common cry, and suffer themselves to be governed by the fancies and the discourses and the censures of the multitude. "This makes even that seem best which is received with greatest applause and common consent; so that men do not live according to their own mind, but after the mode: by this means," saith Seneca, "the whole world is undone; for as you see it is in a great crowd, when many people thrust and press one another, if one fall he draws a great many after him, so it is here, the first destroys those that follow; no man errs but he is the cause of error to another; men follow their leaders; and while every man had rather believe than judge, we never judge of life itself, but always go upon credit." I mention this, because it springs many times from the foolish awe wherein we stand of the opinion of others concerning us, which makes us go, not as we should, but in their road.

Since men are so apt therefore to follow one another in folly, it will be fit to add this as the next rule.

XVIII.

Be curious in choosing your company, always shunning that which is bad: for there is great danger, as the aforesaid author hath well noted, in the conversation of those who are unlike us. It disorders something that was well composed, it renews ill affections, and whatsoever is weak, or not well cured in the mind, it exulcerates, and makes it sore again. "Behold this rotten apple," saith Hier. Cardan to a young man whom he was dissuading from ill society, "it hath corrupted a whole heap of good fruit; but show me, if thou canst, any heap of sound apples, though never so great, that could cure one which was rotten." It is a certain truth, *Pravi semper obsunt, etiamsi benevolos se simulant;* 'Naughty men ever do us hurt, though they carry themselves as if they had a good-will to us;' therefore let them be avoided, and suffer not your own or their good nature to deceive you into their fellowship, to which mischief you will be the less prone if you can learn to be good company for yourselves. These two indeed are to take their turns, company and solitude; the former of which will make us have a desire of ourselves, and the latter of other men; one of them will be a remedy for the other; for solitude will cure the

[v] [De Vita Propria, cap. 50. tom. i. p. 48.]

loathing we may have of company, and company again will take away the tediousness of solitude. But let us never be so weary of ourselves as to prefer any sort of company before being alone. Let it be good, for else we are better without them, though we be never so dull and indisposed. Again,

XIX.

Plutarch, I remember, advises, that when we are alone we would take into our company excellent men who are gone before us, τοὺς ἐνδόξους ἀποθεωρεῖν [u], as his words are, 'consider well and propound to ourselves the examples of famous men' who have borne affliction equally. And he hath a long discourse to show that this contemplation conduces much to composure of mind, and instances in many great men among their heathen worthies who had done nobly in their generations. But there are no patterns of contentment and patience like those which the holy Scriptures have set before us, on which if we would fix our eyes, we should find the same effect of it that a man doth when he is in a fever, and sees others taste that with delight and pleasure which seems to him so bitter and disgustful that he spits it out of his mouth: he concludes presently, that it is not the meat and drink, but his disease which is the cause of that ill savour. "Just so," saith he, "shall we cease to complain and accuse our fortune, when we see others receive the same things cheerfully, and with a merry heart, which we nauseate and reject with a sour countenance."

XX.

But of all company, when we would divert ourselves, there is none like that of a faithful friend; nor shall we easily find any thing below God and the hope of immortality that will procure us so much ease, comfort, and refreshment in the troubles of this life. The very thought that we have of such an one is no small comfort, if that be true which hath been said by a man of no small account [x], *Magnum sapientiæ indicium est habere præstantem amicum*, 'It is a great token of wisdom to have a worthy friend.' It is no small credit to us, and declares we are worth something ourselves: but then the usefulness of such a person it would be too long to declare; he may help to

[u] L. Περὶ Εὐθυμίας. [p. 467.]
[x] Hieron. Cardanus. [De Vita Propria, cap. 50. tom. i. p. 48.]

keep us from the many troubles and dangers, by prudent counsels or powerful interest; and when we are in trouble, he will afford us his help, whereas a flatterer will only give us his advice; he will both comfort and relieve us if he be able. "And what can give such delight to the mind? What a blessing is this, to have a breast prepared, wherein we may safely lay up our secrets! whose conscience we less fear than our own, whose discourses may lenify our solitude; whose opinion may give us direction, whose cheerfulness may dissipate grief, and whose very sight will give us a pleasure. "They are the words of Seneca[y], who adds, that "it is not needful to advise that he be a good man whom we receive into this relation; for to make friendship with the bad is to choose to live in the house of one who hath the plague. All good men are not to be chosen; not the sad and heavy, who are always bewailing every thing, and take all occasions to complain. Let the faithfulness and kindness of such a person be never so well assured, yet a companion that is still sighing, and ever in perturbation, will be an enemy to our tranquillity, he will disturb our repose, however otherwise he may be friendly to us."

Who, then, will some say, is fit for a friend? I had rather tell you in the words of another person than my own, because they carry more authority: "He that neither magnifies the riches, nor life itself, who is simple and plain-hearted, who is vehement in his affection, and ardent in his love, *siquidem amicitia affectus est vehemens*, 'for friendship is a strong and vehement affection to one person more than another.'" To which he adds, "that doth not pretend friendship to many, for that will be rather familiarity than friendship."

But I must not pursue this any further, having a few things more to add; and the next hath some relation to all that hath been said, being necessary to make them good, and establish them in our minds; which is this,

XXI.

Be sure to make yourselves real owners of all these advices which have been given you; and have all good principles ever in a readiness, as I have elsewhere discoursed. As Xenophon[z] exhorts those who are in prosperity to be sure to remember to

[y] [De Tranq. An. cap. 7.] [z] [Cyrop. lib. i. cap. 6.]

honour the gods, that so if their condition change from fulness to want, they may have the confidence to call upon them, ὡς εὐμενεῖς ὄντας ἤδη καὶ φίλους, 'as those that are their friends already, and bear a good will to them;' even so must they do, saith Plutarch [a], who would live in peace and quiet; all the discourses or reasons which are helpful to us against the perturbations of our mind we ought to be provided with before the trouble come; for they will be the more profitable and effectual when they are long before prepared. Just as we see fierce dogs are exasperated at every noise, and can be appeased only with the voice of those to which they are accustomed; so are the raging passions and perturbations of the mind very hard to be laid asleep, unless familiar and accustomed notions be nigh at hand to quiet and compose them.

It is with us, as Seneca [b] hath observed, "just as it is with a man that is recovered of a long and grievous disease: there remains a good while after a great weakness; a slight thing offends him, and is apt to cast him down again; and when the relics of the disease are conquered, still he thinks not himself safe, but is disquieted with suspicions and jealousies that it may return again. This person you cannot say is sick, but he is not well accustomed to health: as there remains a rolling or a trembling of the waves of the sea or upon a great lake after the tempest hath spent its fury, and the weather is now grown calm; so there doth in the mind of man, which hath good dispositions in it, until they be well settled there. And therefore the great thing is, *fidem sibi habere*, 'to give credit to himself,' to believe his own principles firmly and steadfastly, and to think constantly that he is in the right way, that so he may be able to keep his mind equal, and remain in an even state, neither lifting up himself, nor being depressed; for this is tranquillity."

XXII.

But when all is done, we must be sure to have one thing in a readiness, whatsoever happens, and that is an heart to commend ourselves to God, with perfect submission to his will. So Epictetus concludes his book of moral discourses. Ἐπὶ παντὸς προχείρου εὐκτέον ταῦτα, Ἄγε δή με, ὦ Ζεῦ, &c., 'Upon all occa-

[a] [De Tranq. Anim. p. 463.] [b] De Tranquill. [cap. 2.]

sions be ready and disposed to pray thus, Lead me, O God, whither thou wilt, I am willing to follow thee,' &c.[c] But I had better give you his sense in the words of Simplicius[d] his commentator, who more fully explains his mind to us.

" The precepts," saith he, " of the ancients, which were delivered by them at large, being reduced by some learned men afterward to a few words, and abridged in brief sayings, he advises us to have these always ready at hand, both as easy to be remembered, and as very powerful to establish our belief of those admonitions which have the testimony of famous men, and are expressed in such pithy words." And first he commends the prayer of Cleanthes, in these terms: " Lead me, O God and thy eternal council, whithersoever you have determined, for I will follow willingly; if I should hang back, I know I must notwithstanding follow, both with an heavy heart, and with a guilty mind for resisting the will of Heaven." And this indeed," saith he, " is the sum of moral discipline, to join ourselves with the Universal Cause of all things, and to will wholly to remain united to it, and never to be divided from it: for what can be more absurd than to bend our desires and endeavours against it, and to will that it should follow us, and not we follow it?"

The second is the saying of Euripides, which contains the same sense in different words, " He who accommodates himself to necessity is wise, and understands Divine things."

The third precept which he commends is that speech of Socrates recorded by Plato, which is still to the same effect, but more compendious, Εἰ ταύτῃ τοῖς θεοῖς φίλον, ταύτῃ γινέσθω, ' If it seem good to God to have it so, let it be so.'

By all which sayings of the same import, put together in the end of his work, he seems, saith he, to me to intimate to us this great truth, that the whole perfection of human souls is comprised and crowned εἰς τὴν πρὸς θεὸν ἐπιστροφὴν, &c.[e], ' in their conversion of themselves towards God, and their conjunction with him in all things.' This is our business, this completes our nature, and consummates our happiness.

He hath appointed what part we shall act (as they are wont to speak) upon the stage of this world; let us act it decently,

[c] Cap. 77, 78, 79. Enchir. [p. 31.] [d] [P. 294.] [e] [P. 296.]

and our work is done, and we shall come off with applause and praise from heaven itself. "Did you ever hear," saith Plotinus, "that any man of sense reprehended a play, ὅτι μὴ πάντες ἥρωες ἐν αὐτῷ, 'because all the persons in it were not heroes?' No, there is a clown, and a slave, and other such like inferior persons there introduced; and if you take these away, that will not be beautiful, which is completed as much by these as by the rest, whose condition is more honourable."

Let us not refuse, then, the part which is imposed upon us, nor complain that it is not more noble. There is a reward due to the meanest as well as to the greatest, if they act handsomely, and do what is enjoined them.

Thus R. Israel[f] brings in the poor Gibeonites and slaves that were only hewers of wood and drawers of water, comforting themselves in these words: "Since it is so decreed by Heaven, let us bear it willingly; read the Law early and late: God is our trust, let his will be done." And thus I remember an excellent Christian writer[g] concludes part of a letter of his, containing a number of arguments to bear all afflictions patiently; "Among all the remedies of grief," saith he, "that rhetoricians and orators are wont to invent, I find none of more present efficacy than this, to think that it is *the Lord; let him do what seemeth good in his sight.* We have deserved worse, and he is no less propitious when he afflicts than when he doth what we would have him: he alone knows what is expedient, let him kill if he will, he cannot will but what is best; he often saves by slaying, and slays by saving. He is not inexorable, nor conceives implacable anger; nor doth he send afflictions which we cannot bear: but in the midst of chastisements remembers mercy, and according to the measure of the grief mingles the comforts of his Spirit; which if we have, neither death nor pains more terrible than death can deject a pious mind, but if we want, the least of evils is sufficient to overthrow us; and besides that these temporal evils are compensated here with a plentiful solace of his Holy Spirit, in the world to come they are rewarded with everlasting joys."

XXIII.

But I have one thing more to add, which is, that we cannot

[f] L. 3. de Anima. [g] Erasmus, l. 24. Epist. 15. Johan. Botzemo. [al. epist. MLXXII. tom. iii. col, 1226.]

have the confidence to commend ourselves thus to God's providence, if we do not follow him in obedience to his commands. And therefore that advice of the philosopher is excellent, Τὴν πηγὴν τῆς εὐθυμίας ἐν αὐτοῖς οὖσαν ἡμῖν ἐκκαθαίρωμεν, 'Let us purge and cleanse the fountain of tranquillity that is in our own selves.' The spring of peace and contentment is within, and therefore we had need look that it be clear and undefiled; we cannot derive our satisfaction, as you have often been told, from riches, or greatness of birth, or height of power, or eloquence of speech, or any thing of this nature: after all our trials, nothing will yield such a calm and serenity, ὅσην ψυχὴ καθαρεύουσα, &c., 'as a soul pure and free from all evil actions and counsels,' and a genius or disposition of mind (which is the fountain of life) that is settled and uncorrupted. All the good actions which flow from thence have a cheerful and divinely inspired energy or force in them, and they breed in a man a certain greatness and height of mind, and leave a more sweet and durable remembrance than that hope which Pindar called the support and comfort of old age.

Shall we think, as Carneades[k] was wont to say, that when the branches of sweet wood keep their fragrancy, even after they are cut from the tree, the worthy actions of a man of understanding should not leave in him continually a grateful and fresh remembrance behind them, with which he may entertain himself with great pleasure and contentment? Experience tells us they do not perish, nor decay neither, but live still, and look back upon us with a cheerful aspect, from whence such joy springs and flourishes, that makes a man despise those that bewail and reproach our present life, as if it were κακῶν χώραν, 'the region of evils and mischiefs,' a place designed only for the banishment of poor souls from their heavenly country. Some philosophers railed upon it in this manner, but if we do well we shall find it otherwise; we shall begin to be happy here, nay, keep a perpetual holyday, by still doing well, or remembering all the good we have done. So Diogenes told a stranger at Lacedæmon, (for which saying he is much cried up by the ancients,) when he saw him very busy in making himself fine, and trimming up his body for a festival, 'Dost not thou under-

[h] Plutarch. Περὶ Εὐθυμίας. [p. 466.] [i] [Ibid. p. 477.] [k] [Ibid.]

stand that a good man esteems every day to be a festival[1]?' Be wise and good, and thou wilt find it so, and a very splendid one too, for this world is a most holy and divine temple, into which a man is brought at his birth to be a spectator, not of statues and images made with hands, and that have no life nor motion, but of such as the Divine Mind hath made the copies of more excellent things, and which have life and motion in them: the sun, moon and stars, I mean, the ever running rivers, the earth that sends forth nourishment for plants and living creatures, and the life of good men; being that which accomplishes and perfects them for admission to these sacred solemnities and spectacles, it must needs be full of tranquillity and joy. And is not this far better than the vulgar pleasure, who long for such and such an holiday, that they may enjoy *ὠνητὸν γέλωτα*, 'a bought laughter,' for which they pay a price to the players, or dancers, or musicians, whom they hire to entertain them? Let us sit, then, spectators in this great temple of God in a decent manner, for no man mourns and laments on an holiday: it is unseemly to be sad when he is admitted to any solemnity; and shall we shame and disgrace the perpetual festival which God himself hath prepared for us, by heaviness of mind, by sad thoughts and laborious cares? Let us not be so rude as to hear the pipe and singing of birds, and behold the little tricks of other creatures with pleasure, abhorring all that is dismal and ungrateful to our senses, and yet seeing our own life void of all mirth, sad, doleful, oppressed with unpleasant passions, actions and thoughts, without any end; to seek no remedy for it, nor accept of the assistance of those who offer it by their counsels. Let us listen to their pleasant lessons, who would persuade us and teach us how to ease ourselves and tune our hearts to joy and gladness: and all instructions will do no good without this, to do virtuously; and so, with hearts full of love to God, and of delightful reflections upon his love to us, and our pious gratitude to him, and of most delicious hope in him, for his everlasting love and favour, we may sit spectators of his works here below, till he translate us to a higher place, where we may take a better view of his magnificent greatness and most bounteous goodness to all his creatures.

[1] Plutarch. *Περὶ Εὐθυμίας*. [p. 467.]

PRAYER XIII.

I prostrate myself, O Almighty Lord and Ruler of all things, in the most humble acknowledgment of my obligations to thee, and the most hearty submission of all that I can have unto thy divine wisdom, of whose care and good providence I have such rational belief, and have had such long experience. I owe all the comforts of this present life to thy bounty; and whatsoever hopes I have, either here or in the future state, they depend upon the same goodness, and upon thy gracious promises, thy power, faithfulness and truth. I thank thee, O Lord, that thou hast manifested thy will, and declared thy most merciful intentions of grace towards us in such precious promises, which as they excite my love to thee, so they move me to trust entirely in thee, to commit myself absolutely to thee, and heartily to serve and obey thee.

Accordingly here I renew that dedication which I have frequently made of my whole self to thee, and choose to be governed and ordered by thy will rather than mine own; hoping in thine infinite mercies, relying on thee for what thou judgest to be convenient for me, and conducing to my welfare, resolving my desires into thy better will, and steadfastly purposing to rest contented and satisfied with whatsoever thou art pleased to appoint for my portion, and believing that thou disposest all things for our good and happiness.

Bestow upon me, O blessed Lord, such a measure of thy holy Spirit as is needful for me, that may preserve in my mind these good thoughts and holy inclinations, and excite in me still more pious affections, and assist all my endeavours to be so wise and so good as thou wouldst have me. Help me rightly to employ my precious time, prudently to choose my society, to do all things with good advice, to be constant to well-settled resolutions, to provide and arm myself for all changes, and foreseeing what may come, to dispose myself to receive it, with an humble, equal, quiet and undisturbed spirit; and that I may never be surprised nor disordered, help me in the day of prosperity to remember affliction, and in the day of adversity to solace myself with the remembrance of thy past favours, and with the hopes of thy future mercies.

Purge my mind and heart from all false opinions and naughty affections, and enable me to preserve my heart so pure, sincere and undefiled, that from a conscience of well-doing I may feel a perpetual satisfaction springing up to refresh me in all conditions of life. Endue me, good Lord, with such a prudent, sober, sweet, condescending and gracious temper and disposition of mind, that I may be accept-

able to thee, inoffensive to others, and comfortably enjoy myself. Free me from the trouble of a contentious or envious spirit, help me to bridle my tongue and to keep it from evil, and my lips from speaking guile; and whatsoever the opinions or censures of others be concerning me, bless me with the comforts of an innocent mind and an upright heart, and enable me to rejoice always in the testimony of a good conscience, to mind my own proper business, and in all simplicity and plainness of heart, to order myself by a sound and unprejudiced reason, and not by the customs and uncertain fashions of this present world.

Blessed be thy infinite goodness, that I see the way to be happy, and am acquainted with the paths of pleasantness and peace. Blessed be thy goodness that I have such constant good admonitions, wise counsels, and faithful advices; and enjoy so many assistances of my friends, lovers and acquaintance, to guide, refresh, and solace me in my passage through all the dangers and troubles of this life. Good Lord, affect my heart with thy wondrous love, and make me truly thankful for all these blessings; enable me also to make the best use and advantage of them, and setting before me the examples of all those who through faith and patience have inherited thy promises, to follow them cheerfully and courageously, till I become myself an example of true piety and generous virtue.

Fix and establish in my mind all good principles and religious reasons; root them so deeply in my heart by serious and constant meditation on them, that I may find their friendly power and strength to assist, support, and comfort me on all occasions; and especially fix my mind in an immovable resolution to cleave to thee, and unite itself with thee. Never suffer my will to incline to divide itself from thine, but enable me always readily and heartily to say, whatsoever comes, It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth good in his sight; that maintaining an uninterrupted friendship with thee in this world, and never contradicting or opposing thy wise appointments, I may have the consolations of thy holy Spirit filling my heart at all times, and may live in a delightful hope to see all the troubles of this world end in everlasting repose and joys, through thy Son our Saviour Christ Jesus, by whom all honour, glory, praise and thanksgiving be rendered by me, and by all mankind, and by all the host of heaven, to thee, O Father Almighty, both now and eternally.

SERMON XIV.

HEBREWS xiii. 5.

Be content with such things as ye have.

HAVING despatched those things which I propounded in the beginning of these discourses, there is nothing now remaining to be done, but only to make some improvement of what hath been said; which I cannot neglect, because this is a doctrine of so great importance.

And there are but three things that I shall recommend to your consideration at this time:

I.

The first is, that there is no man but may have time enough, if he please to use it, to attend the affairs of his immortal soul. I make the inference clear to you thus: If our souls be not our chief care, and the informing them with the knowledge of God and of his Son do not employ our best thoughts, the reason must be, if it be worth any thing, because something else is more excellent, and deserves more regard; or something else is more necessary, and cannot, without so much time as will leave none for the concernments of our souls, be provided and supplied. But neither of these reasons can be pretended; and therefore our souls and their affairs do challenge our best, most serious, and constant thoughts.

That nothing else is more excellent and more to be regarded, is so plain, that it doth not need any pains of mine to demonstrate, if it lay in my way at this present to discourse of it.

And that nothing is of such necessity that it must be provided for at the cost and charge of our souls (leaving no considerable leisure to look after their good) doth unavoidably follow from the doctrine that I have all this while explained

and proved to you, viz., that we may well be contented (without so much care and trouble as we put ourselves unto) in our present estate, whatever it be; for God, I have shown you, hath provided for all creatures enough, and much more for man, who is the best of them: and a few things I have likewise shown will give us enough, and those few things are not so hard to be obtained but we may soon have them, and, having them, be able to think ourselves rich enough.

The clear consequence of which is, that there will be no excuse for men's gross want of care about their souls; they will never be able to make any handsome apology for their ignorance of the gospel, for their not reading and meditating on the word of God, for their unbelief, and not living according to the commands of Christ. What will a man say in his own behalf to wipe off the blame of not praying continually; of not recounting the mercies and favours of God to him; and not studying and imitating the example of our Lord Jesus, in his heavenly-mindedness, dependence on God, contempt of riches, sobriety, mercifulness, meekness, and all other virtues, which will contribute, I have shown you, so much to his satisfaction, and not only please God but himself too? Will he say that he knew none of these things? That he cannot, because they are revealed. Will he say that he could not understand them? That is false, for they are clearly revealed, and continually inculcated in our sermons and discourses to you. Will he say that he had no time to consider of the things that were pressed upon him; nor could find so much leisure as to pray seriously to God, to take an account of himself, to examine his heart and life, to reckon up the benefits he hath received? &c. This is as unjust a pretence as either of the former; for I have demonstrated that you may be contented with less of the things of this life, the inordinate desire and love of which drowns men's souls in perdition and destruction. You have leisure for unnecessary things, and therefore cannot want it for this one thing needful, which is the learning of God's will and the doing of it. You can labour for more than you really want of the goods of this present world, and therefore what hinders you but only an unprofitable labour from seeking after that which you most want, the knowledge of God and everlasting salvation? You can have so much faith, or rather infidelity, as to toil and

sweat for those things which God never promised you; why will you not have so much faith as to take pains for those things which he will certainly give you? Will it hinder you in all your other labours, so that you shall not be able to provide yourselves necessaries? How justly then might the Israelites have excused themselves with this pretence, when God bid them go three times in a year to Jerusalem, (which was many miles from some of their dwellings,) and there spend seven days at the Passover, as many at the feast of Tabernacles, and one day at the feast of Weeks! Might not they have said, It will undo us to lose seven days' work together, besides the time that must be spent in going from our own houses to the house of God, and returning back again? Who can live, if he be constantly put to such great charges, together with his time of offering so many sacrifices? And yet you see that pious people, though poor and low in the world, did not plead this at all, but Joseph and Mary (who were persons of a mean condition, it appears, by their oblation) went every year to the feast of the Passover. Luke ii. 41, though they lived in Galilee, which was the remotest part of the country from the holy city. And did he suffer any to fare the worse for this? Did he not promise them that he would suppress the desires of their enemies after their land, when all the men were gone up to worship at the temple? and did he not promise to prosper their labours, and bless them in the increase of their cattle, and corn, and all other things? Why should we, then, who are not put to such cost, trouble, and expense of time, grudge to study the will of God, to meditate on his promises, and pray to him for his grace and all other blessings; when God requires no such long journey to be undertaken that we may go to heaven, when he dwells among us everywhere, and is present in every place to bless our pious endeavours to please him? What should hinder us, what should discourage us, what should retard these holy labours? Have we time for every thing but only to seek how we may be happy? Is there room to entertain all manner of objects but only God who made them all? Is the greatest good the only thing that must be excluded out of our thoughts and out of our affections? What madness is this which possesses mankind, that they should sacrifice their whole time merely to ambition, or to the acquiring such lazy possessions that they

are a vast deal more than needs, or the satisfying extravagant desires of pleasure, which in conclusion they find they had better been without, and repent of their bargain!

And yet this is the condition of so many souls, that it cannot but move one's heart to condole the lamentable loss of such numbers; for though some are so poor that they are tempted by hunger to barter away their precious time, as Esau did his birthright for bread and broth, yet the greatest part of men (as an excellent poet of our own expresses it) make such bargains as Tamar did with Judah. Instead of a kid, the necessary provision of human life, they are content to part with this birthright, their precious time, for rings and bracelets, the mere ornaments of life; and the other need not be such slaves as not to be at liberty to think of God, even when they think how to live. There are none so poor but they will find time now and then for some sport and recreation or other; and cannot they pray as heartily to God as they importune and beg relief of their rich neighbours? Cannot they be truly thankful to God and to others when they receive an alms? Cannot they be just when they desire mercy? Doth not their very condition teach them temperance and humility? Are not their hearts set towards heaven and eternal possessions with our Saviour, by being deprived of riches and revenues on earth? Is it not as easy to look up to the Father of mercies as to cast their eyes on a charitable person? May not their sins be bewailed with as much ease as their miserable condition? and, I beseech you, what serve such days of grace as this for? Have you no time at this present to consider the state of your souls, or to think of what we say unto you? Cannot you employ this time, which is set apart for that purpose, in taking their condition to heart, and casting in your serious thoughts how to make them better? Must the world and your pleasures engross this season likewise to themselves? What necessity can you show for that?

Is the countryman able to give any reason, why, when he goes from these holy assemblies, where he meets with God and our Saviour, he must needs fall immediately into a discourse about his cattle, or his ground, or the price of corn, or any thing of that nature? Cannot he as well think a while how to get to heaven, and how to increase in the knowledge and love of God,

and to bring himself to a resolution never to neglect any part of his service? And why must others presently divert their thoughts to their shops and to their trades; or to the news of the town, or to the designs they have laid the next day for their pleasures and delightful entertainments? Is it not sufficient to enjoy them in their proper season, but we must rob God and our souls, to possess our minds with unnecessary thoughts about them? Why cannot we as well endeavour to digest some wholesome counsel which hath been given us? Why cannot we spend a little of the remainder of this day to settle a pious resolution which we have conceived? Is it such a mighty difficulty to fall upon our knees, when we come at home, or in the conclusion of this day, and beseech God to imprint in our minds all good instructions, and assist us with his grace to perform our Christian duties, in the places and relation in which he hath set us? Is it such a severe labour that we should be weary of it, to meditate how many ways God hath blessed us, how many mercies of several sorts he hath bestowed upon us, what hopes we have by the gospel of good things, that exceed all our thoughts in everlasting life? There is no question to be made of it, but you have such an opportunity at this present, that if you would improve it well, you would find more time every day to do your souls justice. You would say, "O my soul, why dost thou forget thyself? One thing is needful, let us not trouble ourselves so much about these unnecessary things. O let us go to God and seek his favour and blessing; let us hear what he says to us in his holy word. Did not the servants of God heretofore rejoice in this, more than in thousands of gold and silver? Let us share with them in this joy, who have greater treasures of wisdom and knowledge opened unto us in the gospel of the Lord Jesus: let us not neglect such great salvation; for *if they escaped not who heard not him that spake on earth, much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from him that speaketh from heaven* [k]."

We do not wish you to be idle when we give you this advice, for that is not good for your souls no more than for your bodies; nor do we bid you to be improvident, to have no forecast, or not to make use of an opportunity for the increasing

[k] Heb. x. 25.

your estates, for this would be to take from men all prudence. All that God requires of you is, that you would not so attend to these earthly things as to let slip the opportunities you have for the good of your souls; that you would not be so laborious for the outward man as to be idle in working out your salvation. He that is so, and thinks himself sufficiently saved from blame because he hath himself and family to make provision for, will find one day that he might have been contented with less riches, and have minded also the affairs of his soul, and had never the less of these worldly goods. This if you did believe, (and it is a certain truth,) it would make you at present more mindful of heaven, and save you the labour hereafter of bewailing unprofitably the loss of such an inestimable happiness. May not even a labouring man before he go forth to his work in the morning address himself to God, and say,

"Lord, I am thine, thou hast made me, and hitherto maintained me; I have received such and such mercies from thee; I am in health, and have the use of my limbs, and am able to work. Blessed be thy name, I never wanted food since I came into this world; I love thee, O Lord, with all my heart, I will ever love thee and do thy will; I am resolved to depend upon thee, and put my trust in thee for ever; I will keep thy commandments with my whole heart, and esteem thy precious promises more than all riches. Bless me, I beseech thee, and be with me all this day; preserve me from murmuring and envy, and make me more thankful for all thy blessings, and bring me by patient continuance in well-doing to eternal life."

May he not, I say, pour out his heart in these or the like desires to God? What hinderance will this be to him? Nay, if he have any faith, God will the more bless and prosper him. And may he not, if he can read, take a good book along with him, and when he rests and refreshes himself, read a little, and think of it afterward with himself? Or may he not meditate on the sermon he hears to-day, and pray to God fervently that he may have grace to practise those holy truths which have been made known to him?

What then may not they do who have more riches, and are masters of more time and better opportunities? Is there any need that they should be still coveting and stretching their designs after more abundance? To what purpose is it that they

aspire after such and such dignities? May they not sit down and be happy, though they never ascend to that height of honour? Perhaps they fancy that if they had but such additions to their riches and greatness as they desire, then they should find more leisure to attend to their souls, and certainly improve it. Alas! this is a mere delusion, like all the rest; for they that have gotten up to the very highest step upon fortune's ladder, the great emperors, I mean, of the world, who had ill men at their command, did not find their thoughts advanced nearer heaven by this means; after they had cloyed themselves with all the variety of delights which their large dominions could furnish their desires withal, still they could find no appetite after diviner enjoyments, their thoughts ran still the same way; insomuch that when they had surfeited on the greater pleasures of this world, rather than look higher, they betook themselves for a cure to the most contemptible divertisements, and the meanest recreations of the vulgar, nay, of little children. One of them, (as a rare person of our own nation hath expressed better than I can do,) "who styled himself lord and god of the whole earth, could not tell how to pass his day pleasantly without spending two or three hours in catching flies and killing them with his bodkin," a most worthy employment for an earthly god[1]. "One of his predecessors (Nero) could divert himself with no pastime more agreeable, than to run about the streets all night in a disguise, abusing all he met withal, sometimes beating them, and sometimes being beaten by them: this was one of his imperial nocturnal pleasures, and his chiefest in the day was to sing and play upon a fiddle in the habit of a minstrel, on a public stage, being prouder of the garlands given to his divine voice (as his flatterers called it) in those goodly prizes, than his forefathers were of their triumphs over nations." . . . Augustus himself, "the most fortunate of all mankind, and a person endowed with many excellent gifts of nature, was so hard put to it for want of recreations, as to be found playing at nuts and bounding-stones with little boys, whose company he took delight in, for their prating and wantonness."

All which I mention to show how men are like to deceive themselves, who imagine that when they are greater, they

[1] Cowley, Essays, p. 122. ['On greatness,' Prose Works, p. 184.]

shall be more vacant than they are now for their spiritual affairs. They will still in all probability find themselves something else to do, if they be not at leisure now; and rather than do as they should, they will play the fool, and pass their time in idle and childish employments. Oh! how terribly will this witness against them, when then they shall appear before the great Lord and Judge of all! Take occasion, I beseech you, from thence to think how dreadful the day of Christ will be: it will be a day of great conviction and amazing reproof; you will see then, there was no reason that the knowledge of our Lord should be so neglected, and the saving truths of this heavenly book should be left only to men of learning, or of great leisure; and that the Son of God did not come into the world to put us into an impossible way to heaven. You had better be convinced of it now, and apply yourselves to the knowing and doing of his will, than stay till that day of terror come.

And that you may be the more awakened and engaged to mind what hath been said, let me proceed to the second inference from this doctrine of contentment,

II.

Which may serve highly to recommend to us the excellency of the Christian religion. There is nothing so worthy of your study and pains, no truths so satisfying to your souls as those herein contained. It shows you the ready way to that contentment of heart (as you have formerly been told) which is the only thing you aim at in seeking after riches, honours, or any pleasures which are most tempting and inviting to your appetites; and therefore you have very great encouragement to apply yourselves to the understanding and practice of it, because hereby you shall arrive at that, with the saving of your souls and enough for your bodies too, which now you labour for uncertainly, with the loss of your souls, and the great toil and misery of the outward man. Three arguments are contained in this that I have said. We shall have that which men vainly seek after elsewhere, that is, contentment; we shall save our souls, which are in danger to be lost; and we shall provide certainly for our bodies without so much toilsome labour. O! the goodness of God that makes such good provision for

men, if they could but see it! They would lose their souls to satisfy their bodies; God would have them save their souls, and better secure the comforts of the body also. They seek for contentment with a great deal of labour, and are still strangers to it; he would give it with less labour, so that they should never want it; for he bids us, as you have often heard, *be content with what we have*, and he hath said, he will *never leave us nor forsake us.* Now he is not so unwise or unjust, as to bid us do that which he hath left us no means to accomplish: no, this religion, as I have shown you, teaches the most effectual, the most short and easy way of coming at this blessing of contentment.

Consider but how insufficient all other ways are, besides this, and it will the more magnify Christian religion in your eyes.

First, it doth not grow naturally within us, for we have a fancy and a longing naturally for every thing we see.

Secondly, it is not to be found in the enjoyment of worldly goods, as I have demonstrated; for they rather enlarge our desires and make us long for more. Nor,

Thirdly, will bare reason teach men a perfection in this art: for till the Christian religion came into the world this was a great part of men's dissatisfaction, that some things of greatest moment to make us contented were so uncertainly and obscurely known, and so diversely disputed about, as it was hard to come to any settled resolution. Oh! how much ought we to think ourselves bound to God for this discovery of himself to us in the gospel! which shows so clearly the goodness and the gracious nature of God, as never any other religion did, because it tells us that God hath so loved us, as to give his own Son to us. And therefore, first, though mere reason might be tempted to look on God as one so highly above us that he would not vouchsafe to concern himself in our petty affairs; there is no suspicion of this can enter if we understand the Christian religion, because he is pleased to come and dwell among us, and manifest himself in our flesh. Some of the learnedest of the heathens imagined that God minded not particular things, as too much below him; but now that the fulness of the Godhead dwells in Christ bodily, we are sure he cannot but mind us and take care of us, as the husband cherishes his

wife, and the soul loves the body. And (secondly) mere reason might be tempted to conceive of God according to our own temper and disposition, and because we are apt, when we can, to carry things by strong power, and mere will, to imagine that he doth so too; but there is no place for such thoughts in Christian religion, which teaches that all things are done here in the world, not only by the will of God, but by his wisdom and love. By some of the heathens their gods were looked upon but as *superbi domini*, 'imperious lords,' that would have their will; and therefore must be submitted unto, because men could not help it, being unable to resist those who were so much their superiors; but we are taught to look upon the Lord of all as a Father that governs his household with such excellent wisdom and sweetness, that we should choose to submit unto him because we cannot do so well, much less better, if we had more power in our hands.

Mere reason also (thirdly) may tell us that it is possible to work some good to ourselves out of every thing; but Christianity instructs us to think that God designs some good to us; and his Spirit shall assist us to effect it. And (fourthly) contentedness of spirit, which mere reason praises and commands as a desirable good, Christian religion commands and makes a duty, and so puts us more strongly upon the pursuit of it. And (fifthly) that eternal life which men had some faint hopes of, our Lord hath now assured us he will bestow upon his disciples, and bids them not doubt at all of it. And who could have thought of such things as he hath told us shall be the portion of the faithful? His promises exceed all that entered into men's minds to conceive; the quickest sighted men could see no probability of them, but we owe them to mere revelation: and their promises concerning both lives, that which now is, and that which is to come, what God saith to the Levites, Deut. xvii. 2, may be applied to every Christian, who is made a priest unto God, *The Lord is their inheritance;* he is their portion, and will provide for them. Maimonides himself was of opinion that these words might be extended to every man that hath the fear of God in him; but no Jew could have any such assurance of God's fatherly care as we Christians have, for whom he hath done greater things, having invested us in such an inheritance as will not let us doubt of his willingness

to bestow upon us lesser things. And therefore (lastly) the excellence of this religion appears in this, that it teaches us, as I said, by being contented and saving our souls, to secure the interest of the body too, and provide it with all things needful for it. Celsus, indeed, jeered at those words of our Saviour, in which he taught his disciples not to take care what they should eat, or what they should drink, no more than the crows or pigeons do; nor what they should put on, no more than the lilies are solicitous about their clothing. But it is plain, that being to go and preach the gospel, they could not discharge that duty in strange countries unless they were without care, and relied on his word that he would make provision for them. And for what belongs to us in those words, Origen[m] hath well answered that cavilling philosopher, that our Saviour means we should be contented with a little, even as those creatures are, and that we should not toil overmuch, no more than they do; and that we should believe his providence, which takes care of them, will not fail to take care of a Christian, *εἰ μόνον τὶς τῶν ἀναγκαίων φροντίζοι*, 'if so be he do but take care about those things which are most necessary.'

III.

Now let us from hence proceed to consider how much more easy the lesson of self-denial is to learn than men make it, though it be accounted the hardest thing in our religion. God hath provided so many means of our contentment, that it is no adventure to call it easy, if we will not go our own laborious and tedious way to attain it. And if that be easy, then self-denial cannot be so difficult as it is deemed, because that duty is contained within this of contentment.

To deny ourselves is to part with any thing that belongs to us, even life itself, rather than not follow Christ, and do as he hath commanded us. Now he that hath already stilled and quieted all his desires, so that they are not inordinately and passionately set upon any thing, will soon perform this duty. His desires when they ask any thing will easily take a denial, because he hath something else to satisfy them: for (first) he only denies to himself those things that he hath no absolute need of, such as he may spare, and yet have enough. And

[m] [Contr. Cels. lib. vii. § 24. tom. i. p. 711 E.]

(secondly) such as many others have, and yet have not contentment. And (thirdly) such as many others have not, and yet have no Christianity neither: he is no worse than they who are nothing so good and happy as he. And (fourthly) such as perhaps he himself once had not, and yet was not miserable. And (fifthly) he only denies himself that he may be God's, and at his finding. Or (lastly) if he must in the most proper sense deny himself, that is, his life, yet then he can do it, because by parting with that one thing he shall stand in need of nothing any more, but have all that heart can desire.

And the truth is, during our stay in this life, when we submit our wills wholly to God's, all things go better with us than if we keep them in our own hands. So the story of the old hermit intended to teach us, who used to pray very earnestly now for rain to fall on his garden, and then for fair weather to follow that rain, and yet it did not prosper; whereas the gardens of his neighbours were in a thriving condition: the reason of which whilst he was wondering at, one of his brethren said thus to him, "Thou fool, dost thou think that thou art wiser than God? If we can be quiet and do his will, he will always give us that which is best for us."

It was a very foolish saying of one, who, being asked who were the most happy men in this world made answer, Either kings or fools, who live both of them without anxiety; for the former, said he, (adding his reasons,) can have what they will, and the other are not sensible of any danger or misery, but all things are alike to them. There are far happier men than either of these, who, though they be no fools, utterly insensible of want, disgrace, or the like; nor no kings neither, unless it be in their command over their own affections; yet for all that, are as well pleased as if they had their wills in every thing, because they are content to submit to God, and resolved to satisfy themselves in his pleasure. He is in a good condition who doth not believe he is miserable, as well as he that doth not feel, nor hath any sense of misery: for every man is just as he thinks himself to be; and he hath what he will as well as kings, who layeth down his will at the feet of God, and desires him to please himself, and dispose of him as seemeth best to his unerring wisdom.

And if it be easy, nay, satisfactory, to deny ourselves upon

this account, even in our lawful enjoyments, much more easy must it be to reject any desires after unlawful and forbidden things. He that to please our Saviour can part with things otherwise good, will not grudge, one would think, to forbear to displease him by doing any thing that is always bad. What great difficulty can there be in abstaining from lying, cozening, and unjust dealing? When men can keep themselves from coveting, (as you shall hear another time,) why should it be thought so hard to keep from fraud and guile? What should tempt a man to fall into riot, gluttony, drunkenness and excess, when he sees one may be contented with a morsel and quietness therewith? Or what should move a man to be proud and haughty, to be full of wrath, anger and fury, when he sees that an humble condition is most peaceable?

Some of you, I believe, have read or heard how Mahomet the first Turkish emperor smote off the head of the fair Irene his concubine with his own hands, though he loved her dearly, and had taken no distaste at her, merely that he might show to his bassas and captains how able he was to conquer himself, and subdue his own affections, which they thought too much engaged to her, even to the prejudice of his affairs. And you all know how a greater and better person than he, (as the holy story tells us[n],) having a passionate longing after the waters by the gate of Bethlehem, which it is like he knew excelled all other in pleasantness and goodness, (for in that town he was bred and there he had kept his father's sheep,) yet when they were brought to him by the valour of some of his worthies, bethought himself better and would not drink them, but poured them out as an offering to the Lord, who had preserved such brave men that had hazarded their lives for his sake. And this abstinence, it is like, he exercised partly to condemn the irregularity of his desires in putting the lives of three such men in danger, and partly that it might teach his army patience and constancy in thirst and hunger, to which their warfare would often expose them. A fact like to which is recorded by Q. Curtius[o] concerning Alexander the Great, who in a great thirst by which his army suffered much, having a cup full of water presented to him, refused to taste of it, saying, "That

[n] 2 Sam. xxiii. 15, 16. [o] [Lib. vii. cap. 5; Plutarch. in Alex. cap. 42.]

there was too much for him, and not enough for everybody else; for which cause he would have none at all, but endure as much as the rest." What a world of mischief had David prevented, if he had but in another instance repressed his appetite as he did now, when he saw Bathsheba and sent for her, and he thought of killing Uriah in so base a manner! And what vile and dirty actions had Alexander avoided, if he had exercised the same temperance which he did in the field within the walls of his palace, at his feasts and entertainments! At one of which he slew his particular friend, and at another of which he caused the beautiful city of Persepolis to be set on fire and consumed. It was a thing possible for them, sure, at one time as well as another. And it is possible likewise for every one of us both to gainsay and overcome our inordinate desires in all cases; for if the law of Moses had that power over David, and the mere law of nature, or perhaps but political reason and military discipline, could lay such restraints upon others, of what force do you think the law of Christ and his heavenly promises to be if they were laid to heart and diligently kept in mind by us! It will enable us, you have seen, to be content ever without things lawful to be enjoyed, and therefore will much more fortify us against the desire of things unlawful; by refusing of which, you likewise see in the foregoing examples, we shall deliver ourselves from a great deal of sin and misery.

The counsel which the heathen writers were wont to give in this case was, to habituate ourselves in patience and contentedness, ἀπὸ τῶν σμικρῶν[p], 'by beginning with small things.' As the oil or the wine, saith Epictetus, is spilt upon the ground, then say to thyself on that little occasion, Τοσούτου πωλεῖται ἀπάθεια, 'so much I must pay for tranquillity;' at this rate contentment is sold. I must buy my patience at this price, προῖκα δ' οὐδὲν περιγίνεται, 'for there is nothing to be had gratis, but it will cost something.' And if we find that we have a good bargain, and that the thing we have got is of far greater value than that we lost, we shall not stick to purchase it at a dearer rate, but be content though we must pay more for it. Be quiet, I mean, though we suffer in things of more moment than those now named; for the peace of our mind is still more

[p] Enchir. cap. 17. [p. 7.]

precious, and we ought not to grudge to give any thing for it, nor murmur that it costs us so much to learn it.

And if, as Simplicius[q] glosses upon that author, any man would seriously follow his way of merchandise, not for a time, but always, how rich and wealthy would he grow! What treasures would he possess at no great expense! For he would, as Diomedes' sand[r], change brass and iron for silver or gold; he would purchase the greatest good of the mind with the loss of little things without him: and the case may happen so that he may keep those also, and the preparation of his mind to receive the loss of them contentedly may be sufficient.

But when all this is done, we see by the instances now given that it is not sufficient, though it may do much toward the teaching us to deny ourselves. We must make use of other helps, and render this duty more easy, by reflecting, as I have said heretofore, upon the innumerable blessings we still enjoy, though in some things we deny our desires; and especially by considering what happiness we shall deprive ourselves of, by gratifying our intemperate appetites, and letting them loose beyond their bounds. Let us think how Christ Jesus was promoted to his celestial glory, who *pleased not himself, but, as it was written, The reproaches of them that reproached thee fell upon me*[s]. He did not think much to deny his own will to follow God's, nor did he suffer any loss thereby, (though for the present he parted with his life, and that in a shameful and ignominious manner,) but it turned to his great gain, as you have often heard; for he humbling himself, though he was so divine a Person, being *obedient to death, even the death of the cross, therefore God highly exalted him, and raised his name above every name, that every knee should bow unto him, and confess him to be the Lord of all, to the glory of God the Father.* Amen.

PRAYER XIV.

I adore thee, O Lord, and acknowledge thy great goodness, in that thou hast endued me with an understanding and immortal spirit, capable of the noblest enjoyments, of no less than to have acquaintance and society, yea, an happy friendship with thyself, to be admitted into thy secret councils which thou hast revealed in

[q] [P. 103.]

[r] [So in the original impression. Some error of the press is latent.]

[s] Rom. xv. 3.

Christ Jesus, and to rejoice with thee for ever in being partaker of thy blessed nature and likeness. O God, how much ought I to rejoice at present in this dignity to which thou hast preferred me, though I were in want of all other things! And therefore how much more ought I to rejoice that thou hast made so bountiful a provision for my body of the things of this life, and thereby given me greater leisure to attend to the enriching of this immortal spirit with the most excellent goods, the choicest treasures of wisdom, virtue, and piety! Be thy holy name for ever praised and acknowledged by me, which hath taken such care of me, and instructed me by the religion of Christ Jesus how to be happy both here and eternally. I thank thee, O Lord, that I see the way how to do my soul good without hurting my body; yea, that thou hast made my care to provide for my everlasting welfare to be a certain means to secure thy blessing upon me for the things of this present time. O how admirable is thy goodness, which would not have me to be a little but very happy! How admirable is thy goodness, which designs such great, such long possessions for me, as surpass all that mankind thought of or desired! We ask good things for this world, and thou givest us eternal bliss; we seek the fading enjoyments of a frail body, and thou hast sent us the lasting felicity of an immortal soul. We are too prone to forget our main concernments in endless life, and thou rememberest us of them, to our exceeding advantage also other ways.

I thank thee again, as well as I am able, O God the Father of my spirit, and beseech thee to turn my mind, in consideration of thy goodness, from all inordinate cares about unnecessary things, to this one thing needful, the saving of my soul. Help me to employ the happy leisure thou givest me to the settling myself in eternal repose: bless my endeavours to grow in the knowledge of thee: lift up my heart in most ardent desires after a fuller participation of thee; satisfy me with thy love and thy divine likeness, that I may be able not only contentedly to enjoy what thou hast blessed me withal, but cheerfully to deny any thing for thy sake, and make all that I have a sacrifice to thy service. Preserve me especially from being transported at any time beyond the bounds of piety, righteousness, moderation or decency, by the violence of any appetite whatsoever: and enable me, in the consideration of what I have, and what I hope for, to keep close to thy will, and to contain myself within the limits which thou hast prescribed me, on whom all my present possessions and future hopes depend entirely.

Endue me, I beseech thee, with so much wisdom and goodness,

that I may profit by the smallest occasions, and exercise myself by every thing that befalls me to such patient endurance and humble resignation, that I may attain at last a perfect peace and quietness of spirit; and feeling daily the comfort and satisfaction of that happiness, nothing may tempt me out of it, but all things may make an addition to it, by my steadfast and unmovable adherence to thy holy will, and submission to thy good providence.

Turn my eyes still unto Jesus, and fix my mind and heart in delightful contemplations of him, and devout affections to him, that, being filled with his Spirit, I may partake with him his joys and consolations, and have hopes, by quitting my own desires at present, to obtain that glorious good which exceeds all that heart can desire, when he shall come again to perfect the satisfaction of all those that love and wait for his blessed appearing. Amen.

SERMON XV.

HEB. XIII. 5.

Be content with such things as ye have.

AS I begun, so I shall end these discourses, by desiring you to read again those words in Heb. xiii. 5, *Be content with such things as ye have.* Which exhortation if you will faithfully receive, you will easily see which is the fourth thing I would advise you of from what hath been said.

IV.

The reasonableness of that command, *Thou shalt not covet;* and of those words of our Saviour, Luke xiii. 15, *Take heed and beware of covetousness;* and of the admonition just before my text, *Let your conversation be without covetousness.* For these words, *Be content with things present,* do not only condemn all injustice, all violent unconscionable and fraudulent dealing, in acquiring to ourselves that which is another man's, but also all inordinate desire either of his house, or his farm, or his bargain, or his office, or his honour, or any such like thing which is in his possession. We need not cast such a greedy eye upon that which is our neighbour's, if we would but study and embrace the religion of Jesus Christ. We may rest satisfied, I have proved, with what we have, nay, rejoice in it, without such an hungry appetite after which is none of ours.

But you will say, What desires and designs are inordinate? When do we stretch them so far as to make them inconsistent with contentment? All desires are not unlawful; we may wish to have more, for else how should we seek for more, which religion doth not forbid? Let us understand therefore what is irregular and undue.

To this I shall give some satisfaction, it being too much out of the way to insist long upon it. And first, I suppose,

1. It will be granted by all, that when a man sets his heart upon getting of riches, and charges himself with that care more than with being eternally happy, he is gone beyond all reasonable bounds. This is so dangerous an evil, that it is the *love of the world* which, St. James saith, is inconsistent with the love and friendship of God[a]. This is properly that hardness of heart spoken of in Scripture, which will let a man have no sense or feeling of any thing, though never so excellent, but what makes for his worldly interest. And it was the mother of that vile hypocrisy which reigned in the Pharisees, who had no regard to that part of religion which consisted in doing good to others, as they desired God should do to them.

2. I suppose it will be as readily granted, that it is an inordinate desire which makes a man restless and impatient for its accomplishment, even to the disturbance of his neighbour. If one have no mind, for instance, to part with that which we long for, (his land suppose, or house, or any thing else which he loves and prizes as much as we can do,) it is an irregular appetite not to be quiet without it, though we be willing to give him the true value for it. To have a desire of it is no fault, if the owner be willing to part with it; but when we know he is not willing, still to continue the vehement desire is blamable and dangerous, for it tends to that which is most mischievous. Such was the desire of Ahab, the picture of filthy covetousness, who still gaped after Naboth's vineyard, when one would think he had stopped his mouth by telling him it was the inheritance of his father, which he had a resolution to keep as long as he could in his family.

3. And is not that, think you, an inordinate desire, which breaks a man's own peace, and puts his spirit out of order, and disturbs his duty? When a man's thoughts are so set upon what he would have that he cannot pray, nor hear the word of God, nor read a good book, but still this comes into his mind, and calls him away from his better business, he cannot be excused from the guilt of covetousness. For this was Ahab's case also, who could not eat nor sleep for longing after Naboth's vineyard.

[a] James iv. 4.

4. When a man so desires also another man's goods that he conceives a displeasure against the person who will not satisfy his desire, we know not how to quit him from blame. It is so sensible an irregularity, that we cannot but condemn the displeasure he hath within himself at his own condition, because it is not so good as that of other men.

5. And still it is a more palpable degree of baseness, when a young man's desires are so eager that they make him not care what courses he takes to satisfy them: as Ahab, you know, most unworthily consented to his wife Jezebel to accuse Naboth unjustly, that he might get his vineyard. And though a man do not actually proceed to do bad things that he may effect his desires, if it be in his heart and purpose, were it not for the shame of the world, and for fear of losing his credit, or some such consideration which hinders him, he is expressly guilty of the breach of that command, *Thou shalt not covet:* which intends to prohibit all evil designs, and close projects of mischief, though they never be put in execution. This was Ahab's condition, who did not practise any thing against his innocent neighbour at the first, but had it in his heart, it should seem by what followed, to dispossess him by irregular courses, rather than go without that garden which lay so convenient for him. Then it was that his foul inclinations discovered themselves, when injustice might be done by another, and he not seen in it, and his wife had contrived a handsome way to bring about his end without a barefaced violence.

6. But the very worst degree of all is, when men will make religion and sacred things stoop to their worldly desires, becoming factious rather than be poor, and submitting themselves to irreligious flatteries rather than be underlings, and not in favour with the people. This covetousness is called by St. Peter, in Simon Magus's case, who coveted for base ends to be like the apostles, *the gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity*[b]; or a complication of wickedness; a great many crimes involved one in another, out of which it was hard for him to extricate himself.

Let us put a stop therefore to greedy desires, for we know not whither they may proceed. If we find ourselves inclined

[b] Acts viii. 23.

to this distemper, let us look after a cure presently, for it is the root of all evil. Where covetousness is, there is *neque amor, neque fides, neque misericordia*, as a great philosopher speaks, 'neither love, nor faith, nor pity;' it being the worst natured vice in the world. And it is of the more dangerous disposition, because it is one of those passions (ambition is another of them) that are purely in the mind, and for that cause is an appetite not capable of satiety, as passions partly bodily are, but it is rather sharpened by enjoying, and increased by possession.

And the sad effects of it are almost incredible, had we not the authority of the sacred story to vouch the truth of those woful examples which it hath left to posterity.

There is none, I think, more amazing and dreadful than that of Judas, whose covetousness first made him a thief, nay, so shameless a thief, that he was inclined thereby to rob the very poor[b].

And secondly, it disposed him to be a vile hypocrite, and to pretend care for the poor, when he had none at all in his heart, as you read there[c].

And thirdly, it made him a traitor, nay, tempted him to betray the best Master in the world, who had also particularly intrusted him with his purse.

And fourthly, being thus lewdly disposed, it betrayed him to the devil, who had power and license given him to promote these base inclinations in his heart[d].

For it seems he was incensed at our Saviour for speaking against covetousness, (the hatching of this treason of his being immediately recorded after our Saviour's commending the act of the woman in spending that ointment on his body, which Judas would have converted into money,) which the devil perceiving, he egged his indignation and covetous anger to proceed further, and conceive an intent of betraying him. When he could not have the money for the ointment, he resolved to make money of his Master, whom he not only sold, but, fifthly, such was the meanness of his spirit, and his sordid love of money, he sold him for a very small sum, for no more than the price of a slave, which was thirty shekels of silver[e]. The dirtiest, the most contemptible gain, you see by this, is sweet and pleasant to a covetous heart.

[b] John xii. 6. [c] Verse 5. [d] John xviii. 2. [e] Exod. xxi. 32.

Nay, sixthly, he is very thankful to the high priest for so small a sum; so the word ἐξομολόγησε[f], which we render, 'he promised,' signifies in holy Scripture; he praised the bargain and applauded his good fortune, he cheerfully accepted of the offer, and confessed, as I may express it, that it was a great gratuity for his perfidiousness.

And seventhly, so great was his thirst after a little money, that he could think of nothing else; but this desire stopped his ears to the admonition of our Saviour, who candidly represented to him the danger of such villany[g].

And so, lastly, this covetous humour delivered him up entirely to the power of the devil. For it is said, that after the sop the devil entered into him, (when that good counsel would not enter,) who had put it before into his heart to betray him[h].

O how different was this man's spirit from that of the father of the faithful! Abraham, I mean, whose son if one would not have allowed him to be, he would have taken it very ill, and accounted it a great reproach, which is the humour of all hypocrites, who are much displeased if they be not thought to be the most godly people. This good man, you may observe, was so far from the greediness of these titular children of his, that he could content himself without those goods which one way he had a clear right unto in the account of all the world, and which he might have had a further right unto another way, if he had pleased to accept of the offer; the goods, I mean, of the king of Sodom he had taken in fight, which became his *jure belli*, 'by the right of war,' for the law of nations gives such things to the conqueror: and besides this, the king of Sodom, who was the former proprietor, would have confirmed his title, for he freely offered them all to him, that so they might have been his *jure donationis*, 'by the right of gift,' from him that before was their owner.

But he would by no means have any of these goods, no, not the least scrap of them, remain in his possession. He had no covetous desires of enriching himself by other men's misfortunes or his own good success in arms: but tells him, as you read[i], *I have lifted up my hand* (i. e. sworn) *to the most high God, the possessor of heaven and earth, that I will not take from*

[f] Luke xxii. 6. [g] Mark xiv. 21. [h] John xiii. 27. [i] Gen. xiv. 22, 23.

a thread, even to a shoe latchet, (a phrase to express the smallest matter,) *and that I will not take any thing that is thine, lest thou shouldst say, I have made Abraham rich.*

This was not a piece of pride or a vainglorious humour in Abraham, to refuse the present that was made him, (though every prudent and grave person, as he was, ought to have a great care of his fame and reputation, and not give occasion to any to say that he is greedy of riches, and glad to have them any way, and to snatch at all advantageous offers, or do any unhandsome thing,) but he did it, first, that it might appear he undertook their war, not out of desire of spoil, and to satisfy his covetous appetite, but merely out of a pious love that he bare to a friend and cousin, his brother Lot; and, secondly, that it might be apparent he depended entirely on the promise of God, and desired he might have the honour, and not the king of Sodom, of giving him riches. He had vowed, it seems, before, and that in the presence of the Lord of all, that he would not enjoy any of these goods; and the reason seems to be contained in those words, *Possessor of heaven and earth.* God had said he would bless him, and on his word he resolved to trust for increase and multiplication of his possessions, insomuch that he would not let any share with the great God in this honour of blessing him. He knew very well in whom he trusted, even in him who had all things, and needed nothing, who would not be sparing to give him as great things as these, because the world is his, and all that is therein, and would the rather bestow good things on him because he would receive them from none but himself.

A most worthy and generous example this is, to teach us not to be greedy of all we can get, if it be by mean, though not unlawful ways; and above all things to seek the honour of God, and to study to do credit to our religion, which we too much undervalue when we pursue with too much eagerness, and embrace with too much passion, all occasions of making ourselves great and wealthy.

But it is time to leave this, and to pass to something else. Let us then briefly consider,

V.

How reasonable that command is, *In every thing give thanks*[k]:

[k] 1 Thess. v. 18.

for we have enough always, and that is a great deal more than we deserve to have. If a man should think himself ill dealt withal, and be apt to be ungrateful, he need only ask himself, Where did I lie last night? Where did I make my last meal? or where did I work and labour the last day? Who gave me these hands and feet? Who bestowed on me this health and strength? But especially he may ask himself, Have I not abundant means of being contented? Have I not the promises of God, the comfort of the holy Scriptures? &c. And then he may tell himself, when he hath answered these questions, what reason he hath to bless God. And again, we should remember always that we need no more than enough; and again, that no more than enough is best for us: it is best for our souls, that our thoughts may not be distracted; it is best for our bodies, that we may not have temptations to intemperance; it is best however for our account at the great day, because it is easier to manage a little stewardship than it is a great. Be careful therefore for nothing, as the apostle saith, but in every thing make known your request to God, with supplication and thanksgiving. There is great reason for it, if you consider all that hath been said; for we have much cause to be content; and if we give thanks for it, that is a means, as you have heard, to make us still more contented. But the principal thing I intend at this time is to represent to you,

VI.

The great evil of murmuring, complaining, and giving way to discontentedness of mind: St. Jude puts this among the black characters of the wicked and apostate Christians of those days; that they were *murmurers, complainers, walkers after their own lusts*[k]. That is, they murmured as the Israelites (their forefathers) had done in the wilderness, Numb. xi. 1, 4, because they were in an afflicted and distressed condition, as the Church generally was at that time, and had not that plenty, and perhaps dainties, that they longed for; and it is very probable (which is Grotius's[l] conjecture) that they complained of the Roman government, (being desirous to recover their ancient liberty by throwing off that yoke,) though there was little reason for it; none of the former monarchies, either Babylonian or Grecian, using them with more gentleness and

[k] Jude 16. [l] [Inter Critic. Sacr. ad loc. col. 318.]

civility than the Romans did. But nothing would satisfy these malecontents but to have their own lust and heart's desire; and that would not satisfy them neither, for they were proud persons, and spoke great swelling words of vanity, admiring none but themselves and their own party, which made them complain of and be discontented with everybody else.

This is the condition of many in the world at this day, who are still muttering and grumbling if every thing be not done according to their desire; that is, are always ill at ease, because their desire can never be satisfied with any worldly good. One complains of bad trading; another of bad government: one saith he hath a very hard bargain; and another that he is not respected by his neighbours: one is troubled because he is kept under, and such and such are preferred before him; and they also are not well pleased because they are not advanced higher, or are not regarded according to their dignity. To cease which complaints, that are without end, let us consider,

First, that this is a very uncomfortable condition, and puts the soul into very great disorders; for, to say no more, such men, as you have been often told, want not only that which they have not, but even that which they have; they want not only all things else, but themselves too; they possess not their own souls, which are carried away by things without them, they know not whither; they are seldom at home, and when they are there, they find nothing but tumults and disorders, which hurry them again away from themselves. Let it be considered also,

Secondly, how prejudicial this temper of mind is to him that labours with it. For, 1st, it provokes God to withhold those blessings which otherwise he might have bestowed. It puts a man further off from those things the want of which he complains about. He gets nothing, but rather loses, by repining against God; as Theagenes[m] in the story tells his Chariclea, when she was summing up all their miseries, and crying to Apollo, Ποῖ ταῦτα στήσεις; 'Where or when will there be an end of these things?' "Thou dost," says he, "by these unmannerly complaints but παροξύνειν τὸ θεῖον, 'exasperate the divinity, and sharpen its displeasure against thee.' Οὐ γὰρ ὀνειδίζειν ἀλλὰ παρακαλεῖν χρεὼν, εὐχαῖς οὐκ αἰτίαις ἐξιλεοῦται

[m] Heliodor. l. i. Æthiop. [§. 14. p. 12.]

τὸ κρεῖττον· 'For we ought not to reproach, but to beseech and intreat, when we are in misery.'" The most excellent nature is propitiated and rendered mild and gentle to us by prayers, not by accusations. There is nothing truer: we drive ourselves away from the port at which we would arrive by these storms and blustering passions. If we would be carried to the haven we desire, let us be calm, and of a still and quiet disposition. For,

2dly, These complaints endanger the loss also of that which we have already. The devil and our first parents were not well pleased in the station wherein God first set them, and so they fell from it into a worse.

It is a saying of Ben Syra, a famous man among the Hebrews, "He that saith, What shall I eat with my bread? take his bread from him." He deserves, he means, to lose a good thing who repines because he hath not more with it. Thus Balaam, they observe, is found to be slain in the battle with the Midianites, Numb. xxxi. 8. "What did he there?" say the doctors who dispute about it in the Talmud. R. Johanan answers, "He came to receive his reward for the feat he had done, in seducing Israel, to the destruction of four and twenty thousand of them." "And thus," said Mar. Zutra [n], the son of Tobias, "the vulgar saying was fulfilled, The camel went to beg horns, and they cut off his ears." They that cannot be contented but they must be gaping after more, have this for their reward, that they do not always keep what they enjoy, especially when they grumble at their present condition, and quarrel because it is no better. And is it not a sad thing, instead of being raised higher, to find ourselves to have caught a fall? And yet there is something more to be lamented behind, which is, that,

3dly, These complaints make us more miserable in that worse condition when we fall into it. If we cannot bear our present estate, we shall ill agree with another that may have more pressures in it. Jeremy, I remember, tells us how his townsmen, the people of Anathoth, sought his life, as you may read in the latter end of the eleventh chapter of his prophecy, ver. 19, 20, 21, &c.; and yet, notwithstanding, they flourished, and

[n] Gemara Sanhedr. cap. xi. [§ 61. inter Excerpt. ex Gemara per J. Cocceium, tom. ix. p. 259.]

grew so great, as to tempt him to discontent; for he begins the twelfth chapter with a complaint to God, saying, *Wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper? wherefore are all they happy that deal very treacherously?* and he desires to be revenged of them, saying, *Pull them out like sheep for the slaughter, and prepare them for the day of slaughter* [o]. But in this beginning of his passion the voice of God quiets and appeases his spirit with these words: *If thou hast run with the footmen, and they have wearied thee, then how canst thou contend with horses? and if in the land of peace, wherein thou trustedst, they wearied thee, then how wilt thou do in the swelling of Jordan* [p]? Which is as much as to say, If thou canst not endure the malice and rage of this little city Anathoth, then how wilt thou be able to brook the fury of the men of Jerusalem, against whom I must have thee to prophesy? If these assault thee as a company of footmen, the other will be as terrible as horsemen, much stronger, and mightier, and swifter to execute their malicious intentions. If whilst thou enjoyest thy own estate thou canst not be satisfied, because of their hatred, which makes some seek thy destruction, what wilt thou do when all shall be swallowed up by the men of Jerusalem, who will in great violence and rage break in upon thee, as Jordan doth upon the lower grounds when he swells over his banks? That is, How wilt thou bear it, when they shall cast thee into a prison, nay, thrust thee into a nasty dungeon, when thou shalt sink in the dirt and mire?

It is certain that if we complain so heavily now, we shall not know what to do with ourselves hereafter, when we may be worse; as we have reason to think we shall be, if we cannot forbear our present complaints.

But there is something beyond this to be considered, which is,

Thirdly, that it is a most sinful and damnable condition, which not only brings upon us temporal evils and calamities, and raises great troubles in our own spirits, but renders us very obnoxious to the displeasure of the eternal God. For,

1. It dishonours him very much, and represents him as though he was not good and kind to his creatures. It disparages his providence, as if he was not wise, or careful, or

[o] Jer. xii. 3. [p] Jer. xii. 5.

concerned for us. And it disparages his promises, as if they were not just, faithful and true. Nay,

2. It hath been the very mother or nurse of atheism and irreligion in some tempers; it hath made many doubt of the being and providence of the Almighty, when they have been denied those things which they set their hearts very much upon, or when they suffered the loss of them, though they took themselves to have deserved better. Thus some of the Roman people cried out, when they saw such a base fellow as Licinius honoured with a marble monument, and Cato have but a poor one, and Pompey the Great none at all: *Quis putet esse deos?* 'Who can believe there are any gods?' Other such mutterings we find in their books, when they saw things carried very unequally, as they fancied, and those who had the greatest care of public good oppressed; and the like vice they are still in danger of who have high thoughts of themselves, but are bereaved of those things on which they dote, or disappointed of those hopes for whose accomplishment they have been earnest solicitors. This tempts them to fall out with their own thoughts so far as to question that which before they sacredly believed. And therefore,

3. This must needs be the cause of many other sins. The rise and original of this discontented spirit is sin, yea, a great many sins; and therefore the streams that issue from it can be nothing else but muddy, filthy, and impure. It arises from gross ignorance or careless unbelief; from a great vanity and lightness of mind, which makes a man weary of every thing that he hath; and sometime from pride and haughtiness, which makes him think he deserves every thing that he hath not: and therefore what can follow from it but sundry sins of omission; as, neglect of prayer, thanksgiving, charitableness and showing of mercy to the poor, or great distraction in these holy duties, and want of cheerfulness in doing good to the necessitous? with many sins of commission; such as are evil speaking, envious detractions, injustice, oppression, extortion, and what not?

We will make use of one example only to represent this, which is that of Ahab.

He took a pet, you know, and grew sullen, because Naboth would not part with his vineyard to him. This discontent he betrayed by the dejection of his spirit, by the sadness of his

countenance, by forsaking his business, and his stomach's forsaking him. And the original of it at first was nothing more than an inordinate desire, without any purpose that we can find, to wrest this land from him by violent means: he offered to buy it of him, either with money, or with other land, as good, yea better, in exchange for it, but did not make any attempt to force it out of his possession; and yet abundance of other sins issued from this one desire of his not being stopped up and dammed from running any further. Letters are writ against an innocent person, false accusations are forged, witnesses are suborned and bribed, the judges are overawed, an unjust sentence pronounced, Naboth murdered, nay, godliness is made the pretence of all, the name of the Most High drawn in to serve their vile designs, and much hypocrisy added to the great heap of other sins.

To all which Ahab gave his consent, at least afterward, by going to take possession of his vineyard who was in so ungodly a manner cast out of it and out of the world. This discovered how that unquiet desire had wrought his heart over, and disposed it to embrace any the basest means to compass his end, which at the first, perhaps, he would have abhorred the thoughts of.

Be affrighted, I beseech you, at this instance, and consider what a gulf of wickedness discontentedness, indulged and harboured, may plunge you into. You know not into what a sea of sin and mischief you are casting yourselves while you go on repining and murmuring at your condition. You may make no bones (as we say) of false accusation, false swearing, injurious dealing, griping exactions, bribery, flattery, lying, perfidiousness, false weights and measures, and more sins of the like dangerous nature than I can reckon. At least, neglect of God and religion, uncharitableness, and all those sins which are an omission of your duty, are like to be easily swallowed and digested by you. This is too clearly intimated in the counsel of St. John Baptist to the soldiery who came to ask him what he would have them do. *Do no violence,* saith he; *accuse no man falsely; and be content with your wages*[q]. This last affirmative precept he opposes to the other two negative precedents, showing that they who were not content with

[q] Luke iii. 14.

their pay would be inclined, having power so to do, to plunder and pillage openly, or else by false accusations, upon pretended crimes, squeeze the poor people, and drain their money from them, that is, do any cruelty or injustice to satisfy their greedy lusts. And you shall always observe, that the more power and strength any person hath to do mischief, the greater will his crimes be if he be not contented: for whom may not they oppress securely? against whom may not they be believed, though they speak never so falsely? and how many colours are they able to devise to give a fair countenance to their injurious actions? This Æsop hath wittily represented in the fable of the wolf and the lamb[r], who both came to drink at the same river, but the wolf was nearer the spring-head, and the lamb further off below him. To whom the wolf, having a mind to pick a quarrel said, "How dare you dirty and trouble the water in this fashion, making it unfit for me to drink?" "That is impossible," replied the innocent creature very mildly, "for the stream comes not from me to you, but from you to me; so that if it be muddy where you drink, I cannot be the cause of it." "What do you say?" answered the beast of prey, not at all confounded with this just defence, "Do you not remember what malicious words you spake against me six months ago?" "Alas!" said the lamb again, "I was born long after that time." "Then it was your father," said the wolf, and fell upon him furiously, and rent him in pieces.

Sic nocet in nocuo nocuus, causamque nocendi
Invenit. Heu! regnant qualibet arte lupi,

saith an old manuscript[s], reciting this fable as Phædrus doth, 'Thus the innocent are oppressed by the guilty, and they never want a cause for their injuries. Alas! there are such wolves that will live by every art or reign in every trade.' That is the moral of it: when greediness and power meet together, they will soon find pretences to undo the weak. There are forgeries now at hand; they can devise crimes that never were thought on, and be believed perhaps by those who worship their greatness. But let us leave this, and observe once more, which is the fourth thing, that

[r] [Nevelet, Mythol. Æsop. p. 274, 374; Phædr. Fab. i. 1.]
[s] [Ibid. p. 488.]

4. It is the cause of such sins as are the punishment of those who are discontented: it tempts them not only to think ill of God, but to speak ill of him, nay, to wish mischief upon themselves. Sometimes men say, "Would to God we were dead!" when they have lost something to which they have extremely engaged their affection. To say, "Nobody in the world is so miserable as I am" is a very light and favourable expression of their discontent: they proceed sometimes so far in desperate speeches against Divine Providence, that God takes them at their word when they call for some mischief upon themselves.

An eminent example of which you have in the murmuring Israelites, who in a raging fit of discontent, when they were just upon the borders of Canaan, cried out, *Would God we had died in Egypt! or would God we had died in this wilderness*[t]*!* Now though the former part of their wish could not be fulfilled, because they were come alive out of Egypt, yet the latter, you may observe, God granted them, much to their grief and affliction, when it was too late to bethink themselves better. For he saith, yea, swears, ver. 28, 29. *As truly as I live, and as you have spoken in mine ears, so will I do unto you: your carcases shall fall in this wilderness; and all that were numbered of you, according to your whole number, which have murmured against me, doubtless ye shall not come into the land, concerning which I sware to make you dwell therein, &c.*

The like you may observe again, that when they said there, ver. 4, one to another, *Let us make a captain, and let us return into Egypt,* they seem to me to have had their wish in great part; for God saith to Moses, ver. 25, *Turn you and get you into the wilderness, by the way of the Red sea.* Though this command might be partly to secure them from the irruption of the Amalekites, (as seems to be suggested in the foregoing words,) yet I cannot but look upon it as a punishment also for their rebellion, that they should be sent back in the way that led to Egypt, and brought nigh it again, (according to their froward desire,) though they did not enter into it.

Nay, you may observe more than this, that some of them were so discontented with their present condition, that they praised their slavery in Egypt far more than it, and cared not

[t] Numbers xiv. 2.

what lies and slanders they uttered in their perverse humour of murmuring against God. Read but Numbers xvi. 13, and there you will find Korah, Dathan and Abiram have the face to say, that Moses had brought them out of a land flowing with milk and honey to kill them in the wilderness. Which was so notorious a calumny, that there could not be one more impudent, they wearying Moses with their complaints there, because of their labour in the iron furnace under an intolerable bondage: but their discontented passions, after God had shown himself so merciful and gracious to them, made them forget both all their former miseries and all his favours, and rail most shamelessly at the officers of God, who had been the instruments of their deliverance. Men mind not what they say when they are displeased and vexed at the state wherein God's providence places them; they utter many times not only false and ungrateful, but bitter language against every thing that they think is the cause of their trouble; yea, even against God himself. And therefore God showed a strange judgment upon these rebels for this among other crimes, and made the earth swallow them up, that they should not so much as live in a wilderness any longer. And so I could tell you how many others, having spoken discontented words, have suffered the very thing that they wished should come upon them.

And let this be added, that they who will give way to this complaining and murmuring humour will be so apt to find fault with every thing, that God himself cannot please them, but there will be something or other to breed a quarrel. You may see it in this story which I have recited of the Israelites, who were as angry at Moses as they had been at Pharaoh, and no better pleased out of Egypt than in it, and no better pleased in Canaan than they had been either in Egypt or in the wilderness. For there they forsook their God, and thought strange gods better, till they smarted for it soundly, and then they returned to his worship, and then fell off again, to and fro, backward and forward, I know not how many times.

Take heed therefore to yourselves, lest you should fall by the like unbelief and distrust of God. Remember the advices I have formerly given you; labour after this heavenly temper, of being well pleased in every estate; and if you would prevent all the mischiefs that else may come upon you, give not way

to the beginning of any evil desire; stay it before it proceed any further and grow unruly; for you know not where it will end, if you put not an end to it then where it begun.

And for a conclusion of all these discourses, let me desire you again to resolve, that it is best to submit yourselves, and all you have, to God's will; believe that he hath already made choice of that better condition for you, of which you are so desirous; lay this down for a firm principle, that to have your own will in every thing is not safe, nor the way to be satisfied: you may draw greater inconveniences on yourselves, some time or other, than the will of God ever doth. It was a pretty consideration of Socrates, that if all the evil things which men endure were thrown off their backs, and laid upon one great heap, and then every man in the world, being at perfect liberty from all burden, was to come and take an equal share with the rest of mankind in these miseries, most men would be willing to take up rather the burden that they brought, and go their way with it, than make such a change as to bear as much as anybody else. There is no man but would see something or other there, that he would have no mind so much as to taste of; and therefore would say, "Give me my own again, I will have no other."

Men are well, if they could see it; and we may say a great deal more than Socrates did, that if God should lay before us all the good things of the world, and bid us choose what portion we pleased of them, we should be very fools if we did not desire God to take that work into his own hands, and choose for us; nay, if we did not wish to be as we are, unless he saw anything else to be better and more conducing to our welfare. It would be safest for us to go away as we are, and say, "I like not to be my own carver, I am not wise enough to choose my own portion; Lord, give me what thou seest best for me, for I send all these things back again to thee, that thou mayest distribute them as thou pleasest."

O continue thy lovingkindness, saith the psalmist, *to them that know thee, and thy righteousness to men of upright heart*[u]. "Who are these *recticordes*," saith St. Austin[x], "they that are right and straight in heart? Even they that follow the will of God in all things; to them God will ever continue his

[u] Psalm xxxvi. 10. [x] [In loc. tom. iv. col. 255 C.]

goodness and his faithfulness. The will of God is, that sometime thou shouldst be well, and sometimes it his will that thou shouldst be sick: if when thou art well, the will of God is very acceptable, but when thou art sick it is so disgustful that thou complainest of it, then thou art not right in heart. Why? Because thou wilt not direct thy will to God's, but wouldst have his will bend to thine. *Illa recta est, sed tu es curvus,* 'His will is straight, but thou art crooked;' thy will is to be corrected to his, and not his to be crooked to thine; and then thou wilt have a right heart. Art thou well as to all worldly things? Bless God, who so comforts thee. Art thou afflicted any ways? Bless him notwithstanding, that he proves and amends thee. Then wilt thou have a right heart, and be able to say with the psalmist, *I will bless the Lord at all times, his praise shall be in my mouth continually.* He only hath his heart set aright towards God who desires sincerely that God's will should be done rather than his own." Thus he.

And indeed this one lesson (which we therefore ought often to repeat, as I have done) is the sum of all the commandments; it is the compendium of all virtues, the epitome of the holy writings, the ease of all our cares, the solace of all our afflictions, the very top of Divine love, the very depth of humility, the highest pitch of piety; it is all that is excellent, because it makes us the perfect friend of God. There is a strange story that Leontius tells[x], concerning John the patriarch of Alexandria, to whom a citizen brought a sum of money to be disposed to charitable uses, adding, that it was all he had, and desiring him only to let him have his prayers for an only son of his who was at sea, that God would keep him safe. The good father took it, and prayed earnestly for the young man; but about thirty days after he died, and the rich ship also was foundered in the sea, but the goods saved. When the news of this arrived, it almost broke the citizen's heart, nor could he be relieved by all the comforts which the patriarch gave him. At length he thought one night, that he saw in his dream this very patriarch standing by him, and saying, "Why dost thou grieve and torment thyself in this fashion? Didst thou not desire me to ask of God that thy son might be safe? Behold, now he is

[x] [Cap. 9, interpr. Anastas. in Act. Sanct. Bolland. Jan. xxiii. tom. ii. p. 525.]

safe indeed, and placed out of all danger of miscarrying. Believe it, if he had come to thee, he had been lost; and if thou hadst not been so charitable to the poor, all thy goods had been lost also, together with the ship. Arise, therefore, and give God thanks that thy son is safe, and that all the rest is not cast away." When he awaked he was abundantly satisfied with these thoughts, and went to the patriarch, telling him what had happened, and giving thanks to God, whom he acknowledged to be a kind Father, when he doth what we would yet have done, as well as when he doth what we desire.

According to this pattern, and the sense of this story, let us govern ourselves, and submit our desires to an higher wisdom, and then we shall never be discontented. We shall believe that it is well done whatsoever happens; and that if it had been otherwise, it might have been worse, though we perhaps cannot discern it. Let us not desire too passionately any thing but what is, for fear we should fall into a more troublesome condition, as a punishment of our discontent with that which was easy and peaceable. God always grants the desires of good men one way or other; if not just as they wished, yet so as they would have wished if they were as well acquainted with what is fit as he himself is. In such thoughts as these we must repose and settle ourselves. We may tumble up and down, if we please, in our own unquiet desires, but rest we shall have none, till we fix ourselves in an unmovable resolution to acquiesce in that will which can neither err nor be envious. That great happiness he in his infinite goodness bestows upon us all, whose will it is, that we should be contented with such things as we have, and therefore will not deny us the grace so to be.

PRAYER XV.

O God, with whom is fulness of joy, and at whose right hand are pleasures for evermore; I thank thee with all my soul that I may draw nigh unto thee, and that thou hast represented thyself so gracious unto us, as not to affright us from thee, but to invite us to approach unto thee with the cheerful affections of love and hope and joy in thee. It is an infinite favour, I am sensible, that I am admitted into thy presence; and if I had nothing else to thank thee for, I ought to rejoice and be glad in this, that I may open my heart

unto thee, and ease my soul of all its cares and fears and troublesome desires into thy bosom, and there rest in delightful thoughts of thy love and good-will towards me, which I ought to value more than all the world.

I thank thee, O Lord, for this happy leisure wherein I may have recourse unto thee, and that I have any heart to make use of it, and am not quite a stranger to all converse with thee. I am much beholden to thee that my head is not so full of other business, nor my heart so much in love with the things of this life, as to divert my mind from the happiness which I taste in these addresses to thee, and in the meditation of thy inestimable kindness, which when I have thought of to all eternity I shall never come to the bottom of it. For it is as great as thyself; who art infinite in power and in wisdom and in bounty, scattering thy blessings in various manners, not only upon me, but upon all thy creatures.

O that my mind was more steadfastly fixed in sweet contemplations of it, till my heart was perfectly satisfied in it, and filled with such peace and joy and comfort as might make any condition of life not only tolerable, but easy to me. Possess me at least with such a sense of thee, and of thy abundant mercy towards me, as may root out of me all those covetous desires which are displeasing to thee, and injurious to my own tranquillity; give me a soft and tender heart, sensible of the least of thy favours as greater than I deserve; and especially make me so apprehensive of heavenly things, that the taste of them may assuage all inordinate appetites after other enjoyments, as little and inconsiderable, in compare with those which thou hast blessed me withal: endue me with that noble and generous disposition, that I may not only eschew all sinful courses, but whatsoever is indecent, and unbecoming one who hath such glorious hopes in another world. Help me to honour my religion, by giving thee perpetual thanks, and speaking good of thy name at all times; and whatsoever temptations I may meet withal to murmuring and complaints, preserve me in such a settled belief of thy fatherly love, that I may never be guilty of so great ingratitude to it, as to repine at any condition into which thou shalt be pleased to dispose me. Rectify my mind and will, and set them so straight toward thee, that they may alway lie even with thy wise will, and cheerfully follow it whithersoever thou shalt lead me.

I ought not, I know, to distrust thy wisdom and goodness, who hast declared that thou wilt *continue thy lovingkindness to them that know thee, and thy righteousness to men of upright hearts.* Lord, as thou hast made me to know thee, and bent my heart to

comply with thee, so preserve me alway in this holy disposition, that I may maintain my uprightness and integrity to the end, till I come to reap the fruit of it in eternal union with thee.

And for that end I beseech thee to settle all those holy truths in my mind, which I feel so powerful, to compose and quiet me into a perfect peace and happy tranquillity: make them one with me, and work them into the temper of my spirit, that being guided alway by an heavenly reason and divine wisdom, I may be raised above all the troubles of this life, and remain in a calm and undisturbed expectation of a better. Possess thyself entirely of my heart, that I may not converse with thee as a stranger, but as a familiar friend and as my Father. O! that these heavenly truths may not be as a guest that tarrieth but for a day with me, but may make their abode in my soul, and dwell with me for ever; that so I may feel the strength and virtue of them constantly in my heart, overcoming all inclinations to covetousness, to discontent, to impatience, to trouble of spirit, and unsettledness of mind, and placing me in such an immutable rest and peace, as may be the beginning of that eternal rest which Christ hath prepared for his people.

Now to him that hath loved me, and dearly bought me by his Son's most precious blood, and given me the comfort of the Holy Ghost, and the promise of immortality, and disposed my mind to these holy thoughts, and filled me with these pious desires, and given me a will to submit unto him, and made me feel how happy it is to love him and to be led by him, and given me joyful hope of abiding for ever in his love, be everlasting praise and thanksgiving rendered, from a most grateful heart, by me and by every creature in heaven and earth. Amen.

TWO SERMONS

ON MICHAELMAS DAY, 1672.

MATTH. xviii. 10.

For I say unto you, That in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.

THAT there are angels, I mean a kind of spiritual beings much superior to us, though invisible by us, is here supposed in my text. But it is a truth that hath been acknowledged by all nations and all ages of the world, and asserted likewise by very substantial arguments against the Epicureans and such like gross and drowsy people.

The common sort of philosophers proved it by such evidences as these:

First, from spectres and apparitions, of which all histories, in all time, are very full. Secondly, from their oracles, and the answers of their gods, (as they called them,) which could not be performed by any art or device of men. Thirdly, from magic, and all the wonders that were performed by certain persons whom they could not but conclude to be familiar with some spirits or dæmons; because it lay not within the compass of man's wit to produce such effects as their eyes plainly beheld. And, lastly, from prodigies and portentous appearances, sometimes in the air, sometimes in the earth and the sea, which were wont, they say, to precede great wars, and the overthrow of empires, and other such notable mutations in the world.

Now that which the vulgar concluded thus from observations of sense, the more refined and speculative wits concluded from principles of reason, the chief of which was this, that otherwise there would be a great gap, a vast wide breach, in the universe, if there were no beings at all between us mortal men and the

most high God, the blessed Creator of all; they observed, that from the lowest degree of being here upon this earth (which is but a little mite of the great world) there is a gradual ascent unto us men; from inanimate creatures (or things without life) unto plants; and from plants unto animals (or sensitive beings); and from them unto us who are rational: and that in all these kinds of creatures there are also several degrees or steps, whereby nature rises to the top of that kind which hath some resemblance of the next sort of beings above them. For some brutes are more sensible and apprehensive than others; and some plants more beautiful, and approaching also nearer to sense; and of things without life some are far more splendid and amazing than their neighbours. It was incredible therefore, they thought, that above man there should be no degrees of being, of several sorts also, till we come to God himself: they conceived the air and the sky, all those vast tracts of space which we behold and imagine, not to be empty wildernesses and barren deserts, but as fully replenished and peopled with spirits and invisible creatures as this earth is with men and other bodies; and that it was as absurd to think there should be no creatures between God and us, as that there should be none between us and stones. This argument, together with those from sense, they took to be no less than a demonstration.

To which if you add the more full confirmation which the revelation of God unto the Jews and unto us Christians hath given us of this point, there being several appearances of angels to the fathers and unto Moses, and still more illustrious to our Saviour Christ and his apostles, who have verified it abundantly to us, I do not see how we can doubt of this truth, unless we will disbelieve all history, nay, our reason and the very senses of mankind.

This being then agreed upon by all people, whether mere heathens, or Jews, or Christians, or Mahometans; you must know that there is also as general a consent, that these angels or spiritual creatures are the ministers of the most high God. They are represented to us even in the holy Scriptures as part of the celestial court that are employed by God the Sovereign of the world as he pleases. And so much the word ἄγγελοι, 'angels,' imports, messengers sent by him upon such errands to

this world as he thinks good to grant commission to them, and order them to appear in.

I find also that there is as universal a belief that there are several ranks and orders of them, (as there are of other kinds of beings,) and that they are not all of one quality and dignity, but some much superior to others, who are, as it were, the commanders of the rest of that heavenly host. This, some think, is expressed in the language of holy Writ, by *thrones*, and *dominions*, and *principalities*, and *powers*. Howsoever, I shall have occasion to illustrate the truth of the thing before I have done, for the full explication of my text.

And, lastly, that I may no longer hold you in this preface, I find it the constant opinion of the world that these angels are assigned to several offices, and preside even over all creatures here below; there being some who are not only ἔφοροι τῶν ἐθνῶν, as Moses speaks, 'the guardians of the several nations of the world,' but τῶν κοσμικῶν στοιχείων, 'conservators and keepers of the elements of this world,' as Arethas speaks[a], and concludes from Rev. xiv. 18, where you read of an angel that had power over the fire; and from xvi. 5, where you read of an *angel of the waters*. Hence he thinks we have sufficient ground to believe that some of them have the command over the air, others over the water, others over the earth, and others of the fire; and so proportionably, that some have the care of one species of creatures among us, and some of another; nothing doubting but that they have a more special superintendency over mankind, the chief of God's works in this inferior world; and more particularly take care of those who are good and fear God, as the most worthy of all other men, and nearest to the angelical world. And whatsoever question we may make of the rest of their belief, we cannot doubt, if we believe the holy Scriptures, of the truth of the last part of it, that there are some of those excellent beings who are ministers of God for the good of men, especially of those that believe. This the Christian religion hath above all others assured us of; we have the word of the blessed apostles for it, that they are *ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation*[b]; nay, the words of our Lord and Master here in

[a] Comment. in Rev. cap. 44. et cap. 48. [p. 781.] [ad calc. Œcum. tom. ii. p. 775.]

[b] Heb. i. 14.

my text, that the angels even of the weakest Christians behold the face of God in heaven.

From which words I design to discourse of these two things:

First, what the office or employment of the holy angels is, to which they are assigned by the Sovereign Lord of all, in regard of men, expressed here in these terms, *they behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.*

Secondly, what persons they are for whom they are most officious, and of whom they take the greatest care, included in the word *their; Christ's little ones,* the smallest and feeblest of the faithful (spoken of before): from which we may gather what they do for the rest of the body of Christ.

Which two things being cleared, it will be most seasonable to touch, in the conclusion, upon the coherence and dependence of these words with the rest of our Saviour's discourse from the beginning of this chapter; they being a reason, as you may discern by the particle *for*, why we should be careful to behave ourselves to the comfort and encouragement even of the meanest Christians.

I begin with the first, the office and employment of the holy angels for our good and welfare, which unless we understand we shall not be so grateful to God as we ought for their ministry, it being commonly invisible, and to be discerned by nothing but a serious mind, especially when possessed with a belief of the writings of the men of God.

PART I.

The Scripture then, you must know, represents God unto us as the Majesty of heaven and of earth, the supreme Lord and Governor of all things; who although he be everywhere, yet exhibits or shows his most glorious presence more especially in the heavens, which are called *the throne of God.* There his Majesty doth, as it were, keep its court; from thence he issues out his orders concerning the government, the preservation and punishment of all his subjects; and there, consequently, the Divine Majesty and Glory is attended by the most noble and excellent of them all, as a king among us hath those still about him who are of the highest quality and eminent rank in his dominions. Now as those persons wait upon an earthly prince, and are ready by him to be sent as his ambassadors or messen-

gers in any employment that he hath occasion to make use of their service; just so are the angels represented as the glorious ministers of Almighty God, who, attending upon him in his celestial court, are always at hand to be despatched about such business, and to take upon them such charges as he thinks good to commit to them throughout the whole world, for the good of his lower sort of subjects, especially of us the children of men.

And that I take to be the principal meaning of this phrase in my text, *their angels behold the face of my Father;* as if he had said, they stand in the presence of God as his ministers and servants, they wait upon him in heaven where they behold the majesty of his glory, and they look up unto him to see what orders he will give them, and on what messages he will be pleased to send them for the good of my disciples; nay, they are so ready to execute his pleasure and fulfil his commands, that the least signification of his will is enough to determine theirs, and dispose them to a cheerful obedience; for those words, *behold his face*, seem to be a metaphor borrowed from good servants, who being well acquainted with their master's inclinations and desires, have their eye continually upon him, and presently move *ad nutum ejus*, 'at his beck;' and upon the least motion of his head or his eye go and despatch that which they know to be his pleasure. Such is the willing disposition of these high officers of Almighty God, whom Greg. Nazianzen[c] calls λαμπρότητες δεύτεραι, λειτουργοὶ τῆς πρώτης λαμπρότητος, 'secondary splendours, the ministers and attendants of the first brightness.' The greater they are, the greater reason they see there is that they should be most obsequious to him from whom they have received so high a dignity, and fly as quick as lightning to execute his holy will, when they have the least notice of it given from his Divine presence.

So the manner of this speech taken from the Hebrews being thus explained, and put into words more familiar to us, I am to show you that the office of these heavenly ministers, to which they are deputed by the Lord of all, relates to the whole man, both to our bodies and to our souls. They attend upon him to receive his commandments for the good of our outward man, being the most noble of all God's visible works upon this earth;

[c] Orat. 38. [§ 9. tom. i. p. 668 C.]

but most especially for the good of our spirits, which are far more dear both to him and to them, as nearer of kin to celestial beings.

Of the former I shall treat at this time, wherein we shall meet with no great difficulty, it being a thing acknowledged by all the world; and I shall leave the other for a discourse by itself, because it is more obscure and hard to be traced.

1. The charge then that they have concerning our bodies is this, that they be a guard and a security unto us, that they watch over us to preserve us from dangers, especially on some occasions, where it would be impossible otherways to avoid them. Of this we find very frequent mention in holy writ. Jacob wishes at his death that the angel which had redeemed him from all evil might bless the two sons of Joseph[d]. And David professes himself of this belief, that *the angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them*[e]. And Isaiah acknowledges that when the Israelites were in an afflicted and distressed condition, *the angel of his presence saved them*[f]. And the notion of this tutelage and custody of the angels was so rooted in the minds of heathens, that they assigned to every man a particular keeper, who took the charge of him as soon as he was born, and if he did well, would not forsake him nor deliver him up to the power of evil angels.

Nor were the ancient fathers of the church averse to this opinion, but rather inclined to believe it. St. Basil, upon that place of the Psalms now mentioned, expressly declares that παντὶ πεπιστευκότι εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἄγγελος παρεδρεύει[g], &c., 'to every one who believeth on the Lord (i. e. every Christian) there is an angel that is his companion,' and, as one may call him, his assistant-genius, who is always at his side if he do not chase him away by wicked works. For as the smoke, says he, drives away bees, and noisome smells drive away doves, οὕτω καὶ τὸν φύλακα τῆς ζωῆς[h], &c., 'even so doth filthy vice and the works of darkness drive away the angel-keeper and preserver of our life.' If thou hast any good works in thy soul worthy of angelical custody and security, if thou hast a mind richly stored with divine truth, God will give thee this guard, and even wall thee about with a great many angels, rather than it should be

[d] Gen. xlviii. 16. [e] Psalm xxxiv. 7. [f] Isa. lxiii. 9.
[g] [Tom. i. p. 148 C.] [h] [In Psalm xlviii. tom. ii. p. 186 A.]

spoiled." And so he saith upon another Psalm. alluding to the words of my text, to every one of the faithful there is ἄγγελος παρεζευγμένος[i], 'an angel yoked together with him, who is worthy to behold the face of God in heaven.' Nay, he quotes these very words in his third book against Eunomius, to prove it, that every faithful person hath an angel for his companion, who is, as it were, his governor, tutor, and keeper, directing and guiding his life, and adds, οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ, no man gainsays this, being mindful of the words of our Lord, saying, *Despise not one of these little ones, for their angels always behold*, &c. And therefore the author of the Questions and answers to the orthodox, (under the name of Justin Martyr,) asserting this opinion, that every man is attended with a guardian angel, confidently adds, καθὼς ἡ θεία γραφὴ λέγει, 'according as the divine writing tells us.' And St. Hierom[k], upon these words of our Saviour, cries out, "Great is the dignity of souls, who have from their birth *angelum delegatum*, 'a delegate angel,' commissioned from heaven for their custody." The same is the sense of divers others, that at least from their new birth, i. e. their baptism, men have such a spirit appointed by God to wait upon them and look after them, as one doth after a little child, that he take no hurt; who perhaps grounded their opinion upon that place[l], where, when the damsel Rhoda told the company who were assembled at prayer that Peter was at the gate, some said it could not be, for he was fast in prison, but it was his angel.

From whence indeed we may conclude thus much and no more, that it was an opinion among the Jews that every man had his guardian angel; but whether it be indeed so or no is not a point of faith, nor hath been determined for such by the Christian church, but left at liberty as an uncertain and doubtful opinion, though having great probability in it, and sometime generally embraced. Nor need we much trouble ourselves about it, since we are sure it is either so or better, either one or more taking care of us, especially if we study to do well. Origen's words[m], methinks, are very significant, alleging the same place in the Psalms; the angels look upon those who imitate God together with themselves, as their συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους,

[i] [Tom. ii. p. 272 D.] [k] [Quæst. xxx. p. 453 A.] [l] Acts xii. 15.
[m] [Contr. Cels. lib. viii. § 34. tom. i. p. 767 A.]

'their kinsmen and friends,' and upon that account hold themselves obliged to work together for their safety, and come to do them courtesies and good offices, as if there were a league and covenant between them for that purpose.

But I prevent myself too much in the second general head, which concerns the persons of whom they take a more particular charge. Let us turn from this therefore, and, to make our conceptions more plain concerning the business which is before us, let us consider that their office is to preserve us, first, from the incursions of devils or evil angels; secondly, from the malicious contrivances of evil men; and thirdly, from other hurtful things.

1. First, I say, from the assaults of devils and the angels of darkness. All the world hath acknowledged that there are two sorts of spirits; some of which are degenerate, and have apostatised from God, and, being banished from the presence of his glory and cast out of the heavenly court, are very malignant to mankind, especially to all those who are in the favour of God; others, that have preserved their integrity, and persist in their obedience, and so retain their first estate and ancient dignity, continuing God's ministers, and heartily loving the good of God's creatures; of those, above all others, who are faithful to God as they themselves are. From whence it follows that these of the better sort oppose themselves to the spiteful designs of those disloyal and wicked spirits; they set themselves against them as their enemies, because they are the enemies of God and goodness. As the devil is called our *adversary*, and he and his angels fight against us, and are called *spiritual wickednesses in high places*, with whom we must wrestle: so the good angels hold the devil and all his confederate spirits for their adversaries, and they fight and wrestle with them, and strive to bring to nought their malicious plots and endeavours against those with whom they have a friendship. This is the Scripture notion of the thing in hand, and this patronage and help against the devil they vouchsafe, we read, not only to particular men, but to whole countries.

If I prove the last, which is most dubious, you will not question the first, which is included in the other. Read then Daniel x, and there you shall find that an angel appearing to him told him he had been contending a great while with the prince of

the kingdom of Persia, that is, with that mighty angel which abetted the Persian interest against the Israelites; *And lo! Michael, one of the chief princes,* or the first of the princes or greatest angels, *came to help me,* verse 13; to lend him his assistance, that he might not only resist the other, but overcome him by the help of the most powerful prince in the heavenly host. And therefore he saith, verse 20, being thus reinforced, that he would *return and fight with the prince of Persia,* whom hitherto, it seems, he could not prevail against. And he tells him expressly in the next words, verse 21, that Michael was the prince of the Jewish nation (or had the protection of their affairs) who took part with him, and helped him against their adversary angel. From this place it is that the Jews have entertained a constant opinion, first, that every country hath a several great and potent angel presiding over it and defending it: in which St. Basil and others agree with them, who calls such an angel, who is superior (he saith) to them who take care of particular persons, ἔθναρχον ἄγγελον[n], 'a nation-ruling angel,' one of that power among the heavenly host that a bashaw or vizier is on earth. And he proves there are such from this place of Daniel, and from that of Joshua v. last, where one, called *the captain of the Lord's host,* bids Joshua understand that he stood upon holy ground. And secondly, they conclude that till this angel and those under his command be overcome, or goes away, there is no prevailing against that nation. Therefore they say, that when God overthrew Pharaoh and his people in the Red sea, there came down so many thousand angels as there were Egyptians, because no man can be overcome till his angel be overcome, and his shadow (as they speak) depart away from him. And they have a proverb to this purpose, That the militia or soldiery on earth cannot be humbled till the heavenly militia or host be humbled. The first prince of which host they conclude, (which is their third opinion,) viz. Michael, was their protecting angel, שר של ישראל, the prince or captain-general of Israel, who defended that church as long as it was good, and opposed the designs of the devil, who stirred up persecution against them[o].

And in the same manner this Michael, the first of the princes

[n] [Adv. Eunom. lib. iii. § 1. tom. i. p. 272 C.] [o] V. Theodoret. Quæst. in Numeros xli. [tom. i. p. 247.]

of the celestial host, and the angels under his command, are represented in the book of Revelation (as you find in the epistle for this day[n]) as fighting for the Christian church against the devil and all his ministers: *There was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven:* that is, Michael defeated all his cruel plots and bloody enterprises, for the destruction of Christian people by the tyranny of the Roman emperors, whom this inveterate enemy of true piety instigated against them. So that it seems by this, if we compare it with what we read in the Book of Daniel, that since the Jews, who were once a people dear to God, are fallen off from him and rejected by him, this high angel, (Michael,) who was their protector and guardian, hath left and abandoned them, and by the disposal of Almighty God betaken himself to the service of Christian people, who are now the church of God and the true seed of Abraham. And this, it is possible, might be the meaning of that which Josephus relates[o], that before the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple by Titus, a voice was heard coming out of the holy place (where God is said to dwell) saying, Μεταβαίνωμεν ἐντεῦθεν, 'Let us go away from hence.' We may look upon it, I say, as the voice of this guardian angel of theirs, crying to the rest of his company (who were wont with him to minister before God) to forsake that place and people, of whom they had taken care as long as there was any hope to reduce them to the obedience of the Lord Christ. But I propound that only as a probable conjecture, because I have not the warrant of the holy Scripture for it. Yet it is very agreeable to the book of God, which tells us how watchful the angels of God are, not only over particular persons, but whole societies of men, till they be utterly rejected of God: and then these ministers also of his desert them, and deliver them up to Satan, that is, to the greatest miseries that he can procure them.

2. But let us leave that, and consider, in the second place, how the angels preserve the faithful from the malice of evil men. For the devil hath more servants than those that are in the air; he hath a great many agents here on earth; for he

[n] Rev. xii. 7. [o] Lib. 7. de Bello Jud. cap. 12. [al. lib. vi. cap. 5.]

works, saith the apostle, *in the children of disobedience.* These hate the good, and often have mischievous designs upon them, from which, by his holy angels, God rescues and delivers them. This he hath done several ways; for we find in the book of God that sometimes the angels of the Lord have had commission to cut off spiteful and cruel men in the midst of their enterprises. They are the executioners of God's judgments and decrees upon them; according to what we read of the angels smiting the whole host of Sennacherib, as it lay encamped against Jerusalem; that is, as the Hebrews interpret it, he smote them with a sudden pestilence, which cut off the thread of their lives in a moment. And thus the angel of the Lord smote Herod, who, we find, was no friend to the Christians, but had already killed James, and was ready to do as much to another of our Lord's ministers [p]. Sometime an angel hath come and taken good men out of the hand of their enemies, when they had them in their power, and were ready to execute their anger upon them. Thus you read, in the same chapter, that an angel of the Lord delivered St. Peter out of the hand of Herod, *and from all the expectation of the people of the Jews,* who thought to see him the next day upon the scaffold, ver. 6 and 11 compared together. And sometime by other means, too long now to be remembered, either suggesting things to them, or presenting such occasions as shall divert them from a plot that lies in ambush for them. For you must know that this is done sometimes invisibly by a secret and undiscernible ministry; and sometimes by a visible appearance, as in the case now mentioned. I know it will be said, that the deliverance of St. Peter was an extraordinary thing, and that in these latter times there are no instances of the like which should make us believe such protection of the angels is still continued. But I think there is good authority to assert the contrary, that though it be an extraordinary thing, yet sometime in these later ages of the world God hath delivered good men by a visible ministry of angels; which may dispose us to think he still grants us the benefit of their protection and assistance, though we do not see it. For proof of it, I think it not amiss to relate what I find recorded by Melancthon on his own knowledge, who was not only a good, humble, and meek

[p] Acts xii. 13.

person, but of great discretion, and much applauded for the singular accuracy of his judgment. And I shall the rather relate it, because it shows the care of God over those pious reformers, who intended nothing (however some evil spirits arose that troubled the business) but the reducing of the state of Christianity to its ancient purity and simplicity. "I could tell," saith he, in his commentary upon Dan. x. [q], "many certain stories concerning honest men, and worthy to be credited, who have been preserved in a wonderful way by God: but I shall content myself with one, which I can speak upon my own knowledge, concerning Simon Grynæus, a grave, learned, and pious divine (much celebrated, I may add, by Erasmus in several of his epistles). This man being at the great assembly at Spire, 1529, together with Melancthon, about the composing of differences in religion, and hearing the bishop of Vienna deliver many gross things in a sermon which he preached, followed him out of the church; and after he had reverently saluted him, told him, that not out of any wanton or arrogant humour, but with a good mind, he desired to speak with him about something which he had heard him utter for Christian doctrine; protesting that it grieved him very much to hear a person of his parts and authority speak things so absurd and contumelious against God. The bishop heard him kindly, and pretending then he was not at leisure, invited him to come the next day and discourse with him, showing him the place where he lodged. Grynæus came immediately to Melancthon, and was scarce sat down to eat, and relate part of his discourse with the bishop, but one called for Melancthon to speak with a person that asked for him at the door; so he went out of the room, and there found a grave old man, who assured him that sergeants were coming from the king to arrest Grynæus, and carry him to prison; and that he could not escape unless he instantly avoided that place; and he bid him make no delay, but believe his words. So they immediately carried Grynæus over the Rhine; and coming back to their inn they found that the officers had been there to apprehend him, and that they came presently after they were got out of the house; which being certainly true, he could not but look upon this as a

[q] [Tom. i. p. 476.]

Divine preservation, for he could never learn who that person was that came to him; and such was the speed of the sergeants to lay hold on him, *ut nisi ab angelis tectus fuisset Grynæus evadere non potuisset*, 'that unless the good old man Grynæus had been protected and covered by angels, he could never have escaped that danger.'" This story, from so prudent and cautious a person as Melancthon appears to be in his writings and actions, is, methinks, a great instance of the truth of what is related in the Scripture story, and a confirmation of our belief, that God doth some way or other take care of them that fear him, especially of them that do him eminent service in the world, to defend them from the violence of men and their secret contrivances, which can be known to none but himself. But,

3. Besides both these, there are other hurtful things that might frequently endanger us, were it not for the custody of God's holy angels: when we walk abroad, when we ride, nay, when we sit or lie down in our own houses, many things might destroy us, were we not under this guard. How often have we seen a house fall, or some such perilous thing happen, from which men could not have been delivered, had they gone one minute later from that place, or one minute sooner to it! How often have men been led, contrary to their intentions, unto or from a place from whence or whither if they had not turned some loss or danger had betided them! For which I must refer you to your own observation and experience, commending that memorable passage in the psalmist to your meditation: *Whoso is wise and will observe these things, even they shall understand the lovingkindness of the Lord*[r]. They will acknowledge the truth of what is said, Ps. cxxi. 7, 8. *The Lord shall preserve thee from all evil: he shall preserve thy soul. The Lord shall preserve thy going out and thy coming in from this time forth, even for evermore.* And how he preserves us we find in another place of the same book: *He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways; they shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone*[s]; i. e. he saves and delivers us from many noxious and mischievous accidents, to which we are exposed, by the ministry of

[r] Psalm cvii. 43. [s] Psalm xci. 11.

his holy angels, who watch over us to do us friendly offices in time of need.

All these, nor all the rest which I have still to say, will not warrant us to give them any divine worship, to make our prayers or addresses to them, to vow ourselves to their service, or to render them our thanks; because they are but God's ministers and servants, (as I shall show you in the afternoon's discourse,) to whom we ought to pay our acknowledgments. And indeed this doctrine ought very much to excite our praises to God, who employs and orders them to do these good offices for us; and it ought to make us live the more contentedly and cheerfully in any condition, since these glorious creatures, as I have told you, are our companions, and never disdain to wait upon us in the most homely dwelling as much as in the most princely palace; nay, are then, we have reason to think, most careful of us when we are in the greatest distress.

And that now, I must tell you, is the reason why Christians have for a long time observed this festival, in the ages that are past before us; that they might acknowledge the Divine Providence, and his fatherly care over his Church by the service of angels: and I suppose it is therefore called by the name of *Michael and all Angels*, because he and that part of the heavenly host which is under his government are justly thought, from that passage I mentioned in the Revelation, to be the protectors of Christian people, as heretofore of the Israel of God. As we take therefore several times to meditate upon several passages of God's love and kindness towards us, because we cannot think of all at once, or must run them over very lightly, and insist long upon none of them, so on this day Christians have used to remember the great goodness of God in creating angels, and his mercy in appointing them to such ministries for our welfare, and putting them all under the power and government of our blessed Lord and Saviour, who, as St. Peter saith, *is gone into the heavens, and is on the right hand of God, angels and authorities and powers being made subject to him*. This account I find the first protestants gave of it, (who were far from looking upon this festival as a popish institution,) I mean those who followed the Reformation of Luther. For Sebastian Froschelius happening to write his Epistle Dedicatory before Melancthon's Commentaries on the

Gospel of St. Matthew [u] upon this day, concludes it in this manner; "Dated at Wittenberg the 29th of September, on which the Church gives thanks to God the Creator of all, *quod creavit castos angelos, &c.*, 'that he hath made the chaste and holy angels,' and would have them to be ministering spirits, and take the custody of the Church and all people's minds, and to be *depulsores obscœnorum, &c.*, 'the drivers away of all obscene, cruel and lying spirits, who seek our hurt and damage.'"

And that is the thing to which I would now stir you up, in a belief of these things, that there are spirits good and bad, and that Almighty God is pleased to appoint the one to do as much good as the other seek to do us harm, humbly and gratefully to acknowledge his goodness, and to render, not only now, but continually, the sacrifice of praise, giving thanks to his name.

Let us praise him that we are not perpetually haunted with evil spirits; that our rest night and day is not disturbed by these invisible and vigilant enemies, who envy our quiet and repose; that he doth not suffer them to trouble our peace and embitter all our comforts and contents to us; that our houses are not pestered with these unruly creatures; that our sleep is not terrified with dreams, and our fancies molested with the apparitions of the night; that he keeps our eyes from tears, and our feet from falling; that we are not made like Job, and one messenger after another doth not come to bring us tidings of the mischiefs that these maligners of our happiness, should God permit them, would continually procure us.

Let us praise him that he hath preserved us from so many dangers; that he hath carried us from our infancy through an innumerable company of hazards to which we are exposed; that our bones are not broken; that our eyes are not put out; that our habitations are not oftener on fire; that our children are not destroyed or bruised, or some way hurt or maimed by a numberless number of things, which might in a trice make both them and us very miserable.

Yea, let us praise him for the ministry of his angels in all ages of the world; that by their ministration he hath made so many declarations of his good-will to good men of old; that he

[u] [Opp. Melanchth. tom. iii. p. 250.]

hath sent them to give notice of the appearing of our Saviour, and to secure him in his infancy from the subtlety and flattering malice of Herod; that he employed them to give notice of his resurrection, and to assure his disciples of his ascension to heaven, and that they so many ways preserved the holy apostles in their work of preaching the gospel, and carrying it all over the world, notwithstanding the opposition of men and devils, out of whose hands they were rescued and saved, till they had finished their course with joy. St. Paul saith, *I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion. And the Lord shall deliver me from every evil work*, (which men, that is, contrive against me,) *and will preserve me to his heavenly kingdom*[x].

And this seems to be the meaning of that remarkable place, Rev. xiv. 6, where St. John saith he saw *another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, &c.* He beheld, that is, the Divine Providence taking care that every corner of the world should be filled with the sound of those glad tidings which were at first published by our Saviour as the everlasting will of God, and that by the ministry of angels, who were a guard and defence to the apostles, (the prime ministers of Christ here on earth,) and suffered not their enemies to kill them till they had fulfilled their ministry; but delivered them out of prisons, cut off their enemies, cast out the old serpent called the *devil and Satan, which deceived the nations*, making all the church cry out when they saw his downfall, and all his angels cast out with him, *Now is come salvation and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ; for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, &c.*[y]; that is, the apostles, by the help of Christ and his angels, routed[z] the devil and all idolatrous worship; they brought the kingdoms of the earth in obedience to our Lord, and confuted by their admirable patience all the false suggestions and accusations of the devil and his agents, as if they were the troublers of the world and the disturbers of the peace of kings and princes.

For when they could do our Lord no more service by their lives, then they fought for him by their meek and lamb-like

[x] 2 Tim. iv. 17, 18. [y] Rev. xii. 10.

[z] [Misprinted rooted in the original impression.]

death, and overcame as much that way as any other. So it follows, ver. 11, *And they overcame him* (i. e. the devil) *by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony, and they loved not their lives unto the death;* that is, as Christ their Saviour spoiled principalities and powers upon his cross, and never broke the strength of the devil more than when he died, even so did his servants afterward, who, like the mighty Samson, destroyed their enemies by their death as much as they had done in the time of their life.

And I must tell you for a conclusion, that we Christians have the greater reason to thank God for this ministry of holy angels, because they are the chief and principal of those glorious creatures which he hath assigned to take care of our security. So much is here intimated in my text, the whole import of which I have not yet fully told you.

The Hebrews unanimously consent in this, that there are several orders of angels, some much superior to the other (as I have already intimated); and the Scripture very much countenances that notion, as well as common reason. They are called, you know, *the host of God;* and we continually praise and acknowledge him (in the *Te Deum*) as *the most holy Lord God of Sabaoth*, i. e. *of hosts:* two sorts of which hosts, and no more, are mentioned in the sacred books; the sun, moon, and stars, and these more bright and glorious creatures, the angelical ministers. These are the hosts of heaven, and whereas both the sun and moon and stars, and likewise these celestial spirits, have been worshipped as if they were gods, we acknowledge that our God is the Lord of both these *Sabaoth*, (so the Hebrew word is which we still retain,) or *host*, to whom alone we pay divine worship and honour.

Now as there are in the visible host of heaven a greater light to rule the day, and another (brighter than the stars, though less than the sun) to rule the night, whence the moon is called *the queen of heaven*[x], and the sun is called by the heathens *Baal*, 'the lord or king of heaven;' so in these other invisible hosts or armies of God there are some that are called *princes of the host, and captains of the Lord's host*, as you heard before[y]. They are all his ministers, but some of them

[x] Jer. xliv. 17. [y] Dan. x.; Josh. v.

are called *the angels of his presence*, or, as the Hebrews speak, *of his face*. Now where the Hebrews meet with that phrase, they not without reason understand it to signify some great angel nearer to God, and much excelling others in dignity, power, and strength; for as in the court of a great king there are many officers that attend upon several charges, but yet all are not wont to be admitted into the presence, where the chief and principal persons only appear, who hold the highest dignities and employments; so, in imitation of things here below, when the Scripture would express an angel of high degree, it calls him an *angel of his presence*[z], or of his *face*, which, according to the use in the courts of princes, cannot signify an ordinary minister, but one of a nobler quality; who (as we say) is immediately about his person, and sits in council with him; and therefore, when God saith to Moses in Exod. xxxiii. 14, *My presence, or face, shall go with thee*, the meaning is, that he would not send a common angel, (as he had said before, ver. 2,) but a very powerful angel, one of the highest ministers, to assist them, and bring them unto rest. Conformable to which we find the style of the New Testament, (which was written by the converts of the Hebrew nation,) as you may read in Luke i. 19, where the angel that appeared to Zacharias in the temple saith, *I am Gabriel, that stand in the presence of God*, i. e. one of the highest order of angels, and principal minister in the heavenly court, who am employed on this message to thee. The same prime minister is sent afterward to the mother of our Lord, (ver. 26,) to give notice of his birth; at which you find with this angel (as I suppose) *a multitude of an heavenly host*, i. e. all those under the command of this prince of the host, *praising God, and saying, Glory be to God in the highest*[a].

This therefore I conceive is intimated in the words of my text, when it saith, the angels of Christ's disciples beheld God's face, that we are under the favour and protection of the highest rank of angels, God hath assigned us the strongest guard. Those angels who have a multitude of the heavenly host under them take charge of the body of Christ, even of the meanest and weakest member of it. The chief is Michael; but there are others, as you shall see before I have done with this argument, who attend upon the affairs of the church, and are ready

[z] Isa. lxiii. 9. [a] Luke ii. 13.

to do us good, that are of the highest dignity in the heavenly quire.

We have reason therefore to praise him, because he hath placed the lowest of us in the same degree with David, who saith, *My help cometh from the Lord, who made heaven and earth*[b]. In the Hebrew it is, "My help cometh from *before the Lord*," i. e. from his mighty angels, which stand before him, and behold his face, whereby he helps and delivers me. The high praises of God ought to be in our mouths, who are so esteemed by the King of heaven. Instead of our complaints and lamentations, this one single meditation would administer abundant matter of praise and thanksgiving if we laid it to heart. We should never be able to find any time wherein we may not rejoice, because, saith our Saviour, *they always behold the face of my Father*, and are continually watchful to bring in blessings to us; all that is within us ought to bless his holy name, and we should bless the Lord (as the Psalms speak elsewhere) *at all times, his praise should be continually in our mouths*[c], who hath appointed his most excellent ministers to wait upon us, and secure our happiness.

We know the esteem that a great man sets upon any person, by the quality of the messenger that he sends upon any occasion to him; and so hereby our Saviour would make us understand how much his Father values and prizes those who believe on him, and are his faithful disciples, in that those angels are theirs which behold his face in heaven, and are nearest to his glorious Majesty: but we are unworthy of this esteem, and may well forfeit it, if we set not a great price upon this loving-kindness of God, and do not duly value it; which we should express by our constant and hearty praises, and especially by a sincere study of all piety, which is the best expression of our thankfulness, and will most especially endear us to him and to his holy angels.

[b] Psalm cxxi. 2. [c] Psalm xxxiv. 1.

SERMON XVII.

BEING

THE SECOND SERMON

ON

MICHAELMAS-DAY, 1672.

MATT. XVIII. 10.

For I say unto you, That in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.

ON this day, as I have already told you, the church of Christ hath been wont to commemorate the great mercy of God in the ministry of angels; the greatest of which he hath given a charge unto, that they shall take care of us, and do us offices of love and kindness. Therefore in the rituals of the eastern church, it is called Σύναξις τῶν παμμεγίστων ταξιαρχῶν, &c., 'the solemn festival of the very greatest leaders or commanders of the host above, Michael and Gabriel, and all the heavenly powers;' or, as others have it, the solemnity of the prince of the heavenly militia, Michael, and the rest of the incorporeal powers.

Now according to the old saying, that διπλοῦς ὁ ἄνθρωπος, 'man is double, there being an outward and an inward man,' the good offices which they do us are of two sorts, either relating to our bodies or to our souls. Of the first I have already discoursed, and shown how they are in the nature of a guard to us, especially to those that are good, according to that of the Psalmist, xxxiv. 7.

I come now to treat of the latter, concerning the good they do to our souls; which, as the principal part of men, so, one would think, should be the principal part of their care. And thus St. Hierom upon these words cries out, as I intimated in the morning, *Magna est dignitas animarum, &c.*, 'Great is the dignity of souls, who from their nativity have an heavenly minister assigned to them for their custody.' It must be confessed that this is more obscurely spoken of than the other; yet something there is that they contribute to our spiritual welfare, as may be made manifest by their opposites, the devil and all those spiritual wickednesses that follow him. Their great enmity is to men's souls; they study nothing more than to carry them to perdition; and therefore we may conclude, that these good angels are the friends and lovers of men's souls, which are in worth and dignity next to themselves, and study their preservation or deliverance from the power of the evil one.

It is an hard matter, I know, to assign the manner and way how they convey their spiritual assistance to us; but I shall show you plainly there is cause to believe the thing. And I know not how to illustrate it better than by considering what hurt is said to be done to us by our adversary the devil; whereby we may understand what service these blessed spirits do us, who are adversaries to him, and helpers of us.

Now we meet with these two characters of the devil in holy writ, that he is a murderer, and that he is a liar. As he is a murderer, seeking the destruction of men, he doth all the mischief he can both to men's bodies and to their minds. As he is a liar, he seeks only to deceive, abuse, and destroy the mind. For the hurt that this murderer doth to their bodies, it is either in men's private capacities, by troubling the air, bringing diseases and infections, when God permits him, raising storms and tempests, and such like things; or in their public capacity, stirring up the spirit of ambitious, haughty, covetous, and cruel men to oppress and enslave others; to make unnecessary wars, to fill the world with rapine, slaughter, and blood; to overturn kingdoms, and indeed to turn the world upside down. Then for their minds, he doth them no small prejudice, even by these wars and tumults, in which one sin is wont to follow upon the neck of another. And besides, we may conceive that he instigates men to all sorts of villanies, according

as he finds them inclined. He inflames their brutish desires; he pricks forward their pride and love of dominion; he stimulates their revenge; he heightens their choler and rage, and works upon all their other passions: so that he is the furtherer of adulteries, fornications, nay, and of all unnatural filthiness; the great provoker to murders, thefts, robberies, violence, deceit, fraud, and all other wickedness; that, if it were possible, there might be a hell aboveground, and he might be the god of this world.

Then, for the other thing, as he is a liar, his business is to cheat and delude men's minds with false opinions; to propagate all the foolish conceits and the lewdest doctrines that he can invent; to lead men to epicurism and atheistical conclusions, or else to abuse and gull their minds with fancies and vain dreams, which they shall glory in as the very revelation of Almighty God.

From all which, I think, we may safely draw this inference, that as the devil and his partakers seek whom, in this manner, they may devour, so the holy angels seek how they may save and deliver men from these mischiefs. And as I have shown you that they are the preservers of men's bodies, so I shall now make it appear that they are instruments of good to our souls; because they love their welfare; and they are the lovers of truth and piety, and seek the promotion of the faith of Jesus Christ in sincerity. This is one great commendation which St. Peter gives of the gospel revelation, that *the angels desire to look into these things*[a]. And St. Paul saith, it hath pleased God *to gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth*[b]: to make us all, that is, but one society, under one supreme Governor, the Lord's Christ. They being therefore so much concerned in our affairs, as to be great admirers of the Christian wisdom, and the wonderful contrivance of God and our Saviour for the restoring of mankind to their happiness, you may be sure will take delight to give all the assistance they can for the maintenance and preservation and furtherance of the Christian religion, and of all those who are the hearty professors of it. Nay, more than this, since such is the wonderful economy or dispensation of Christianity, that God hath united all things in

[a] 1 Pet. i. 12. [b] Ephes. i. 10.

our Saviour, and made heaven and earth so meet together in him, that angels and Christians are of the same corporation, and these heavenly creatures are the subjects of Jesus as well we, there can be no doubt but that they will take care of those who are in some sort their fellow-members of the same body, knit together under one and the same head, our Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus.

To declare this a little more particularly, we may safely conclude, I think, in the first place.

I. That the holy angels do all they can to preserve well-disposed minds from the illusions of evil spirits; to keep them, I mean, from being abused with false inspirations of vain and haughty enthusiasts; to preserve in them a sober understanding of things, and deliver them from the impostures of a hot imagination: and, more than this, I make no question it is their endeavour to seek occasions how to put good thoughts into our minds, to further all pious inclinations, to instigate us to that which is truly good, and to promote a sober life and holy conversation in the Christian world.

How they do this we are not bound to give an account; and indeed we know no more of it than we do how the devil suggests bad things to men's minds, and troubles their understandings, and how he stirs up their passions and affections to that which is hurtful to them. But if we grant him to have a power to do that which is the common sense of mankind, there is no reason but we should allow these better spirits to do the other, since they cannot have less ability to promote that which is good than the devil hath to advance that which is bad. And thus, I am sure, the ancients understood it, and were wont from hence to aggravate the sins of men, that they do wickedly, not only against their own reason, but against the suggestions and impressions of good spirits, who join with them to stop their proceedings in evil courses. They forbid and check them in their motions, and hold them in ὥσπερ τισι χαλινοῖς, 'as with certain bits and bridles,' saith Arethas [c], whereby they seek to restrain their forward propensions to sin, and to withhold them ἀπὸ τῶν θεομισῶν πράξεων, 'from actions which are hateful to God;' all which they must break in pieces before they be able to undo themselves.

[c] In Apocalyps. p. 776. [ad calc. Œcum.]

Nor is the holy Scripture a stranger to this notion, as I think it is manifest from one place, which I shall oppose to the greatest objections that can be made against this discourse. It is commonly said that the Holy Ghost doth all those things for us which I have now mentioned: for why hath our Saviour bid us ask the Spirit of God, which he hath promised to send, if it be not to inspire our minds and touch our hearts with pious inclinations to that which is good? To which I reply, that there is no good Christian who doubts of this; but it doth not in the least contradict that which I am now about to prove, as is apparent enough, if men did not study to obscure the plain words of the holy Scripture by their unskilful glosses upon it. For that the Holy Ghost gives us many of its assistances and succours by the ministry and service of the holy angels, read but the fourth and fifth verses of the first chapter of the Revelation to St. John, and I think it will leave no doubt in your minds of it. There that beloved apostle wishes *grace and peace to the seven churches of Asia, from him which is, and which was, and which is to come; and from the seven spirits that are before the throne, and from Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness, and the first-begotten from the dead.* In which words the name of the Holy Ghost is not mentioned; but, instead of that, the seven spirits that are before the throne of the Divine Majesty are joined together with God the Father, (who is described in those words, *which is, which was, and is to come*, as the eternal Lord of all,) and with God the Son, our blessed Saviour, (who died to assure us of God's love, and rose again that he may be able to bless us with eternal life,) in the communication of grace and peace to Christian people. Of which the clearest and most satisfactory account that can be given, it seems to me, is this, that those seven spirits before the throne (i. e. the high angels of heaven) are employed by the Divine appointment to be the ministers and conveyers of spiritual blessings to us from the Holy Ghost the Comforter. He teaches us, I say, how that Divine Spirit, which now that our Lord is in heaven governs his church, bestows its favours upon us; and particularly instructed him to know things to come, viz. by the service of angels, and of the highest angels, as I told you in the morning.

The very same account I find Athanasius gives us of those

words of St. Paul, 1 Tim. v. 21, where in his charge to Timothy he puts the *elect angels* after *God and our Saviour Christ*. Timothy knew well enough, saith that author, how all is communicated and derived to us from God and our Lord Jesus, through the Holy Ghost; but he would have him remember also that the angels are instruments by whom he gives us his blessings. He would have him know, as his words are, that they minister to us, and take care of what belongs to our affairs, ἐπισκοποῦντες τὰς ἑκάστου πράξεις[d], 'overseeing every man's actions,' and rendering an account of them to their Lord and Master. Agreeable to which it is that St. John is said to be *in the Spirit on the Lord's day*, ver. 10: the meaning of which if you would know, look through the whole book of the Revelation, and you will soon find that our Saviour by his Divine Spirit making known to him things to come, they were all represented in visions by the ministry of angels. And, further, you may observe that our Saviour appearing to him, as the *Lamb of God that had been slain*, he saw him have *seven horns and seven eyes*, which are expressly said to be the *seven spirits of God, sent forth into all the earth*[e]: that is, our Lord Christ presented himself as having all the angels, even the highest of them, at his command; which angels, being of great power, (expressed by *horns*,) and of great knowledge, wisdom and care, (expressed by *eyes*,) he sends forth to look after the security and welfare of all his faithful disciples.

It seems, then, by this place, that we are to conceive some part at least of the help and comfort of the Holy Ghost to be given us by the angels of God, who are employed for that purpose *in all the earth*. Which phrase tells us that this is performed by the ministry of the sublimest angels, as I have often said, who are of the greatest perspicacity, wisdom, and foresight, and have a power and authority above all others, being the nearest in place and dignity to the Divine Majesty. For these expressions of St. John are borrowed from the visions of Zachariah, who saw (as you read chap. iv. 2, 3,) a golden candlestick and seven lamps in it, (which were always, you know, burning in the temple at Jerusalem,) but knew not what they meant. And therefore the angel who made these representations to him tells him, ver. 10, that *these seven were the*

[d] Epist. ad Serap. [i. § 14. tom. i. p. 663 C.] [e] Rev. v. 6.

eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth; that is, his prime ministers, that watchfully attend the affairs of his whole kingdom, as the chief overseers of it. From whence you may note, for the illustrating all that hath been said, first, that the Hebrews have a tradition that there are seven principal ministers in the heavenly court, before the throne of God; some of whose names are recorded in the holy book, as Michael, the prince of all, and Gabriel, another that stands in the Divine presence. This tradition is expressly mentioned in the Book of Tobit, xii. 15, where Raphael (another of them, according to the Hebrews,) says, *I am one of the seven angels which stand and minister before the holy blessed One.* And those words, *Let us go down and confound their language*[f], are thus paraphrased by the Chaldee interpreter: "The Lord spake to the seven angels which stand before him, Go to now, let us go down," &c. Now the temple of Jerusalem, you may observe (secondly), being God's house, where his glory dwelt among them, the seven lamps (which burnt continually in the golden candlestick that had just so many branches, before the veil over against the mercy-seat, which was God's throne) were intended, in all probability, to represent these seven angelical ministers, who are always in the Divine presence, and wait upon him in the heavenly place to receive his commands, being as quick as fire or lightning to execute his will. And (thirdly) that the office of these principal ministers is to serve as general inspectors of this universe of ours, whereas the lower angels are assigned and limited only to certain places; for he saith these seven run to and fro *through the whole earth.* And (fourthly) that these great angels, during God's presence among the Jews, had a peculiar care of that church, Michael the prince of the host being their chieftain, and particularly concerned for their defence: the seven lamps did not more constantly burn in the holy place than these with all expedition served the will of God for their good. And (lastly) that the affairs of the Christian church are now under the same mighty power and protection. Whilst other kingdoms, governments, and provinces are committed to the charge of subordinate angels, the body of Christ is peculiarly under the care of the most glorious, who supervise all,

[f] Gen. xi. 7.

but intend with a special watchfulness the kingdom of our Lord Jesus. This is clear from what hath been said, and may be further illustrated from another passage in the Revelation, iv. 5, where St. John saw in the Christian church, as Zachary had heretofore seen in the Jewish, *seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God.* And again, chap. viii. 2, he saw these *seven angels which stood before God* sounding to battle against all the enemies of the church. That is, as Clemens of Alexandria[g] speaks, ἕπτα πρωτογόνους ἀγγέλους, 'the seven first-born angels,' or the eldest sons of glory, who have the greatest power, and are represented in the following parts of that book as executing the anger of God upon all opposers of Christianity, till they had pulled them down to the ground, and the multitude of Christian people thundered out hallelujahs, saying, *The Lord God Omnipotent reigneth*[h].

Thus I have told you all that I can find at present concerning the first particular, which is the principal; their helping us in the knowledge of the truth, and in our doing good. The second is consequent to this; for,

II. The ancient Christians looked upon the angels of God as witnesses of their actions, in consideration whereof they were excited to do well, and to behave themselves with all due caution and circumspection before God. It is true, God is every where, and so we are to walk as in his presence, and under his eye and observance. But to make us more sensible of this, and to bring things down to the meanest capacity, the Divine presence, according to the constant style of the holy Scripture, is signified to us by the presence of angels, who are his attendants and ministers; and therefore in the place now mentioned they are called *the eyes of God.* Hence it is that holy men looked upon themselves as under the inspection of angels, to whose presence, as God's ministers and signifiers of his presence, they ought to have a great regard. This is the sense of that place, Eccles. v. 6, where the Wise Man cautions the Israelites, that when they had made a vow they should not retract it, nor say *before the angel* that it was an error. *The angel* he looked upon as the overseer of their words and actions;

[g] [Strom. lib. vi. cap. 16. p. 813.]

[h] Rev. xix. 6.

and, if they did evil, as the avenger and punisher of them. And thus the heathens also speak, *Hic est prorsus custos, singularis præfectus, domesticus speculator*, &c., 'He is thy keeper, a singular guide and governor, a domestic observer, an individual and constant disposer, an inseparable witness, an approver of good actions, and a disallower of all that are bad.' And this is the style of the New Testament also, as you read in those words cited before, *I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things*[i], &c. As if he had said, The elect (i. e. the choice, and most eminent, and principal) angels are witnesses of what I say, and of all the charge that is imposed on thee and undertaken by thee; they will observe thy behaviour and demeanour in the church of God, being as so many παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ παιδονόμοι, &c., (to use St. Basil's words[k],) 'tutors and governors' set over men by the Father of all; and accordingly they will accuse or acquit thee at that great day of reckoning. This seems also to be the meaning of the same apostle in another place, 1 Cor. xi. 10, where he would have them to think that angels are present in their sacred assemblies; and so, out of reverence to such great ministers of his, appointed to attend there, and by whom he was present, to be careful how they admitted of any thing undecent or immodest at those meetings. And thus some have expounded those words of our Saviour, ver. 20, of this eighteenth of St. Matthew, *Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.* The angels, say they, are there by his order, as signs of his presence, and the witnesses of our actions, and the helpers of our devotion at such seasons. But as there is no need to interpret that place in such manner, so there is no need of it to justify this truth, (which is attested by others that I have named,) how that they are present to observe as well as assist us: *Nemini conspicui semper adsunt, omnium non modo actorum testes, verum etiam cogitatorum:* 'for though they are conspicuous to none, they are ever near to all, the witnesses not only of our actions, but even of our thoughts.' So far the ancients ventured to proceed in this discourse.

[i] 1 Tim. v. 21.

[k] Lib. de Spirit. Sancto ad Amphiloch. c. 13. [tom. iii. p. 25 B.]

III. Who looked upon them not only as witnesses and observers of our actions, but as assistants to us in our combats, joining their forces with us then above all other times, to strengthen us against all assaults of our spiritual enemies. As they prompt a man to that which is good, so they stand by him and are aiding to him when he meets with resistance in well-doing. There is none can doubt, as Gregory Nyssen speaks[n], but there is *συμμαχία ἐκ Θεοῦ*, 'an auxiliary force sent us from God,' and bestowed upon our nature when we are devoted to virtue. It attends upon us very early, but then appears most manifestly, when, being advanced in the course of Christian life, we encounter with greater and more powerful opposition. And if you would know how this help is afforded us, I will unfold, saith he, this secret to you. There is *λόγος τις ἐκ πατρικῆς παραδόσεως*, 'a certain discourse descended to us from the tradition of our fathers,' *τὸ πιστὸν ἔχων*, 'which carries in it credibility' and speaks on this manner: That our nature lapsing into sin, God did not pass us by and overlook us with neglect in this condition, leaving us utterly unprovided of help for our recovery, but assigned a certain angel, one of those creatures that have no bodied nature, to join himself to every man's life for his assistance. And on the contrary, the corrupter of mankind did *ἀντιμηχανᾶσθαι*, 'counterwork' this gracious design, and oppose his endeavours on the other side, by sending one of his evil and naughty demons to lead men into vice and destroy them. So that man being *ἐν μέσῳ τῶν δύο*, 'in the middle between two,' who are directly bent one against the other, it is in his power which shall be victorious. The good shows him the blessedness of virtue, in regard of the hope that is set before them who do worthily; the other entertains him with material pleasures, from whence no hope at all springs, but only a present, short, and visible delight enslaves the senses of foolish men. Now if he estrange himself from these allurements, and turn with his thoughts to the better; if, leaving, as it were, the evil behind his back, he set his soul directly face to face over against that blessed hope, as before a clear glass, so that the image of divine virtue be clearly reflected and formed in his heart, *τότε αὐτῷ ἡ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ συμμαχία συναντᾷ καὶ συνίσταται*, 'immediately the help and assistance of his brother comes to him, and mani-

[n] Lib. de Vita Mosis. [tom. i. p. 194, 5.]

festly succours him against his enemy.' Ἀδελφὸς γὰρ τρόπον τίνα, &c. For an angel is after a sort (as to the rational and intellectual part) the brother of the soul of man, who then appears and joins himself to him for his relief when he approaches to a conflict with Pharaoh, his great and deadly enemies. Thus he, who hath followed in great part the sense of some great philosophers, for Plutarch rejects the opinion, I remember, of Menander, who said every man had an assistant genius given him when he was born, who was μυσταγωγὸς τοῦ βίου[o], 'the director of his life,' and saith that Empedocles was nearer the truth, who said there was δίτται τινες, 'a double fate and genius,' under whose government men were whom they found struggling one with another.

And thus much seems to be declared to us in the story of our Saviour's passion, that the good are earnestly concerned for our seasonable relief; for when he was in his terrible agony in the garden, *an angel*, we read[p], *appeared to him from heaven, strengthening him.*

IV. But they go further, I observe, and add, that the angels carry our prayers to the throne of grace, as well as bring us God's blessings; they look upon them as the *vectores hinc precum, inde donorum*, 'carriers of prayers from hence, and gifts from thence;' which was the doctrine of the Platonists, expressed in those few words by Apuleius. And so in that place of Tobit before named, xii. 15, where Raphael saith, *I am one of the seven angels that stand and minister before the holy Blessed One*, i. e. God; the Greek reads οἱ προσαναφέρουσι τὰς προσευχὰς, 'who present the prayers of the saints, and go in and out before the glory of the Holy One.' Origen[q] saith the same, who was a follower of the Platonical opinions, that they do ἀναβαίνειν 'go up' with men's prayers and supplications, and καταβαίνειν ἐκεῖθεν, 'come down from thence' to convey those benefits which God thinks us worthy of.' A great many other of the Greek Christians deliver their sense to the same purpose, whom I shall not trouble you withal, but only mention St. Augustine among the Latins, who explains it thus: that they do not minister in this affair as if they went to tell God any thing which he knew not before, but they consult his will about those things

[o] L. περὶ Εὐθυμίας. [p. 474.] [p] Luke xxii. 43.
[q] [Contr. Cels. lib. v. § 4. tom. i. p. 579 E.]

which we pray for; and that which he commands, either evidently or secretly, they convey to us. But, to speak more clearly to every one's satisfaction, that which I suppose they meant hereby was, that the angels being present in Christian assemblies made their petition likewise to God for those things which they heard pious men pray for. This, we may think, is one of the helps which they afford us, to assist us with their prayers, which carries indeed a great probability in it, though we have no express word of Scripture for it, and so must leave it only as a pious opinion: but I find the first protestants well enough satisfied with it, for they are the express words of Melancthon in one of his books, and he makes it the sense of my text: *Orant pro ecclesia, juxta illud, Angeli eorum vident faciem Patris mei*[q]; 'They pray for the church, according to that *Their angels behold the face of my Father.*' And so I find a good writer of our own explaining these words to this purpose: Take heed how you offend these little ones, for their angels may at any time come before God, and present their requests to him on their behalf. They have liberty always to represent their grievances and prefer their petitions to him for his help and succour to be sent to those whom they watch over. Prayer, you know, in the holy language, is called *the seeking of God's face, and looking up to him.* Upon which account, the beholding of his face here, in my text, may, without wresting the words, be expounded concerning their praying for us, and desiring good things to be granted to us.

But I have nothing for certain to affirm of this matter; let me only desire you to observe a thing which it is seasonable here to add; that should we grant they pray for us, yet it doth not follow that it is lawful for us to pray to them and beseech them to pray for us: we may not address our devotions to them, that they would be our mediators and intercessors with God, as the Romish church now doth. It is very probable that from what the Scripture saith concerning the angels being present in Christian assemblies, and from this pious opinion that they are so charitable as to second our prayers with their own, some indiscreet and forward people took occasion to invocate them, and pray to them to be their intercessors with the Divine Majesty; which rash and ungrounded piece of devotion seems to have

[q] Tom. iii. p. 242. [fol. Witeb. 1601.]

sprung up very early among some professors of Christianity; for St. Paul warns the Colossians that they should use due care lest any man beguiled them of their reward by a *voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind*, as you read, chap. xi. 18. There was a great pretence of humility in it, as there is still among the papists; they thought it was too much boldness to approach to God, nay, to our blessed Saviour immediately, though God hath appointed him to be the only Mediator; and therefore in great lowliness, as it seemed, they would take the angels in their way, and by them have their petitions addressed to our Lord Christ. But the apostle plainly tells them that these men, who made show of such humility, and looked as if they durst not be too bold, were indeed proud and confident men, a great deal more bold than they ought to have been, intruding into things that they had no knowledge of, and devising a religion of their own, as not content with what God had revealed. And thus the Christian church ever after in the best times condemned this worshipping of angels, from this place of St. Paul, for it still continued among some superstitious people. The Council of Laodicea[r] made an express canon against it, and Theodoret[s] saith, that it was a leaving or forsaking of our Lord Jesus Christ. And Irenæus[t] before him said, that the church throughout the world receiving divers benefits from God, renders acknowledgments in the name of Christ, not using the invocation of angels, but purely, clearly, and holily directing their prayers to the Lord of all, in the name of Jesus; and so Origen plainly writes, though ascribing as much to angels as any man. We find, saith he, that those spirits, who from their office are called *angels*, are likewise from their excellent nature called *gods*[u], but they are not called so because we should learn to adore or worship them with divine honour, though they minister and bring to us the gifts of God. No, πᾶσαν μὲν γὰρ δέησιν, &c.. 'for all supplication and prayer and intercession' and thanksgiving ought to be sent to God, the Lord of all, by that High Priest who is above all angels. And in another place[x], where Celsus confesses that indeed he

[r] [Can. 35. Mansi, tom. ii. col. 569 C.]

[s] [In Col. iii. 17. tom. iii. p. 496.]

[t] [Lib. iv. cap. 18. p. 250.]

[u] [Lib. v. contra Cels. § 4. tom. i. p. 579 F.]

[x] [L. 8. § 63, 64. p. 789.]

would have God to be in all our thoughts, night and day, in public and private, in word and deed, but yet thinks that we may ἐξευμενίζεσθαι τοὺς τῇδε ἄρχοντας, 'endeavour by our devotions to sweeten the rulers of this world,' (i. e. the demons or angels,) and render them favourable to us; Origen thus answers him in these memorable words, "Our sole endeavour is to render God merciful and gracious to us, and he is ἐξευμενιζόμενος εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ, 'drawn to be our friend by piety and all manner of virtue.' Then, as the shadow follows the body, so also will the angels and all the powers of heaven follow his will, and become our friend: when once he declares that he is our friend, we need not doubt of their good-will, when we have obtained his. We need not entreat nor supplicate them for it, because they have the same sense with God, and will take delight in those whom he thinks worthy of his favour.

"They will not only bear a good-will to us, but also work together with us for our good; insomuch that I dare say, ὅτι ἀνθρώποις μετὰ προαιρέσεως, &c., 'that with men, who out of choice and good-will' prefer the most excellent things, and pray to God continually, there are thousands of holy powers who, not invocated at all, will join their prayers, and petition God together with them for his blessing."

What can be more plain than these words, which are enough to make all those blush, if they had any shame left in them, who make such loud noises to persuade the world that all antiquity is on their side, and yet stand so manifestly condemned by its express sentence, whilst they pray to angels to be their patrons, and do their business for them in heaven. They allege indeed that place of Jacob which I had occasion to mention in the morning, to justify this paganish practice [y]. But in truth he saith not a word to their purpose, for there is no prayer to be found there to the angel, nor so much as any compellation of him. He doth not say, "O thou angel, who hast kept me, preserve them, or assist them with thy help and thy prayers," which would have been to the business; but only desires that they might fare well, as he had done, by the ministry of the angel which had attended on him. In short, this sentence is only εὐκτικὸν, as the Greeks speak, by way of wish

[y] Gen. xlviii. 16.

or desire, not προσευκτικὸν, 'by way of supplication or prayer.' Good Jacob relates what the angel had done for him all his life long, and wishes he may do as much for his grandchildren after he was dead.

Now every one knows, that a wish or a desire that a good thing or happy success may be, is no prayer unto that thing that it would be so, unless we will imagine (they are the words of a very learned writer of ours[z]) "that Balaam prayed to his own soul, when in the selfsame form of words he desired, *Let my soul die the death of the righteous* (so it is in the Latin); or that David prayed to the angel when he said, *Let the angel of the Lord persecute him*[a]; where he only desires it may be so, but prays not to the angel that he would do it." What other places they bring to the same purpose I must not stay now to inquire, because I take this only in my way; and you may be sure there are none which contradict the express sentence of St. Paul, who condemns, in so many words, this worshipping of angels, as a daring invention of vain and proud minds, who, not satisfied with the Christian simplicity, would have a number of mediators, and take their choice among them as they thought good.

To conclude this point, we need not doubt, in the last place, but,

V. After all this assistance which the holy angels give us, they will be present and ready to help us in the agony of death. They offer their service to transport the souls of good men, when they forsake these earthly mansions, into the bosom of Abraham, as our Saviour tells us in the parable of Lazarus; and he himself, as you heard, had an angel came to strengthen or comfort him in his agony in the garden a little before his death; and therefore why should we think that they who have been our companions all our life should desert us at the last gasp, and not rather be most careful of us, and lend us their brotherly assistance, both before, and in, and after our departure hence? Nay, if they rejoice at the conversion of a sinner, as our Saviour Christ tells us[b], we may conclude that they are much more joyed to see his perseverance to the end, and to

[z] Bp. Montague. ["Immediate Address unto God alone, or a Treatise on the Invocation of Saints," &c. p. 87, 4to. Lond. 1624.]

[a] Psalm xxxv. 6.

[b] Luke xv. 10.

behold him enduring pain patiently, and at last to see him resign up his soul to God steadfast in the faith and love of Christ Jesus; and will do them all the good offices they can, and when they have left the body, convey them safe unto their resting-place.

But I must say no more of this, because there remains a little to be said concerning the second general head, which I propounded in the beginning; that is, of the persons who are under such care of the angels, expressed here in the word *their*, which refers to what went before concerning the disciples of Christ. To these my text limits my discourse, who profess the religion of our Saviour; and indeed we are not told what they do for others. The apostle also thus limits it, *Are they not ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them that are heirs of salvation*[b]*?* Briefly then,

PART II.

It is plain, in the first place, that the whole Christian church is under the favour and protection of angels. As Daniel saw an angel which told him that Michael took care of the concerns of the people of God professing the Jewish religion, so St. John, I told you, saw him and his angels taking part with the Christian church, as the dragon and his partakers did with the idolaters.

Secondly, particular churches the ancient Christians thought to have a particular angel to watch over them; for thus St. Basil, I remember, comforts the presbyters of Nicopolis, who by a faction were thrust out of the walls of the city, that they remained under the protection of heaven, and ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔφορος συναπῆλθεν ὑμῖν[c]· 'the angel, the guardian of the church, is come away from them together with you.' The like I might cite out of Gregory Nazianzen, who speaks of the angels to whom the church of Constantinople were particularly committed, and concludes his speech in this manner when he was leaving it, Χαίρετε ἄγγελοι, &c.[d], 'Farewell, ye angels, the presidents of this church, and of my presence here, and pere-

[b] Heb. i. ult.

[c] Epist. 191. [ed. Ben. Epist. 238. tom. iii. p. 367 A.]

[d] Orat. 32. p. 528. [ed. Ben. Orat. 42. §. 27. tom. i. p. 768 A.

grination hence, if so be that my affairs are in the hand of God.'

And, thirdly, all the particular members of Christ's church are under their care, even the weakest and most infirm persons, when they have need of their aid. That our Lord means by *little ones*, such as were but newly entered into the church, novices and new-born babes; or such as had made but a small progress by reason of their dulness; or those that had but a little skill and prudence; or those that were but feeble and weak in their strength; or those that were fearful and timorous, and apt to be shaken; or those in poor and mean condition. Every one of these, being sincere, have this comfort, that the angels of God are their helpers and defenders. They give them their assistance freely and readily against the fraud and malice and power of the devil, and against all the allurements of the flesh and the world; and all its affrightments too, that might turn them aside from the path of Christianity. Nay, they have this comfort, that very mighty angels attend on them; for so I showed you in the morning, according to the phrase of the Jews, this passage is to be understood. And therefore,

Fourthly, we may conclude, that they who go on towards perfection, that live very purely and holily, and grow more useful to the world, are under a very singular and affectionate care of the angels, who delight in those that are so like themselves, that is, spiritual and heavenly, pure and chaste, loving and kind, strong and powerful against *the rulers of the darkness of this world*. This I touched upon in the morning, out of some of the ancient writers of the church; and it is the sense of the psalmist, when he saith, *The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him. O taste and see that the Lord is good: blessed is the man that trusteth in him:* that is, who will not, by reason of any difficulties or hardships or straits, desert God and his integrity, but resolves, in confidence of his help, to hold out to the end.

Fifthly, the ministers of Christian religion, especially when sincere and holy, we may well conclude, are very much in the favour of the angels. For in the times of the law you find that Joshua the high priest *stood before the angel of the Lord*, expecting, that is, what sentence he would pronounce, and

what orders he brought in his favour, when *Satan stood at his right hand*, (the place of an accuser in their courts of judgment,) to oppose his enterprises which he had in hand for the restoring the divine worship at the temple of Jerusalem [d]. This angel, St. Jude tells us, was Michael the archangel, (ver. 9 of his Epistle,) who contended with the devil, and overcame him in the dispute he had with him about *the body of Moses*, i. e. of his religion, worship and laws, which the devil would not have had restored again after the captivity. The high priest very worthily endeavoured it, as much as Satan and his instruments opposed it; and Michael (the guardian, you see by this, of that church) took Joshua's part, preserved his person, kept him from being discouraged in his attempt, and gave a check to the enemy. By which we may learn, that, if he was so much concerned to have the whole body of Moses's laws preserved from violence, and defended those who defended it, he will not be less careful to assist with all his forces the ministers of the Lord Jesus, who are the supporters of his religion, which is far more precious. Why should we think that they are not much beloved by the angelical powers, since the chief of these ministers, the principal pastors under the great Shepherd of the sheep, are called by their name, *the angels of the churches?* Thus that Greek writer whom I mentioned before discoursed in his Commentaries upon the Revelation. If we believe that an angel follows every one of the faithful, πολλῷ μᾶλλον τοῖς θεμελίοις [e], &c., 'much more may we be confident that they attend upon the *foundations* of the church' (so, you know, the apostles and prophets are called), those that are the sowers of the evangelical doctrine, and that are co-workers with them to the publishing of the gospel. And so we find in many places how they preserved and succoured the apostles, and in the Old Testament we read that very great troops of them encircled Elisha when he was in danger, being a prophet, and of singular use at that time. And thus may all those who in lower stations serve God faithfully expect his blessing, help and protection, notwithstanding all the menaces or opposition of evil-minded men. They may hope that he will assist and defend them by his mighty angels, as long as he hath any employment for

[d] Zach. iii. 1. [e] Arethas, p. 824. [ad calc. Œcum.]

them; and when they have done their business, send those heavenly messengers to fetch them to himself.

And so now you see how all persons in the church who are the true disciples of Christ have reason to praise God, and to rejoice in his holy comfort, to render him their continual thanks, and to do their duties with cheerfulness and gladness, he taking such care of them to assign them such a powerful guard, such mighty helpers, the principal of the heavenly host, to take the charge of them. As the Psalmist calls upon the *angels, that excel in strength, that do his commandments, hearkening to the voice of his word, to bless the Lord together with him;* so should we call upon our own souls to bless his holy name for them. And that indeed is part of his meaning, when he bids them praise the Lord, and when he calls upon the fire, hail, snow, wind, and all other creatures to do the same; he intends to stir up his own affections to this heavenly employment of praising God in contemplation of all his great and wonderful works; which set forth his greatness, power, wisdom and goodness to the great joy of all those who are in his favour.

As we therefore praise him for the meat that nourishes us, for the sun, moon, and stars that enlighten us, so let us not forget to praise him for the holy angels, those glorious lights, who are greater ministers than any of those for our comfort and happiness. We know not how oft they cast a beam of light into our mind, and let fall a spark of fire into our hearts, and nourish and feed some way or other the good inclinations and purposes that are in our souls; and therefore we should thank God for them more than we do for our meat and drink and clothing, or any of the refreshments of this outward life. Nay, what if I say that they make wholesome seasons, and good food, and all such things? It was the opinion, I am sure, of some of the ancient Christians, who thought themselves beholden to them every way; so that whatsoever we thank God for, we should not omit to acknowledge their service, and the friendly courtesies which they do us continually.

But I said something of this in the morning, and there is no time remaining to speak more of it now, unless I should waive two things which I ought to recommend to your thoughts and

care, one of which, I told you in the beginning, my text would directly lead unto.

The first is this, that we should endeavour to imitate them, and become like to them in our nature and disposition. If we have a mind to gratify them, if we would oblige those to whom we are already so much beholden, and invite them to be more kind unto us; it must not be by our prayers to them or praises of them, as fond superstition thinks, but by studying to resemble them all we can in their excellent qualities. It is an offence no doubt to these holy beings, to see us address those services to them which they know to be due to none but God, the Creator of all. But they cannot choose but take a delight in our virtue and goodness, both as by this means we approach nearer to their nature, and are more fit for their friendship and converse; and also as they see herein some effect of their care and pains, who have been so long ministers of God for our good. Let us imitate them in their hatred of wickedness, and their love to purity and holiness of life. Let us imitate them in their charity and kind disposition to do good to others; in their joy at the amendment of sinners, and their progress in virtue. Let us follow their humility also and condescension to those who are inferior to us. Let us remember withal the cheerfulness and readiness of their obedience to the divine commands, and bear in mind their watchfulness and diligence, so as to stir up ourselves to conform to that pattern. And lastly, let us be zealous for the honour of God, that his kingdom may be upheld and increased, and the kingdom of the devil pulled down. In order to which I must desire you, in the second place,

To take special heed how you do any thing to the scandal of any of your Christian brethren, and particularly those that are infirm. That is the thing for which our Saviour alleges this care of God over his little ones by the ministry of his angels, that every Christian might take care lest he gave offence to those who were so dear to God, and tendered so much by him. That is, lest he did any thing which should lay a block in the way of any of his Christian neighbours, either to discourage him or make him stumble, or plainly turn him out of his Christian course; for that is the meaning of this word *offend*, or 'give scandal,' in these holy books; which is done two ways:

First, by despising of our brethren, and setting them at nought. This is apt many times to sink men of otherwise great spirits, and therefore may much more deject the feeble and weak. It is a great discouragement to a man to see himself contemned and had in no esteem at all. It is a temptation to many sins. It makes a man have ill thoughts of that religion which such despisers profess; and therefore it is a most unchristian quality, and quite contrary to the angelical disposition, which doth not scorn us because we are so much below them.

Secondly, there is a greater scandal than this, by giving of an ill example; which may lead those aside who mind more what others do than what they say. And this especially concerns those who are the guides of others, that they walk circumspectly, lest they draw many along with them into destruction, who are so weak as to follow their examples, rather than any rules that they can give them. The ancient Christians made bold to add, that we should be afraid to give any offence to our guardian angel which may make him turn aside from us, and leave his charge. St. Basil expressly uses these words[f], "We ought to have a reverence to our keeper, and not despise the angel to whom is committed ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν, 'the care of our salvation.'" But this was, in effect, said before; and nothing, we are to think, is more offensive to them, than to give any occasion of offence to those who are under their care as well as ourselves. Of this let us beware; and thus doing we shall fulfil the intent of our Saviour's discourse in this place, and we shall do all that which I now exhorted you unto, in imitation of the angels. For by having such a regard to our Christian brethren, as not to despise them nor offend them, we shall express our piety, our charity, our humility, our watchfulness, and our zeal for the glory of God and the honour of Christ's religion all together.

A PRAYER.

O great God! the Lord of all the hosts of heaven, both visible and invisible, who hast disposed all things in a most excellent and admirable order for the service and benefit of each other, and sendest thy blessings as far as us in this lower world by the ministry of

[f] Lib. de Vera Virgin. [§ 29. tom. iii. append. p. 616 A.]

thy angels, the noblest of which refuse not to wait upon us, and to bring thy favours to us: more especially I acknowledge thy astonishing grace in committing all thy authority and power in heaven and earth unto one in our own likeness, the Lord Jesus; who loved us so much as to lay down his life for us, and who was so much loved by thee as to be raised from his grave, and advanced far above all principalities and powers and dominions, whom thou hast put in subjection under his feet.

I rejoice, O God, in this great consolation which thou hast sent us by the Holy Ghost, who assures us of the love that all the heavenly court bear unto us, as members of the body of the Lord Jesus, whom they likewise love and honour and worship and constantly obey, desiring to look into the great secrets of thy love declared to us in thy holy gospel. I praise thee, O blessed Lord of all, and thank thee as well as I am able, rejoicing to think that thy most glorious Majesty is lauded and magnified continually by the better praises of those heavenly ministers, *who excel in strength, and do thy commandments, hearkening to the voice of thy word.* O how great is thy power, wisdom, and goodness, which so many millions of holy ones delight to celebrate with their joyful hymns; and *rest not day nor night, saying, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, which is, which was, and which is to come.*

Vouchsafe, O Lord, to receive my poor praises, which I offer up unto thee with the rest of the children of men who have a pious sense of thy great benefits conferred on them. For thou hast not only put the fear of man upon all flesh, and given him dominion over beasts and fowls, but put the love of us into the hearts of angels, who own us for their brethren; especially since thou hast manifested thy singular love and kindness to us in our dearest Lord and Saviour. I thank thee that, besides thy *five operations*, thou hast *imparted understanding* to us, and *speech* also, an interpreter of the thoughts thereof; and hast *set thine eye upon our heart*, that thou mightest *show us the greatness of thy works*, and hast *filled us with the knowledge of wisdom, and showest us good and evil*, I thank thee that thou hast given us to *glory in thy marvellous acts for ever*, that we might *declare thy works with understanding*[a].

Blessed be thy goodness that I understand thou hast made us the care of the holy angels, and particularly given them charge of me, both night and day, ever since I was born. What are men, that thou shouldst honour them so far as to send such glorious ministers of thine from heaven, in sundry ages and divers times, to bring the

[a] Eccles. xvii. 4. &c.

messages of thy divine grace and favour to us who dwell here in these regions of darkness and mortality? But that thou shouldest vouchsafe us the constant attendance of any of them, yea, of the most excellent, to whom thou hast committed the care of thy church; O what a dignity is this to which thou hast promoted us! How much do I owe thee for their watchful care over my body, habitation, relations, friends, and other things belonging to me! I am exceedingly indebted to thee for their continual protection, and for the quiet, peaceable, and secure enjoyment of myself, and all the blessings of this life, by the freedom they have given me from the disturbance of the devil and his angels. And a great deal more am I indebted to thee for their charitable assistance vouchsafed to my soul, which hath been preserved by many invisible means from the impostures of lying spirits and all temptations to vice and wickedness. I thank thee that my mind hath not been abused with the grossest illusions; that I understand, in any measure, the everlasting gospel, which by their help hath been spread into these parts of the world; that the holy apostles were protected by their ministry, and the opposers of thy divine truth thereby vanquished; that I have felt any heavenly affections stirring in my heart; and have been able not only to resist any assaults of the enemy, but to overcome the power of the evil one. I thank thee for thy presence in our holy assemblies, and that we have such glorious companions in thy divine service. I thank thee that I have any hope they attend on me in these my private addresses to thee, and are delighted in these praises, thanksgivings and oblations, that I make unto thy Divine Majesty; for all the dangers which I have escaped, all the good I have done, and all the good I have been made partaker of by thy infinite bounty.

Accept, O my God, of the oblation that I make of my will and all my affections to thee; which is the best sacrifice, I know, that I can present thee withal. I resign my heart and all my ways into thy hands, and entirely submit myself unto thy blessed will, beseeching thee to assist me so powerfully with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that I may constantly imitate those heavenly creatures in my reverence and awful fear of thy Divine Majesty, in the cheerfulness of my obedience to all thy holy commands, in my charity to my neighbours, in diligence and watchfulness over my charge, in humble condescension to the weakness of my brethren, in my joy at the repentance of sinners, and the well-doing of all men, in the purity and chastity of my affections and conversation, and in my sincere and upright intentions to do my Lord and Master the best service I

can, whilst I am here in this world, that so I may have the comfort of expecting their assistance in the agony of death, and of a good hope that they will carry me, when I depart from hence, into a place of rest and peace, where I shall be better acquainted with them, and more sensibly enjoy their happy society, and give thee praise and thanks in their delightful company, for ever and ever. Amen.

PRAYERS

ON

CERTAIN SPECIAL OCCASIONS.

A PRIVATE PRAYER

TO BE

USED IN DIFFICULT TIMES.

O ALMIGHTY GOD, who art the refuge and strength of all those that truly fear thee, and put their trust in thee; we thy servants, who have had long experience of thy goodness, and found thee a present help in the needful time of trouble, most earnestly flee unto thy infinite mercies, to implore thy grace and favour towards us in this distressed church: who know not what to do, but only lift up our eyes unto thee, from whom cometh our salvation.

Our sins indeed testify against us, that we justly deserve to be forsaken by thee, and given up as a prey to those that hate us. For we have done very wickedly, and been so far from bringing forth the fruits of the gospel of thy grace, (which we have long enjoyed in its purity,) that too many of us have turned it into wantonness, and the best of us have not been so zealous of good works as our most holy religion and the singular benefits we have enjoyed by it required from us.

Our contempt or neglect of thy divine service, our unrighteousness and uncharitableness one towards another, our riot and intemperance, our filthiness and uncleanness, our insensibleness of our brethren's miseries, and all our other high provocations call for vengeance upon us. And it is of thy mere mercy, thy longsuffering mercy, that we are not already laid waste, and made the scorn and derision of those who are round about us.

Unto that inconceivable mercy and most tender compassion we still betake ourselves, and sue for further patience and forbearance towards us; beseeching thee with earnest cries, *Spare us, good Lord, spare thy people, and give us not up unto a reproach.*

Remember not our sins nor our transgressions, but according to thy mercy remember thou us for thy goodness' sake, O Lord.

For thy name's sake pardon our iniquity, though it be great.

Look upon our affliction and our trouble, and forgive all our sin.

Consider our enemies, for they are many; and they hate us with a cruel hatred.

But do not thou forsake us, O Lord; O our God, be not thou far from us: but preserve us in the free and undisturbed profession of thy holy religion, here established among us.

Suffer not the doctrine of the gospel to be here again corrupted, thy worship and service adulterated, the holy communion of Christ's body and blood depraved and maimed, the just rights and liberties of this church to be oppressed by any of those who have evil will unto it.

But preserve us, O Lord, from their evil designs, for thy mercy's sake, for thy holy truth's sake, (here reformed from many superstitions wherewith it was defiled,) for the sake of thy faithful people, who cry day and night unto thee, for the sake of Jesus Christ, who died for us, and suffered upon the cross to testify to that truth which we maintain, whom we own for our only Mediator and Advocate, whose sacrifice, once offered, we believe to be an all-sufficient satisfaction for us; whose merits alone we mention to thee, and depend upon; by whose agony and bloody sweat, his cross and passion, resurrection and intercession, we beg to be delivered by thee.

Deny not, blessed Lord, the suits of such supplicants; let them *never be put to confusion,* but *deliver them in thy righteousness; bow down thy ears unto them, and make haste to deliver them.*

Be thou their strong rock and house of defence, that thou mayest save them.

And for that end, stir up the hearts of all thy people to be more than ordinary zealous in their religion, more fervent and frequent in prayers and supplications, more serious in their repentance and humiliations; more constant and devout in receiving the holy communion; more strict and careful in their whole Christian conversation.

Endue all the ministers of our religion with integrity, wisdom, and courage. Bless their labours, and protect them in the faithful discharge of their duty. And give all the people grace to follow their godly instructions, that they may be preserved from all dangerous errors and delusions.

Quicken the magistrates in their several places to maintain truth as well as execute justice.

Restore a happy unity among us, that we may *stand fast in one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the gospel.*

And let it not be in the power of any of our enemies to overthrow that blessed work of reformation of religion which was brought about by the long study, and labours, and prayers, and sufferings, and blood of many of thy faithful servants; but perfect and complete it, we beseech thee, by making us all so sensible of the inestimable value of that blessing, that it may be more and more effectual in the reformation of all our lives.

Continue thy protection also over all other reformed churches, which, hitherto, are in safety. And where they are laid waste graciously restore them, after they have suffered a while with patience, to their lost liberties and enjoyments.

Hear their cry, O Lord, and arise for the sighing of these poor distressed Christians; and set them in safety from those who swell against them.

Let the wickedness of the wicked come to an end, and establish thou the just.

Break the arm of wicked and evil men; seek out their wickedness till thou find none.

So we thy people and sheep of thy pastures will give thee thanks for ever; we will show forth thy praise to all generations, saying,

Blessed be the Lord God our Saviour and Deliverer, who only doth wondrous things.

And blessed be his glorious name for ever, and let the whole earth be filled with his glory, Amen and Amen.

A THANKSGIVING

FOR

OUR LATE WONDERFUL DELIVERANCE,

RECOMMENDED CHIEFLY TO THOSE WHO HAVE MADE USE OF THE PRAYER IN THE LATE DIFFICULT TIMES.

O GOD, thou art great, and dost wondrous things, thou art God alone.

Thy righteousness, O God, is very high, who hast done great things: O God, who is like unto thee?

I will praise thee, O Lord, with my whole heart, I will glorify thy name for evermore.

For thy mercy is exceeding great towards us; thou hast delivered this nation from the extremest dangers.

Blessed be the Lord, who hath not turned away our prayer, nor his mercy from us:

But when we called upon him in the time of our distress, he heard us, and wrought a mighty salvation for us.

Therefore shall my tongue speak of thy righteousness and of thy praise all the day long.

I will always be giving thanks unto thee for what thou hast done.

Every day will I bless thee, and praise thy name for ever and ever.

O magnify the Lord with me, and let us exalt his name together.

Let all the people praise thee, O God, let all the people praise thee.

Let every good man sing of thy praise without ceasing: *O my God, I will give thanks unto thee for ever.*

I will love the Lord also, who hath heard the voice of our supplication; and I will call upon him as long as I live.

I will hope in thy mercy, that I shall still praise thee more and more.

And, good Lord, finish what thou hast begun; perfect that which concerneth us, (*for thy mercy, O God, endureth for ever,*) *and forsake not the work of thine own hand.*

Complete our deliverance by settling the minds of all men among us, and disposing them to rejoice in thy salvation.

Let thy power and glory appear also in Ireland, as it hath done in England and Scotland.

Preserve our brethren there from blood-thirsty and deceitful men; and preserve the reformed religion there, with all the just rights and liberties of that kingdom.

Send them seasonable relief and succour, that they may not die, but live; to show forth the praises of the Lord, *and to tell of all his wondrous works.*

Be merciful unto them, O God, be merciful unto them; and shelter them under thy almighty protection, until the present calamities under which they are fallen be overpast.

Be thou their hiding-place, to preserve them in time of trouble: and, at last, *compass them about with songs of deliverance.*

Let all these three kingdoms be united in thy praises, and triumph in thy salvation; saying continually, *Blessed be the Lord, who takes delight in the prosperity of his servants.*

And then let this thy goodness never be forgotten by us; but had in everlasting remembrance.

Give us grace to pay thee our vows which we made unto thee in the day of trouble.

Teach us thy way, O God, and enable us to walk in thy truth: O knit our hearts unto thee, that we may fear thy name.

Preserve us, O Lord, that we break not again thy commandments, after thou hast given us such a deliverance as this:

But may carefully hide thy word in our hearts, that we turn not again to folly.

Yea, make us to delight in thy commandments, that thou mayest still delight to do us good.

And especially incline us all to *love one another with a*

pure heart fervently, and to be of one mind, and to live in peace; that thou the God of love and peace mayest be with us.

Hear the prayers, O Lord, of every devout soul among us, who now cries unto thee, saying, Save thy people in these three kingdoms, and deliver them not over unto the will of their enemies.

Show thy servants the light of thy countenance, and save them for thy mercy's sake.

Our soul patiently tarrieth for the Lord, for he is our help and our shield.

Our heart shall rejoice in him, because we have hoped in his holy name.

Let thy merciful kindness, O Lord, be upon us, according as we do put our trust in thee.

Amen, for Jesus Christ his sake, *Amen*.

Licensed July 10, 1689.

A PRAYER

FOR

CHARITY, PEACE, AND UNITY,

TO BE USED IN LENT.

"For, as St. Chrysostom says, to what purpose is it to eat no meat, if we bite and devour one another?"

O GOD, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom thou hast revealed thyself unto us to be *love*, and hast by the example of thy infinite love towards mankind commanded all Christ's disciples to *love one another*, to be of *one mind*, and to *live in peace*, we sorrowfully bewail our lamentable violations of these holy precepts by our unchristian animosities and hatreds, our discords and dissensions, which have broken out into open strife and contention among us.

Which we confess are the more shameful, because thou hast not only shown us our error and wickedness herein, but mercifully delivered us from those dangers into which we had thrown ourselves by our divisions, and generously disposed us, both by these dangers and the wonderful deliverance thou hast wrought for us, to repent of our folly, and to study hereafter to keep *the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*.

Pardon, we beseech thee, most gracious God, the heinous guilt that we have drawn upon ourselves, by relapsing so soon from those holy dispositions which thou hadst wrought in us, and returning to our old enormities and quarrels. Lord, lay not this sin to our charge, so as to deny us the grace of thy Holy Spirit to alter our hearts, and to renew a right spirit within us.

Convince every one of us thoroughly of our sin and of our

danger, that we may not run headlong into destruction. Give us a right understanding of ourselves and of our religion, and affect our hearts with that incomprehensible love which thou hast shown unto us all in our blessed Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, that we may be *followers of thee,* our God, *as dear children: and walk in love, as Christ hath loved us, and given himself an offering and a sacrifice for us.*

Allay all our intemperate heats: subdue our violent passions: free us from all prejudice and evil surmisings; purge out of our hearts all bad affections; especially *all bitterness and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking, with all malice; that we may be kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as thou for Christ's sake hast forgiven us.*

And, more especially, endue all those who are the guides of others with this heavenly spirit, that there may be no divisions among them, but they may be *perfectly joined together in the same mind and the same judgment,* and thereby lead their people in the way of love as well as truth. Give them grace, O Lord, to remember and consider that *the servants of the Lord ought not to strive, but to be gentle unto all men,* (much more one towards another,) *apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those who oppose themselves;* that they may become examples unto their folds of those most excellent virtues; and teach them, not only by their doctrine, but by their practice also, *to love without dissimulation; to be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love, in honour preferring one another.*

And inspire the hearts of those who have any authority over others with such love unto them, and to those churches and kingdoms, that they may employ their most zealous endeavours in the blessed work of being peacemakers; by healing our unhappy breaches, and reconciling all opposite parties, that they may not any longer *bite and devour one another,* but join together for their mutual safety and preservation.

O that the words of the Lord Jesus and of his apostles may be deeply engraven on all our minds and hearts, and never depart out of our thoughts: *Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God. The fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace.* That so

every soul of us, in our several places, may be stirred up earnestly to *pursue after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another.*

Now the God of patience and consolation grant us to be like-minded one towards another, according to Christ Jesus; having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind, doing nothing through strife or vain glory, but in lowliness of mind, esteeming each other better than ourselves, that we may with one mind and with one mouth glorify thee our God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

All which we humbly beg in his name, and for his sake, who is our only Mediator and Advocate, *Amen.*

The Collect for the Sunday called Quinquagesima, or the next Sunday before Lent.

"O Lord, who hast taught us that all our doings without charity are nothing worth; send thy Holy Ghost, and pour into our hearts that most excellent gift of charity, the very bond of peace and of all virtues, without which whosoever liveth is counted dead before thee: Grant this for thine only Son Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*"

Licensed March 14, $16\frac{53}{54}$.

A PRAYER

FOR

HIS MAJESTY'S SUCCESS IN HIS GREAT UNDERTAKING FOR IRELAND.

O most glorious Majesty of heaven and earth, who commandest all creatures with an absolute power, and governest them with an unerring wisdom, impartial justice, and unspotted goodness; we thine unworthy servants humbly fall down before thee, and adore thy most gracious Providence, by which we have been wonderfully delivered in this kingdom from popish tyranny and arbitrary power which lately threatened us.

If the Lord had not been on our side, (we ought most thankfully to acknowledge,) *if the Lord had not been on our side when our enemies rose up against us, then they had swallowed us up, when they were so wrathfully displeased at us. Blessed be the Lord, who did not give us as a prey unto their teeth. Blessed be the Lord who hath shown us marvellous kindness, in not suffering them to prevail over us.*

To thy infinite mercy alone we owe our present peace and tranquillity, the freedom of our religion, and all our other liberties; for, as we were not able to deliver ourselves from those great and apparent dangers wherewith we were encompassed, so we did not deserve to be delivered by thee, being *a stubborn and rebellious people, a generation that set not our hearts aright, whose spirit was not stedfast with thee our God.* For *we have soon forgotten thy works, and the wonders which thou hast shown us; we have sinned yet more against*

thee, by provoking thee immediately after we have been delivered by thee.

We have reason to be ashamed, and blush to lift up our faces to thee, O our God; for our iniquities are increased by our returning so soon unto those evil ways which we lately condemned. Pardon, good Lord, this our shameful ingratitude towards thee, pardon it we most earnestly beseech thee, and do not punish it by throwing us back again into those dangers we have escaped. Give us unfeigned repentance of that and all our other heinous offences against thee, particularly our continued uncharitableness towards one another, our bitter envying and strife, discord and divisions, into which we are fallen afresh with violent animosities. Lord, convince us of the greatness of this guilt, and cast out of us the evil spirit of hatred, and wrath, and revenge, that it may not bring us into confusion; but thou, in thy infinite mercy, mayest be pleased not only to spare us, but to perfect what thou hast begun to do for us, by working the like deliverance for our brethren in Ireland, that they may praise thee together with us.

As thou hast given his majesty a magnanimous resolution to hazard himself for their safety, so, we beseech thee, let the same prosperous successes attend upon him, which brought him hither and set him upon the throne of these kingdoms. Let thy mercy, O Lord, be upon him, according to the trust which he professes to repose in thee; that thou wilt vouchsafe a special blessing upon this his great undertaking, and thereby consummate our deliverance.

Protect his royal person both by sea and by land, direct him in all his counsels and proceedings, preserve his fleet and his armies, conduct and bless them in all their enterprises, strike a terror every where into his enemies, and make him victorious over them.

Secure our peace and quietness here at home during his absence from us; discover and defeat all secret contrivances against their majesties and their government; suppress or quell all turbulent spirits, and let all these commotions end in the happy settlement of these distracted kingdoms, in the peaceable and secure enjoyment of our religion, and of all the rights and liberties belonging to us.

Blessed be thy name, O Lord, who, when we called upon

thee the last year, wast pleased graciously to grant our petitions, in preserving many of our brethren in Ireland who were straitly besieged by a numerous army, and reduced to great extremity. Thou madest the wind and the sea favourable to our forces which were sent thither; thou gavest them a safe arrival and landing there for their seasonable relief, and hast ever since made them victorious in all the encounters they have had with their enemies.

Stir up the hearts of all thy people, we humbly beseech thee, not only to call upon thee earnestly in public and private, but to search and try their ways, and to turn unto thee in newness of life. That thou mayest repeat the very same mercies by carrying his majesty and his forces safely and timely thither, and then completely subduing all his opposers, and returning him unto this kingdom in triumph to reign long and peaceably over us; that being all delivered out of the hands of our enemies, we may serve thee without fear, under their majesties' government, in holiness and righteousness all our days.

And pity, we pray thee, all our reformed churches which are laid waste, and raise them up out of their ruins. Hear their sighs and groans, and deliver them from their cruel oppressors; unite all those who hitherto continue in safety, that they may be able to deliver themselves and help their brethren; root out that implacable spirit of animosity and hatred which has reigned too much among us, and knit us altogether in brotherly affection; make us sensible of our sin and of our danger into which we have brought ourselves by our fierce contentions; that we may not hereafter be guilty of such foolish wickedness, but study how to make and preserve peace and unity, notwithstanding any differences that remain among us.

O Lord hear, O Lord forgive, O Lord hearken and do, defer not for thine own sake, O our God; and for thy people who are called by thy name: for we do not present our supplications before thee for our righteousness, but for thy great mercies in Christ Jesus. To whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

ARTICLES

TO BE

INQUIRED OF AND ANSWERED UNTO

BY THE

CHURCHWARDENS AND SWORN MEN

IN

THE PRIMARY VISITATION OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

SYMON, LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER,

M.DC.XC.

The oath to be administered to the churchwardens of each parish.

You shall swear truly and faithfully to execute the office of a churchwarden within your parish, and shall diligently inquire and make true presentment of such things and persons as you know to be presentable by the ecclesiastical laws of this realm.

So help you God.

ARTICLES OF INQUIRY,

UNTO WHICH

THE CHURCHWARDENS OR SIDEMEN ARE TO ANSWER IN THE DIOCESE OF CHICHESTER.

TIT. I.

Concerning churches, chapels, with the things belonging thereunto.

CAN. LXXXV.

I. IS your parish church or chapel, both in the roof and windows, floor and seats, in good and sufficient repair, and are all things therein kept in an orderly and decent sort?

CAN. LXXXI, LXXXII.

II. Is there a font of stone in your church or chapel, with a cover to it, standing in the ancient usual place? Doth your minister there baptize publicly? Is there a decent Communion-table in your chancel, covered in time of Divine service with a carpet, and when the communion is administered with a fair linen cloth? And have you a chalice or communion-cup with a cover, and one or more flagons? Have any of these been profaned by common use?

CAN. LXXX, LXXXII, LXXXIII.

III. Have you a convenient seat or pew wherein to read Divine service; a pulpit; a large Bible of the last translation; a Book of Common Prayer published 1662; the Book of Homilies set forth by authority; a printed table of the degrees wherein marriages are prohibited; a Book of Canons; and a decent surplice?

IV. Have you a parchment book for the registering of the day and year of every christening, wedding, and burial in your parish; and is it kept in all points according to the canon in that behalf? (Can. lxx.)

TIT. II.

Concerning the churchyard, houses, glebes, and tithes belonging to the church.

I. Is your churchyard well fenced, and decently kept? Hath any person encroached upon it, or made any door into it? And how long since?

II. Is the house of your parson, vicar, or curate, and the outhouses in good repair? Have any of them been defaced or pulled down without license? Have there been any encroachments made upon the same, and by whom?

Can. lxxxvii.

III. Have you a true terrier of all the glebelands, meadows, gardens, orchards, tenements or cottages, belonging to your parsonage or vicarage? As also a note of such pensions, rate tithes, and portions of tithes, or other yearly profits (either within or without your parish) as belonging thereunto? Have any of them been withheld from your minister, and by whom as you know or have heard? And is your terrier laid up in the bishop's registry?

TIT. III.

Concerning ministers.

Can. xlviii.

I. Is your minister licensed by the bishop? Hath he been legally inducted? and read the Thirty-nine Articles within the time by law appointed, and declared his assent thereto? Is he defamed or suspected to have obtained either his benefice or orders by any simoniacal compact[a]?

Can. xlv, xlvii, xlviii.

II. Is your minister constantly resident among you, and doth he preach every Lord's day, unless hindered by sickness or reasonable absence? How long in any one year hath he been absent from his cure? Who supplies it during his absence?

[a] Stat. 13 Eliz. c. 12.

Doth he serve any other cure besides, or hath he any other ecclesiastical benefice?

Act of uniformity.

III. Doth your parson, vicar, or curate, in reading the daily morning and evening service, administration of holy sacraments, celebration of marriage, churching of women after childbirth, visitation of the sick, burial of the dead, use the form and words prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer; and all such rites and ceremonies as are appointed in that book, so far as you have observed?

CAN. LVIII.

IV. Doth your minister at the reading and celebrating divine offices in your church or chapel wear the surplice, together with such other habit as is suitable to his degree?

CAN. XXI, XXII, XXVI.

Rubric before the communion.

V. Doth he celebrate the sacrament of the Lord's Supper so often, that every parishioner may receive it thrice at least in every year? And doth he keep back such as ought not to be admitted, giving an account of them to the bishop?

CAN. LIX, LXI.

Rubric before confirmation.

VI. Doth your minister diligently instruct the youth of your parish in the Church Catechism? And doth he prepare and present them, being so instructed, to be confirmed by the bishop?

CAN. LXVII, LXIX, LXII.

VII. Doth he refuse or neglect to visit the sick; or delay the baptism of any infant in danger of death? Is there any child past infancy, or other persons grown up, who, through your minister's default, yet remain unbaptized in your parish?

VIII. Hath he married any persons in private houses, or such as being under age have not the consent of their parents or guardians; or without banns first published in the church on three Sundays or holy-days; or at any other hours than between eight and twelve in the morning, unless he had a license so to do?

Can. lxiv.

IX. Doth your minister declare to the people every Sunday, at the time appointed in the Communion-Book, the several holy-days and fasting-days in the week following? And doth he observe them?

Can. lxxiv, lxxv.

X. Is he a man of a sober, studious, peaceable and exemplary life? Is he grave, modest and regular in his outward demeanour and apparel? Is he, in any kind, disorderly and scandalous?

TIT. IV.

Concerning the parishioners.

Can. xviii.

I. Doth every parishioner demean themselves reverently in your church or chapel during divine service and preaching the word of God; kneeling at the prayers and sacrament; standing up when the Creed and Gospel are read; saying audibly with the minister the confession, Lord's Prayer and Creed, and making such other answers to the public prayers as are appointed in the Book of Common Prayer?

Can. cix.

II. Is there any person in your parish who lieth under a common fame or suspicion of adultery, fornication, or incest? Are there any common drunkards, swearers, or blasphemers of God's name? Or any that are noted to be filthy talkers, railers, sowers of sedition, faction, and discord among their neighbours?

Can. lxxxv.

III. Are there any that refuse to pay their duty for Easter offerings; or to contribute to the rates made for repair of your church or chapel, or any thing thereunto belonging?

IV. Hath any legacy been left by the last will or testament of any persons, to your church or chapel, or to the poor, or any other pious and charitable use, which hath been misspent or embezzled, and by whom?

V. Are there any in your parish, who, under pretence of liberty of conscience, wholly neglect all public worship of God, neither going to church, nor to any assembly that meet toge-

ther according to the late act for exempting their majesties' protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England from the penalties of certain laws?

Act for exempting, &c.

VI. Have you any such assembly of dissenters in your parish? Have they certified the place of their meeting to the bishop, or such others as that act appoints? Do they meet with their doors locked, barred or bolted, during the time of their meeting? Have their preachers subscribed the articles of our religion, except those excepted in the act, and taken the oaths, and subscribed the declaration therein required?

Can. cxii.

VII. Are there any who profess to live in the communion of the church of England, who neglect to come to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, being of age fit to receive it?

Can. xcix.

VIII. Are there any living within your parish as man and wife, who are within the degrees prohibited?

IX. Do you know, or have you heard of any in your parish, who having the presentation of an ecclesiastical living, hath made any simoniacal compact or gain thereby; either in money, or by reserve of any part of the tithes or glebe belonging to the benefice?

X. Have any pews or seats been erected in your church or chapel, without leave from the ordinary? Is there any strife or contention about seats in the church? Have any occasioned riot, clamour, or disturbance in the church at any time?

TIT. V.

Concerning parish-clerks and sextons.

Can. xci.

I. Have you a parish-clerk, aged twenty-one years at least? Is he of an honest life and conversation? able to perform his duty in reading, writing and singing? Is he chosen by your minister? Doth he duly attend him in all Divine services in the church? Are his wages duly paid him? or who withholds the same from him?

II. Doth your sexton perform his duty diligently, in keeping the church clean and decent, in tolling and ringing the bells before divine service?

TIT. VI.

Concerning schoolmasters, schools and hospitals.

CAN. LXXVII, LXXVIII, LXXIX.

I. What schoolmaster, private or public, is there in your parish? Is he licensed by the bishop? Doth he teach his scholars the Church Catechism? Doth he cause them to repair orderly to the church or chapel on Sundays and holy-days, and there see that they behave themselves quietly and reverently during the time of Divine service and sermons?

II. What hospital, almshouse, or free-school hath been founded in your parish? Are they so ordered in their revenue and use as the founders appointed, and the law of the land allows?

III. Do any in your parish practise physic, chirurgery, midwifery, without license from the ordinary?

TIT. VII.

Concerning churchwardens and sidemen.

CAN. LXXXIX.

I. Are the churchwardens of your parish yearly and duly chosen by the joint consent of your minister and parishioners? Or one of them by your minister, and the other by the parishioners?

II. Have the former and last churchwardens given up a just account of the money they have received and laid out for the use of the church? And have they delivered up the money remaining in their hands to the succeeding churchwardens, together with all other things belonging to your church or chapel?

Rubric after communion.

III. Do they provide, against every communion appointed in your church or chapel, a sufficient quantity of fine white bread and good wine, according to the number of communicants, at the charges of the parish?

A LETTER

OF

THE BISHOP OF CHICHESTER

TO HIS CLERGY.

My dear brethren,

I SEND you this in pursuance of his majesty's letter, that was sent to me by my lord bishop of London, which, according to my duty, I have not long ago transmitted to all you the clergy of my diocese. I do bless God that has put into his majesty's heart such a zeal for this our church, and such a sense of the ways that are most proper for preserving it, and which by the blessing of God will certainly do it. For if the pastors and guides of the church of all ranks do adorn their profession with a good conversation, and apply themselves seriously and zealously to the duties of their function, the church will both shine and prosper in spite of all the opposition that can be made to it from its enemies. The least blemish in a churchman's life, as it is searched out and observed by all men, so it not only lessens the force of all his other labours, but it weakens very much the credit of the whole church, which is often judged by the errors and disorders of every one of its pastors.

Yet it is not enough for men in holy orders to be free from those crying sins which are odious to all Christians, but are to be detested out of measure in churchmen. It is a monstrous thing to see one of that holy profession give himself to the excesses of eating and drinking, or other sensual appetites, to be guilty of injustice or lying, of ungoverned passion or swearing, of malice or filthy avarice. These things ought not to be named but with detestation among us. We ought not

only to be blameless and harmless, but to shine as lights in the world, and to show in our lives that to which we exhort our people in our sermons, being patterns to the believers *in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith and purity, and giving attendance to reading, to exhortation and to doctrine; that in so doing we may both save ourselves and also them that hear us.*

Consider often what a great account you have to make to God for the souls committed to your charge.

Remember and read over frequently the vows that you made to God at your ordination, and the charge that was then given you, and examine yourselves frequently whether you do observe these or not.

Think how sacred a trust that of souls is, which the Son of God has purchased with his own blood; and how severely he will reckon with you, if, through your ill example, bad doctrine or the other neglects of your duty, those souls perish for which he died.

Think it not enough barely to read prayers, or perform other divine offices among them; you must go often among them to instruct, exhort, admonish or reprove them, as there is occasion for it.

You must instruct the youth, visit the sick, reprove offenders, and reconcile such differences as happen at any time to create quarrels among your people; and all this you must do with zeal and affection.

And, in particular, you ought to warn your people of the heavy judgments of God which the sins of the land give us just cause to apprehend; and that the rather since God has spared us so long, whilst he has visited so many nations round about us in so terrible a manner, and has given us so great a measure of the light of his gospel, and so long a course of temporal as well as spiritual blessings.

And frequently set forth to them the heinousness of such sins as you find do most abound among them, whether they be the crying ones related to in the acts of parliament lately sent you, or others. You ought to represent to them the high contempt done to God when men make their bodies, which ought to be temples for God to dwell in by his Spirit, the members of a harlot; and the indignity done their own natures when

by the excesses of drinking a man has changed himself into a beast.

You ought to show them what a horrible affront it is to Almighty God to profane his holy name by rash and vain swearing, and what a dreadful thing it is to swear falsely, even in common discourse, but much more when it is before a judge.

You ought to set often before your people the great wickedness of lying and slander, of falsehood and injustice, and of all cheating and oppression, and that in all cases of wrong done their neighbours there is no repentance that is acceptable to God, but that which is accompanied with restitution or reparation, as far as the party can possibly make it.

You are often to represent to your people the indispensable necessity of true holiness, without which no man can see God, and without which, their believing a true faith, and their being of a true church, cannot serve them in any stead. For we are assured from the word of God, that not only *idolaters, but fornicators and adulterers, thieves, covetous persons, drunkards, revilers and extortioners, cannot enter into the kingdom of God.*

Put them often in mind of the importance of the word *reformed churches,* which imports, that as our doctrine and worship are by the blessing of God reformed, so our lives ought also to be reformed; otherwise all the advantages that we have of light and truth beyond other churches will rise up in judgment against us if we do not live suitably to them.

But above all things study to possess your people with a deep sense of the duty that they owe to God their Maker, and to Jesus Christ their Saviour, that so they may apply themselves to the exercises of devotion in secret, to the frequenting the public worship, and chiefly to the receiving the sacrament with that serious disposition of mind which becomes such holy performances, that so they may delight in going together to the house of God.

And in order to their doing this aright, infuse into them a great reverence for the Lord's day, as a time separated from the common business of life, for their attending on the worship of God, and such other religious exercises as may both increase their knowledge and their sense of divine matters, and that therefore they ought not to satisfy themselves with going to

church, and assisting publicly in the service of God; but that they set themselves more to prayer on that day, and to the reading of Scriptures or other good books, both apart and together in their families, that so they may *grow up in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.*

These things you must open to your people frequently in season and out of season, both at church and from house to house. And I charge you, by all the authority that I have over you, by the zeal that you bear to the church of England, and as you desire to have from your labours and your people a crown of rejoicing in the day of the Lord, and as you bear a due regard both to your own souls and to the souls that are committed to your care, and to that precious blood by which they were redeemed, as you desire to be faithful to your ordination vows, and to have a share in those blessed words, *Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord;* that you will give yourselves wholly to these things, that you will account no labour great in advancing that work for which our Saviour spared not his own life; and that you will pursue all the parts of your ministry with a zeal suitable to the importance of them, that so we doing our parts faithfully under the protection and favour of our gracious king and queen, whom God long preserve, this church may recover its first glory, and may so shine in all those things which can adorn our holy profession, that by the divine favour and blessing she may still continue in safety, and may so conquer and gain upon all that depart from her, that all her children *may with one heart and one mouth glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ:* who undoubtedly will succeed and prosper us in all our undertakings, if we earnestly and constantly implore the assistance of his grace, and apply ourselves with serious endeavours to consider how to make them effectual. In order to which, I shall end this letter with these three directions:

I. First, that your obedience to his majesty's letter may be regular and uniform, I desire you to observe this method. On the Sunday sevennight before the Assizes read the act of parliament against perjury, and preach upon that subject. On the second Sunday in May read the act for the observation of the Lord's day, and exhort your parishioners to the religious observation thereof. On the first Sunday in Advent read the

act against drunkenness, and likewise preach against that vice. On the second Sunday in Lent the act against blasphemy, swearing and cursing; and preach on that subject. On the fourth Sunday in Lent against the sins of adultery and fornication. It is intended that homilies be provided for all these days; but till they be, let every one furnish himself with sermons upon these heads, and continue this course from year to year.

II. Secondly, that Confirmation may be administered to edification, and all disorders and crowds may then be avoided, I desire you to take notice that I will confirm none but such whose names shall be delivered to me by you, the ministers of the several parishes from whence they come; with a certificate under your hands that you have examined them, and find them not only able to repeat the words of the Catechism, but also sensible of the solomn vow that was made in their name at their baptism, which they are desirous to renew themselves. Let it be your endeavour therefore to dispose the young people of your parish unto this. And for the better performance of it, I will confirm, as frequently as I am able, not only in the cathedral at Easter and such solemn times, but also when I go to any church in my diocese, where those in the neighbourhood who are fitted to be confirmed may resort to me.

III. Thirdly, I desire you to signify unto such as you find desirous to be put into holy orders, that I expect they come to me a month at least before Ordination-Sunday; that I may have sufficient time, not only to try and examine them, but also to give notice of their intentions to the parish where they live; that if they have any impediment to object why they should not be admitted, I may have timely information of it. For there cannot be too much care taken that the flock of Christ be not committed into the hands of bad men; but such may be set over them as will *watch for their souls: fleeing youthful lusts, and following righteousness, faith, charity, peace, with them that call on the Lord out of a pure heart.* Unto whose grace and blessing I do most earnestly commend you and your labours.

SYMON CICESTRENSIS.

May 9, 1690.

THE

BISHOP OF ELY'S

LETTER TO HIS CLERGY.

Dear brethren,

I AM so fully convinced, by long experience, how powerful a frequent reflection upon the vows you made at your ordination would be, to awaken and excite you to a diligent and zealous performance of every part of your ministerial duty, that as I made it my earnest request to you at my visitation, so now I renew it, and again beseech you, as you love your own souls and the souls of those committed unto your care, to read over and weigh seriously, every Lord's day at least, the solemn questions to which the bishop in the name of God and of his church demanded your answers before he laid his hands on you. And if you would likewise ponder that most weighty exhortation wherewith the bishop prepared you to attend unto those demands when you were made priests, it would make the consideration of them more effectual.

Now because I fear they may not be distinctly remembered, and every one of you may not be well able to purchase one of those Common Prayer Books wherein they are printed, (which commonly are only those of the largest volumes,) I have transcribed them, and herein sent them to you; that you may have them continually before your eyes.

And first I will lay before you what you promised when you were admitted deacons.

Then the bishop is required to examine every one of them that are to be ordered in the presence of the people, after this manner following:

Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this office and ministration, to serve God for the promoting of his glory and the edifying of his people?

Answer.

I trust so.

The Bishop.

Do you think that you are truly called, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the due order of this realm, to the ministry of the church?

Answer.

I think so.

The Bishop.

Do you unfeignedly believe all the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament?

Answer.

I do believe them.

The Bishop.

Will you diligently read the same unto the people assembled in the church where you shall be appointed to serve?

Answer.

I will.

The Bishop.

It appertaineth to the office of a deacon, in the church where he shall be appointed to serve, to assist the priest in Divine Service, and specially when he ministereth the holy communion, and to help him in the distribution thereof, and to read holy Scriptures and Homilies in the church; and to instruct the youth in the Catechism; in the absence of the priest to baptize infants, and to preach, if he be admitted thereto by the bishop. And furthermore, it is his office, where provision is so made, to search for the sick, poor, and impotent people of the parish, to intimate their estates, names, and places where they dwell, unto the curate, that by his exhortation they may be relieved with the alms of the parishioners or others. Will you do this gladly and willingly?

Answer.

I will so do, by the help of God.

The Bishop.

Will you apply all your diligence to frame and fashion your own lives, and the lives of your families, according to the doctrine of Christ; and to make both yourselves and them, as much as in you lieth, wholesome examples of the flock of Christ?

Answer.

I will so do, the Lord being my helper.

The Bishop.

Will you reverently obey your ordinary, and other chief ministers of the church, and them to whom the charge and government over you is committed, following with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions?

Answer.

I will endeavour myself, the Lord being my helper.

Nothing can be more solemn than this examination, and the engagements into which you entered by the answers you publicly made to these questions; unless it be the obligations you further took upon you when you were admitted to the order of priesthood.

At which time the bishop spake to you as here followeth; which cannot be read too often over:

The Ordering of Priests.

You have heard, brethren, as well in your private examination as in the exhortation which was now made to you, (in the sermon preceding,) and in the holy Lessons taken out of the Gospel, and the writings of the apostles, of what dignity, and of how great importance this office is, whereunto you are called. And now again we exhort you, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you have in remembrance, into how high a dignity, and to how weighty an office and charge ye are called: that is to say, to be messengers, watchmen, and stewards of the Lord; to teach, and to premonish, to feed and provide for the Lord's family; to seek for Christ's sheep that are dispersed abroad, and for his children who are in the midst of this naughty world, that they may be saved through Christ for ever.

Have always therefore printed in your remembrance, how great a treasure is committed to your charge. For they are the sheep of Christ, which he bought with his death, and for whom he shed his blood. The church and congregation whom you must serve is his spouse and his body. And if it shall happen the same church, or any member thereof, to take any hurt or hinderance by reason of your negligence, ye know the greatness of the fault, and also the horrible punishment that will ensue. Wherefore consider with yourselves the end of your ministration towards the children of God, towards the spouse and body of Christ; and see that you never cease your labour [your care] and diligence, until you have done all that lieth

in you, according to your bounden duty, to bring all such as are or shall be committed to your charge unto that agreement in the faith and knowledge of God, and to that ripeness and perfectness of age in Christ, that there be no place left among you, either for error in religion or for viciousness in life.

Forasmuch then as your office is both of so great excellency and of so great difficulty, ye see with how great care and study ye ought to apply yourselves, as well that ye may show yourselves dutiful and thankful unto that Lord who hath placed you in so high a dignity; and also to beware, that neither you yourselves offend, nor be occasion that others offend.

Howbeit, ye cannot have a mind and will thereto of yourselves; for that will and ability is given of God alone: therefore ye ought, and have need, to pray earnestly for his holy Spirit. And seeing that you cannot by any other means compass the doing of so weighty a work, pertaining to the salvation of man, but with doctrine and exhortation taken out of the holy Scriptures, and with a life agreeable to the same; consider how studious ye ought to be in reading and learning the Scriptures, and in framing the manners both of yourselves and of them that specially pertain unto you, according to the rule of the same Scriptures: and for this selfsame cause, how you ought to forsake and set aside (as much as you may) all worldly cares and studies.

We have good hope that you have well weighed and pondered these things with yourselves long before this time; and that you have clearly determined, by God's grace, to give yourselves wholly to this office whereunto it hath pleased God to call you: so that, as much as lieth in you, you will apply yourselves wholly to this one thing, and draw all your cares and studies this way; and that you will continually pray to God the Father, by the mediation of our only Saviour Jesus Christ, for the heavenly assistance of the Holy Ghost; that, by daily reading and weighing of the Scriptures, ye may wax riper and stronger in your ministry; and that ye may so endeavour yourselves, from time to time, to sanctify the lives of you and yours, and to fashion them after the rule and doctrine of Christ, that ye may be wholesome and godly examples and patterns for the people to follow.

And now, that this present Congregation of Christ here assembled may also understand your minds and wills in these things, and that this your promise may the more move you to do your duties, ye shall answer plainly to these things, which we, in the name of God and of his church, shall demand of you touching the same.

Do you think in your heart that you be truly called, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the order of this Church of England, to the order and ministry of priesthood?

Answer.

I think it.

The Bishop.

Are you persuaded that the holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation, through faith in Jesus Christ? and are you determined out of the said Scriptures to instruct the people committed to your charge, and to teach nothing, (as required of necessity to eternal salvation,) but that which you shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the Scripture?

Answer.

I am so persuaded, and have so determined by God's grace.

The Bishop.

Will you then give your faithful diligence always so to minister the doctrine and sacraments, and the discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this church and realm hath received the same, according to the commandments of God; so that you may teach the people committed to your cure and charge with all diligence to keep and observe the same?

Answer.

I will so do, by the help of the Lord.

The Bishop.

Will you be ready, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word; and to use both public and private monitions and exhortations, as well to the sick as to the whole, within your cures, as need shall require, and occasion shall be given?

Answer.

I will, the Lord being my helper.

The Bishop.

Will you be diligent in prayers, and in reading of the holy Scriptures, and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same, laying aside the study of the world and the flesh?

Answer.

I will endeavour myself so to do, the Lord being my helper.

The Bishop.

Will you be diligent to frame and fashion your own selves and your families according to the doctrine of Christ; and to make both yourselves and them, as much as in you lieth, wholesome examples and patterns to the flock of Christ?

Answer.

I will apply myself thereto, the Lord being my helper.

The Bishop.

Will you maintain and set forward, as much as lieth in you, quietness, peace, and love among all Christian people, and especially among them that are or shall be committed to your charge?

Answer.

I will so do, the Lord being my helper.

The Bishop.

Will you reverently obey your ordinary, and other chief ministers, unto whom is committed the charge and government over you: following with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions, and submitting yourselves to their godly judgments?

Answer.

I will so do, the Lord being my helper.

These are the sacred bonds in which you tied yourselves to Christ when you entered into his service, and were made his ministers; that is, had the highest honour conferred on you, but withal the greatest trust, which if it be not duly discharged, will bring you under the heaviest guilt. You have need therefore to quicken yourselves, to be faithful in your office, by reflecting very often on these holy resolutions, or vows rather, which you made when you undertook it: and pray to God also constantly to be your helper, as the bishop did after those demands in these words:

Almighty God, who hath given you this will to do all these things, Grant also unto you strength and power to perform the same; that he may accomplish his work which he hath begun in you, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

It would conduce very much to the accomplishing of his work in you, if you would reflect often and seriously upon the very first step you made towards it; when you declared (at your admission to the order of deacons) that "you trusted

you were inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this office and ministration:" i. e. not by mere worldly ends and considerations, that you might get a livelihood, but by spiritual and heavenly motives, out of a desire, (as it follows there in that first question,) "to serve God, for the promoting of his glory, and the edifying of his people."

This question, you may observe, was not renewed afterward when you came to be admitted to the order of priesthood, because it was supposed that the same motions continued in you which you felt at first; or rather that they were grown stronger, pressing you forward to desire to be made complete ministers of Jesus Christ, for the advancement of his kingdom in the world. Now if what you affirmed at your entrance into his service was true, that you were "inwardly moved to it by the Holy Ghost," (out of love to our Lord Jesus Christ, and to those souls which cost him no less than his precious blood,) no question that blessed Spirit of grace, which began a good work in you, hath never ceased since that time (unless you have quenched the Spirit, which God forbid) to move you to mind your duty and pursue the end of your ministration; that is, to have this constantly in your thoughts, to apply yourselves wholly to this one thing, how you may win souls to the knowledge and love and obedience of our Saviour.

For this is your office (which you undertook by the motion of the Holy Ghost), and therefore this ought to be your constant design, your business, your study and daily care; how you may bring those souls that are committed to your charge unto their blessed Redeemer in heaven; by instructing both young and old in the truth as it is in Christ, by pressing it upon their hearts, both in catechizing and preaching; by persuading them to the practice of every part of their Christian duty, by stirring them up when they are negligent; taking all opportunities not only in public, but (according to your promise) in private also, to admonish and exhort them, both in health and in sickness; that they may sensibly perceive the great worth of their immortal souls, even by your unwearied diligence, labour, pains and care, to save them. Amen.

SY. ELIENS.

July 6, 1692.

THE FORM OF CONSECRATION

OF

THE CHAPEL OF ST. KATHARINE'S HALL,

IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

PERFORMED THE FIRST DAY OF SEPTEMBER, 1704, BY THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

SYMON, LORD BISHOP OF ELY.

PUBLISHED FROM THE REGISTER OF THE COLLEGE, BY HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION.

THE FORM OF CONSECRATION

OF

THE CHAPEL OF ST. KATHARINE'S HALL, &c.

Forma consecrationis capellæ in Aula Sanctæ Catharinæ, *Cantabrigiæ.*

Primo die Septembris A.D. 1704, *hora nona matutina, reverendus admodum in Christo pater,* Symon *episcopus Eliensis, pontificalibus indutus in exteriore capellæ parte magistrum et socios collegii superpelliceis et caputiis suis indutos ad hunc modum alloquebatur.*

I am come hither at your request, pray, what is it you now desire of me?

Tum magister collegii, præfata humillime reverentia, schedulam porrigit, cui titulus,

The humble petition of the master and fellows of the college or hall of St. Katharine the virgin, in the university of Cambridge. To the right reverend father in God, Symon, lord bishop of Ely, for the consecration of their new chapel.

Quam schedulam suo et sociorum nomine clara voce perlegebat in hæc verba,

Right Reverend Father in God,

In the name of us, the master and fellows of the college or hall of St. Katharine the virgin, in the university of Cambridge, I William Dawes, master of the said college, do humbly represent unto your lordship, that whereas the said college or hall was, by length of time, so very much decayed in most of its buildings (the chapel as well as others) that it was necessary to rebuild the same, and the same could not be built in a regular and uniform manner without altering the situation of the chapel of the said college; and whereas upon these considerations we have (being enabled thereunto by the liberal con-

tribution of many worthy benefactors) erected a chapel in a new place, much more convenient and decent for the public worship of God in the said college or hall; now we the said master and fellows do become humble suitors to your lordship as God's minister, as a bishop of his church, and in his stead, to decree this chapel to be severed from all common and profane uses, and so to sever it: as also by the word of God and prayer, and other spiritual and religious duties, to dedicate and consecrate it to the sacred name of God, and to his service and worship only. Promising for ourselves and our successors that we will ever hold it as an holy place, even as God's house, and use it accordingly, and that we will from time to time and ever hereafter, as need shall be, see it conveniently repaired and decently furnished, in such sort as a chapel ought to be, and duly say divine service in the same at the times appointed, and perform all other such offices and duties as by the canons of the church and the laws of the realm every college is bound to perform.

In witness whereof, we, the said master and fellows of the said college or hall, have caused the common seal of the said college or hall to be hereunto affixed, the first day of September, in the third year of the reign of our most gracious sovereign lady Anne, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, &c. *Annoque Domini*, 1704.

Post hæc episcopus rogavit

Is this your desire?

Hoc autem a magistro a sociis affirmato inquit,

In the name of God let us begin.

Tum in ipso limine, ad introitum episcopus benedixit loco in hunc modum.

I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house of the Lord.

Peace be within these walls, and prosperity within this place.

O pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper that love thee.

Tunc paulatim procedens, genibus flexis, et manibus versus orientem levatis, hujusmodi orationem solus habuit, cæteris in exteriore capella genu flectentibus.

O eternal God, who fillest heaven and earth with thy presence, and canst not be comprehended within the largest circuit, much less in this narrow house which we are now come to set apart for thy worship and service; nevertheless, since it hath pleased thee to promise thy special presence there *where two or three are gathered together in thy name*, we do here with all humility wholly devote and dedicate this place from henceforth for ever unto thy Divine Majesty; and utterly separating it from all other uses, do consecrate it to thy worship and service alone, for the offering up the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving and prayer unto thee, for hearing thy holy word, and celebrating thy sacraments. It is a great boldness indeed in us to appropriate any earthly thing to so great a Majesty: and I, thy minister, am very unworthy to appear before thee in so honourable an employment. But we are encouraged by thy infinite mercies to hope that thou wilt pardon our offences, and condescend to be present among us in this religious action. Vouchsafe, O Lord, to accept it graciously at our hands, to take this for thine own house, and to pour down thy blessings upon us, and all others who now or hereafter come into it to call upon thee; and give both us and them the grace, whensoever we make our addresses here unto thee, to bring hither holy thoughts, pure hearts, bodies undefiled, and minds sanctified, that we may offer up acceptable sacrifices unto thee through our blessed Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus: to whom with the Father, &c.

Qua finita, convocabatur congregatio, et tunc preces ordinariæ recitabantur.

Loco psalmorum communium, legebantur Psalmi xxiv, xxvii, lxxxiv.

Pro lectione prima 2 Chron. *cap. vi. ab initio ad* v. 22.

Tunc sequebatur Te Deum.

Pro lectione secunda S. Johan. *cap* x. *vers.* 22, *usque ad finem.*

Jubilate.

I believe in God, &c.

Post usitatas collectas hanc specialem addidit episcopus.

O most great and glorious Majesty of heaven and earth, who art high above all nations, and thy glory above the heavens;

who is like unto the Lord our God, who dwelleth on high, and yet humbleth himself to behold the things that are in heaven and earth? Behold, O Lord, us thy unworthy servants, who are here supplicating thy Divine Majesty; and behold this place which we are emboldened by the examples of thy saints in all ages to consecrate to thy service. Testify, O Lord, thy gracious acceptance of it by granting the petitions which are made to thee in this place: and by disposing the hearts of those that here worship thee to offer up themselves with pure and devout affections to thee. Possess them with such a great, awful, and reverend sense of thee when they here approach unto thy Majesty, that they may feel thou art present with them in prayer, and hearing thy holy word, and receiving the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, and in all other holy duties (of what sort soever they be) that are performed in this place. Grant, O Lord, that they may have their desired effect, and that by our sensible increase in faith and holiness, we may know thou art among as of a truth, according to the promise of our blessed Saviour; that if we love him and keep his word, thou wilt love us, and come unto us, and make thy abode with us. To him, with thee, O Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, and praise, both now and evermore. Amen.

Tunc incipiebat Litania.

In fine cujus ipse episcopus hanc habuit orationem, immediate ante illam Sancti Chrysostomi.

O Almighty God, who dwellest not in temples made with hands, and yet hast always vouchsafed to accept of the devout affections of thy poor creatures in erecting and separating special places for divine offices, and there hast been graciously pleased to grant their requests: we most humbly beseech thee to accept our this day's duty and service of dedicating this chapel to thy great and dreadful name. Be thou always present in the assemblies of thy faithful servants who shall meet together in this sacred place to worship thee and to beg thy blessing. Bless them, O Lord, with the abundance of thy grace. Fulfil all their petitions which they make unto thee, according to thy will: especially their prayers for thy Holy Spirit to fill them with knowledge of thy will, in all wisdom and spiritual understanding; that they may walk worthy of

thee unto all pleasing, being fruitful in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of thee, our God, through Jesus Christ our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen[a].

Post benedictionem populi cantabatur hymnus e Psalmo lxxxiv. *versibus* 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 12, 13.

Tum sequebatur concio.

Deinde hymnus alter e capite vi. 2 Chron. *versibus* 18, 19, 20, 21, 41.

Quibus peractis, episcopus se ad eucharistiam paravit, et a septentrionali parte mensæ stans recitavit decalogum, &c.

Post collectam pro regina hanc specialem addidit,

Most blessed Saviour, who by thy bodily presence at the feast of dedication didst approve and honour such religious services as this which we now perform; vouchsafe, we beseech thee, to make thyself spiritually present to us, both now and always, at this holy feast upon thy body and blood, whensoever it shall be prepared for us here at thy table in this house. Stir up in us by the power of thy Holy Spirit such heavenly thoughts and affections, work in us such godly resolution to dedicate ourselves entirely to thee, that we may worthily commemorate thy wonderful love in dying for us. And because *holiness becometh thine house for ever*, consecrate us, both in soul and body, to be an holy temple to thine own self; that thou dwelling in our hearts by faith and love, we may be so cleansed from all sinful affections, as to be devoutly given to serve thee in all good works, to the glory of thy blessed name, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

Pro epistola legebatur 1 Corinth. *cap.* iii. *a vers.* 16. *ad finem.*

Pro evangelio, S. Johan. *cap.* ii. *a vers.* 13. *ad* 18.

Dein symbolum Nicænum.

Tunc offerebantur nova quædam vasa in usum sacræ mensæ, quæ episcopus sacravit hac prece.

Most blessed Lord, accept, we beseech thee, of the oblation we make unto thee of these vessels, which we humbly dedicate

[a] [This passage, with that which concludes the service, was adopted by Richard Terrick, bishop of London, in the service drawn up by him for the consecration of the chapel of Clare Hall, Cambridge, July 5, 1769: the rest being taken from the form recommended by convocation in 1712.]

to thy divine service at thy holy table. And as we now give them up wholly to thy use in the ministration of the holy communion of Christ's body and blood, so we pray thee to receive them for thine own. Preserve them from being any way profaned; and being here set apart and consecrated by our office and ministry to thy service, let them always continue to be employed, through Jesus Christ our only Lord and Saviour. Amen.

Tunc in cathedram episcopus se collocabat, actumque consecrationis (pileo tectus) promulgabat in hunc modum.

In nomine Dei, Amen. Nos Symon, permissione divina, Eliensis episcopus, hanc capellam, in Aula Sanctæ Catharinæ Cantabrigiæ, de novo jam constructam et ædificatam, continentem intra muros ejusdem in longitudine, ab oriente ad occidentem, septuaginta et duos pedes aut circiter, in latitudine vero, ab aquilone ad austrum, viginti sex pedes et dimidium aut circiter, divino cultui, et divinorum celebrationi, et tam ad sacramenta et sacramentalia in eadem administranda, quam ad preces Deo fundendas et verbum Dei pure et sincere proponendum et prædicandum, ac ad mortuos (si sit necesse et visum fuerit) inhumandos et sepeliendos: ac cætera omnia sacra, religiosa ac divina perficienda, quæ de jure divino ac etiam legibus, sanctionibus et constitutionibus ecclesiæ nostræ Anglicanæ in ea parte sunt requisita et necessaria (ac si sigillatim in præsentibus essent specificata) modo et forma in similibus jam de jure usitatis et usitandis, in Dei honorem, animarum salutem et usus sacros hujus collegii et aliorum in hanc domum convenientium et congregantium, quantum in nobis est et de juro legibus et statutis hujus inclyti regni Angliæ possumus et nobis licet; consecramus et dedicamus, in nomine Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Atque sic consecratam, dedicatam, et assignatam, Deo optimo maximo esse, et in futuris temporibus ita remanere debere, palam et publice pronunciamus et declaramus: omnesque et singulos qui eam consulto et de industria polluent, aut ad profanos usus transferent, tanquam sacrilegos anathematizandos decernimus.

In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum nostrum episcopale præsentibus apposuimus, hoc primo die mensis Septembris, Anno Domini millesimo septingentesimo quarto: annoque regni

Dominæ nostræ Annæ, *Dei gratia Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ reginæ, fidei defensoris, &c., tertio : nostræque translationis anno decimo quarto.*

Actum consecrationis ita promulgatum, et coram notario publico subscriptum, super altare venerabundus offerebat episcopus.

Post hæc populus universus non communicaturus dimittebatur, et porta claudebatur : et deinde episcopus pergebat ad eucharistiam administrandam.

Qua finita, hanc gratulationem addidit.

We bless thy great and glorious name, O Lord our God, that it pleaseth thee to have thy habitation among men, and to dwell in the assemblies of the righteous. And blessed be thy name that thou hast raised up such benefactors to this college as have enabled them to build this house, wherein we are now assembled, to thy praise and glory. Good Lord, still bless them, and prosper the work of their hands upon them ; Lord, prosper thou their handiwork. Let all useful learning, true religion, and unfeigned piety always flourish in this society ; that from thence may proceed many able persons, fit to serve thee both in church and state. And for that end incline them duly to resort unto this thy holy house, to beg thy blessing upon their studies, and to recommend themselves unto thy grace and favour, through Jesus Christ, our only Lord and Saviour. Amen.

1 Tim. i. 17.

Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

Post hac vota, dimissi sunt communicantes cum hac benedictione.

The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, &c.

POEMS

UPON

DIVINE AND MORAL SUBJECTS.

THE PREFACE[a].

I.

NOW my grey hairs begin to show
What I in vain conceal'd, how old I grow,
Through many a summer's heat and many a winter's snow.

II.

What profits the whole world? say I:
To me its good or ill must quickly die;
All I once had, or was, as dead already lie.

III.

Tell me, fond man, whoe'er thou art,
What's now that world on which thou sett'st thy heart,
When there's a better state which claims thy better part?

IV.

Since thy life's race is almost run,
Thy race tow'rds heaven should be, at least, begun;
Thy soul, thy lips, thy life, should praise the bless'd Three One.

V.

Shorten with pious hymns the day,
Without a hymn let no night pass away;
Proud heresy pull down, faith's sure foundation lay.

VI.

The pagan world's false gods defy,
Banish the modern Rome's idolatry,
Tell how apostles liv'd, how martyrs us'd to die.

VII.

Transported with my lofty rhyme,
O! that, unbody'd, I to heaven might climb,
And write and sing my last in numbers all sublime.

[a] [Adapted from the Preface of Prudentius, line. 22.—
"Hæc dum vita volans agit,
Irrepsit subito canities seni," &c.]

An hymn at the cock-crowing.

Translated from Prudentius [b].

I.

Hark! the cock's early matins warn
Dull mortals of approaching light;
Christ every soul calls every morn,
His words to endless life invite.

II.

Sluggards, methinks he cries, away
With your soft, lazy beds, make room;
Be chaste, clean, temp'rate, all the day,
Be watchful, for *Behold, I come!*

III.

Who not his drowsy couch forsakes
Before the sun, too late will rise,
Unless some hour from night he takes,
And then the mind's best labour plies.

IV.

The feather'd poets, whilst they sing
Beneath our eaves, with grateful mirth,
When day's first beams begin to spring,
Mind us of who shall judge the earth.

V.

For with the deadly night oppress'd,
As in our winding-sheets we lie,
He bids us leave our careless rest,
Since the great flaming hour is nigh.

VI.

As from its rosy bed the morn
Scatters the pensive shades of night,
We, after virtuous toils well borne,
May raise our hopes of endless life.

VII.

Our sleep, which for short ease was lent,
May lasting death's faint image be;
Our crimes night's horrors represent,
Or make our life a lethargy.

[b] ["Ales diei nuntius, &c."—Prudent. Cathem. hymn i.]

VIII.

But Christ directs his high command
To all who his true light implore,
The night is spent, the day at hand;
The prince of darkness serve no more.

IX.

Wake, sleeper, and to live begin,
Ere thy life ends in sickly dreams,
Whilst thy soul, buried in thy sin,
Reflects not on her native beams.

X.

The devils, wand'ring to and fro,
Keep their dark revels all the night;
But when the cock begins to crow,
They tremble, start, and take their flight.

XI.

The morning rays th' arch-fiend appal.
When the bright presence of the day
Breaks through night's dark partition-wall,
Hell's out-guards see, and scout away.

XII.

Too well they know, too well divine,
We shall be rallied from our shrouds;
And of our hope this is the sign,
And of God's coming in the clouds.

XIII.

Our Saviour's words to Peter show
How well this bird can give advice;
For *before twice the cock shall crow*
Thou, Peter, shalt deny me thrice.

XIV.

Benighted, he to sin gave place,
Till the shrill herald of the day
Proclaim'd new light to human race,
And then his sin he put away.

XV.

Then, then the fall'n apostle wept,
That from his lips such treason flew;
Tho' in his heart the faith he kept,
Tho' in his thoughts was ever true.

XVI.

His tongue, that slipp'ry member, stay'd,
And never dar'd offend again;
At the bird's call the saint obey'd,
And at his summons ceas'd to sin.

XVII.

At this still hour let none forget,
(Since pious faith maintains it well,)
What time the cocks their larums set,
Christ came in triumph back from hell.

XVIII.

Death was then forc'd to quit the field;
The fiend's grand charter cancell'd lay:
The thickest shades of darkness yield,
When struck with Christ's resistless ray.

XIX.

Let evil things cessation keep;
Close as the grave black deeds should lie;
Let mortal sin, the soul's dead sleep,
In its own apoplexy lie.

XX.

But let the wakeful, active mind,
While gloomy clouds the morn retard,
Whatever space there is behind,
Keep in her station watch and ward.

XXI.

To thee, dear Jesus, let us cry,
Direct our thoughts, and pray, and weep;
Intense devotion will deny
The pure in heart excess of sleep.

XXII.

Long have our folded arms at ease,
Our senses in oblivion lain,
Struck, hurt, o'ercome, with our disease,
And wild impressions on our brain.

XXIII.

Such airy shades we us'd to chase,
Whilst with the world we were in fee,
We ran the dreamer's frantic race,
But watch, and truth shall set us free.

XXIV.

Fine gold, soft pleasure, earthly joy,
Vast wealth, bright honour, great success,
Are smiling evils, yet they cloy,
And, view'd by day, grow less and less.

XXV.

Jesus, drive slumber from our eyes,
Knock off the heavy chains of night;
On our sick souls with healing rise,
And cheer us with thy beams of light.

An hymn for the morning.

Translated from Prudentius[c].

I.

Behold! the darkness flies away,
Why should the world like Chaos lie?
Now comes the light, now comes the day,
And Christ, the dayspring, from on high.

II.

Damp'd by the glories of the sun,
Vapours, which rose from earth, decline;
Nature her gaudy robes puts on,
Where that kind star begins to shine.

III.

So the black soul shall then look pale,
(The double mind, which Envy shrouds,)
When God plucks off his misty veil,
And comes with glory in the clouds.

IV.

Vain man! who horrid things conceals,
Only in his own thoughts enclos'd;
For that red, low'ring morn reveals
The depths of hearts, to all expos'd.

V.

The thief by twilight may begin,
And steal securely till 'tis day;
But daylight will contend with sin,
And sin from sun to sun betray.

[c] ["Nox, et tenebræ, et nubila," &c.—Prudent. Cathem. hymn. ii.]

VI.

The cheat may in his mask delight,
A vizor, for disguise, he needs;
The foul adult'rer loves the night,
The night, a friend to shameless deeds.

VII.

But see! the sun comes flaming in,
Now sinners blush, regret, repent;
Before the sun none dare to sin,
Men cannot dare, and not relent.

VIII.

Last ev'ning's riot, in the cool
Of the next morning causes shame;
Some wit appears in th' idle fool,
And vice grows tractable and tame.

IX.

They who so often live in jest
Would fain be then accounted wise,
And their slight errors then, at least,
Beneath a serious look disguise.

X.

A golden hour to all that wear
The sword or gown, or hold the plough;
Ask, when each plies his own affair,
The sailor, or the shopman, now?

XI.

To bars smooth pleaders have recourse,
The brave to arms, when trumpets sound;
The bold advent'rer wealth would force
From sea, the farmer from the ground.

XII.

But not such mysteries of trade,
Nor talking arts to us are known;
Nor to be warriors are we made,
But, Christ, we follow thee alone.

XIII.

With unpolluted hearts, to thee
We learn to call, we learn to sing,
Adoring, on our humble knee,
Weeping, yet joying, in our King.

XIV.

This is the craft by which we thrive,
  This art of living we pursue;
The daily task at which we strive,
  And with each dawning sun renew.

XV.

O set a watch before our eyes,
  Great Watcher, search out all our ways;
Many dark folds we have, O rise
  On sullied hearts with cleansing rays.

XVI.

O Saviour! bid that we may stand
  As fair and spotless as they stood,
Who were of old, at thy command,
  Baptiz'd in Jordan's silver flood.

XVII.

Though night, or evil thoughts of night,
  With dark deeds should our minds infect,
Dispel them with that mystic light
  Which by enlight'ning can correct.

XVIII.

Thou canst the foulest Æthiop take
  And make his skin as white as snow,
Of ebony canst crystal make:
  We are thus stain'd, then change us so.

XIX.

Old Jacob all this wakeful night
  The Captain of God's hosts resists;
Bravely they strive till morning light,
  Unequal wrestlers in the lists.

XX.

But at daybreak the champion's knee
  Sunk in the combat, and grew lame;
His feeble sinew shrunk, and he,
  Contending with his God, grew tame.

XXI.

He halted on his thigh, the part
  Uncomely, which a veil requires,
Beneath the seat of life, the heart,
  Which is the source of loose desires.

XXII.

This was for our instruction writ,
A type of a benighted soul,
Till all its pow'rs to God submit,
Who can all rebel-force control.

XXIII.

But still the just are truly bless'd
If at daybreak it shall be found
That the *old man* they have oppress'd,
And giv'n *the man of sin* a wound.

XXIV.

Affected blindness, now give place;
Hurried along, till almost lost,
We made false steps in all our race,
Through error's winding mazes tost.

XXV.

Heav'n, smile upon us; and the day,
Be that so peaceful, we so pure,
And nothing may, or do, or say,
Nothing but what will light endure.

XXVI.

May the good day so kindly end,
No hand, no tongue may practise guile;
No eye through wantonness offend,
Our bodies may no spot defile.

XXVII.

The great Observer stands on high,
And all our actions sees from far,
From th' hour that we begin to die,
To th' evening from the morning star.

XXVIII.

He witness is, and sentence gives;
Nothing escapes his searching eye,
Nothing which human thought conceives;
None can him bribe, or fright, or fly.

Hymn at the lighting up of candles.

From Prudentius[d].

Author of light, our Leader and our Guide,
Who into day and night dost time divide,
The sun now yields the day to dismal night;
Christ, send thy servant fresh supplies of light.
On heav'n's bright face stars make a milky way,
The moon to rule the night, the sun the day.
But thou hast taught us mortals, in the dark,
From nerves of flint to force a gentle spark!
By this experiment to teach mankind
Eternal light from thee to seek and find;
From thee, who styl'st thyself our stable Rock,
Op'ning the fire of love to all that knock.
Our common fire, struck from that stony seed,
With catching matter, drench'd in oil, we feed:
Or draw fine twist thro' wax we take from bees,
But first we take the honey for our fees.
Flame in a shell will live, with oil for drink,
And till it licks up all will never sink:
Our pitchy links the bleeding pine sustains,
And the dry firs the yellow flambeau drains.
Warm, gummy drops, which trickle down the hill,
Our oratories with their odours fill;
Down from the burning top they melting creep,
And as the taper wastes, it seems to weep.
O bounteous Father! all the thanks be thine,
That all our courts with lamps so glorious shine.
Thus a mock noon with absent daylight vies,
And thus, with her torn veil, night vanquish'd flies.
But who discerns not light's immortal spring,
Whose rays from God himself their lustre bring?
Ere the great God was of a virgin born,
Moses beheld him in a flaming thorn;
Happy to see the Prince, whose throne so high
Irradiates the low bush: *But draw not nigh;*
Put off thy shoes: this was the dread command:
Profane not holy ground, on which you stand.

[d] ["Inventor rutili, dux bone, luminis," &c. — Prudent. Cathem. hymn. v.]

Old Jacob's noble race, (which much relies
On their own lineage, and their foe defies,)
Free from the barb'rous lords they serv'd before,
Follow his sacred flame, and then adore.
Through a wide desert, where their camp must go,
When all was night, (to them it was not so,)
The pyramid of fire, more bright than day,
Conducts the watchful army on their way.
Th' Egyptian tyrant boils with envious rage,
And rashly bids his bravest troops engage:
Bids sound the charge, and force them back again
With thund'ring squadrons of his iron men.
The men take arms, and brêathe out death and wounds,
Wounds ev'ry sword, death ev'ry trumpet sounds.
Some trust in darts, some trim the fatal cane,
And barbed steel flies hissing o'er the plain.
The foot move in a wedge, with angry speed,
Some mount the chariot with a fiery steed.
Tidings of war the dreadful ensigns tell,
The golden lions rage, the dragons swell.
But now, no longer slaves, bless'd Israel's band,
With lab'ring in the sun all scorch'd and tann'd,
To the Red Sea, with Moses, take their way,
And on the sand their weary bodies lay.
When, lo! their foes with their false chief arrive;
In full career the fierce battalions drive;
"On, through the sea," said Moses, "there's our way;"
So he commands, whom wind and sea obey.
The waves depart, the waves stand up in ranks,
The wand'ring waves stand solid as their banks,
On either side flank'd with a wat'ry arch,
Whilst the glad people through the middle march.
The tawny foes, urg'd by a furious hate,
Or by their impious king's prodigious fate,
Or by a horrid thirst of Hebrew blood,
Plung'd fearless in the gulf, and dar'd the flood.
With headlong courage in the deep they spread;
Each briny mountain shakes its threat'ning head:
Down with impetuous noise the liquid wall
Drops on each side, and down the billows fall.

Chariots and horses, arms and armed peers,
Float mingled in the wreck; black cuirassiers,
Such as in royal tow'rs night-watches keep.
Sunk sadly down into their longest sleep.

Jesus! what tongue's so eloquent to raise
A trophy worthy thy immortal praise?
By many strokes meek Moses with his wand
Strikes Pharaoh dead, but strikes with thy right hand.
Thou the broad sea for settled bounds hast made,
Thro' which advent'rous mortals should not wade;
Yet thee it flies, thro' it thy armies go;
The greedy flood o'erwhelms the godless foe.
The barren rock fresh purling brooks supplies,
The dry flint gapes, the living waters rise,
To quench their raging thirst with cooling streams,
Whom the sun wounded with his pointed beams.
The lake of gall prov'd honey to the taste
On the dull pool when healing wood was cast:
'Tis wood, the cross, which sweetens bitter things;
There fix our hopes, for there all virtue springs.
Food for the camp descends like morning snows,
Thick on the ground, like winter hail it shows:
With angels' food their tables they supply,
But Christ provides, and pours it from the sky.
As fruitful show'rs descend with gentle gales,
So, wing'd upon the wind, came pleasant quails;
Wafted from heav'n, in troops on earth they lie,
An easy prize that never more shall fly.

These mighty wonders, by the great Three One,
Of old were for the godlike patriarchs done.
The same kind Giver bids us, *Take and eat*,
And feeds our souls with mystic-real meat.
He calls us through the world's impetuous waves,
Rebukes the sea, and us poor sailors saves.
Calls our tir'd souls, freed from a thousand woes,
Up to the land where milk with honey flows.
There wond'rous roses spread their fragrant beds,
There stranger sunflow'rs rear their golden heads;

There glows the violet, the rich crocus there,
And living fountains keep them fresh and fair.
There sov'reign balsam drops from all the boughs,
And cheerful spices every bark allows:
A river, from a source unseen, recruits
The beauteous trees, which bring immortal fruits.
O souls in bliss! what glorious hymns they sing,
In verdant meadows, where 'tis always spring!
Harmonious souls, that in one comfort meet,
Whilst lilies bow to kiss their sacred feet.
So, ev'ry night, our hands with joy we rear,
(True joy 's a serious thing, and a severe,)
All fellows of the guard, we watch and pray,
And holy vows in holy places pay.
Our moving lights, fix'd to the glitt'ring roof,
Some near the pavement hang, and some aloof;
And thro' glass lamps, which some wise virgin trims,
The well-fed flame darts lustre as it swims.
Stars seem to blaze along, and this their sphere,
With sweeping trains, the Less and Greater Bear;
The ruddy Phosphor, and bright Charles's Wain,
That o'er the Thracian Bosphor drives amain.
When the fresh dew descends, and brings the night,
What fitter off'ring can we bring than light?
Light, the best gift which bounteous Heav'n bestows,
Light, all God's other gifts and bounties shows.
Light, to our eyes and minds thy grace imparts,
Seen in thy works, felt working in our hearts.
This light to thee, with humble, pure intent,
Dipt, as in holy oil, I now present.
Thy Son, most mighty Father, intercedes,
Thy equal Son for kind acceptance pleads,
Our glorious Lord, thy proper image, he!
The Sp'rit of love is breath'd from him and thee.
In him thy brightness and thy wisdom shine,
Thy pow'r, thy goodness, and thy love divine;
Great One and Three! eternal ages they
So live and reign, as one perpetual day.

A hymn before sleep.

From Prudentius[e].

I.

Come, mighty Father, mighty Lord,
Whom none can see, but all desire;
Come, Jesus, Lord, the Father's word;
Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire!

II.

Come, all-sufficient Three in One,
Come, One in Three, in glory move;
Come, Son of God, eternal Son;
Come, God the Sp'rit of mutual love.

III.

Now our day labour's at an end,
Now 'tis our time to take some ease;
Now sleep, our nature's gentle friend,
Waits on our weary limbs to seize.

IV.

Our minds, in tempests all the day
Rack'd with dire cares, and overpress'd,
Now drench'd in deep oblivion, may
All the long night lie charm'd to rest.

V.

Widely diffus'd, the opiate-balm
So kindly spreads thro' all the veins,
The stormy soul grows smooth and calm,
And no harsh sense of grief remains.

VI.

This is the God of nature's will,
To give his creatures sweet repose,
This healing med'cine to distil,
For all our pains, for all our woes.

VII.

But whilst the pleasing languor creeps
O'er all the little world of man,
It bathes him in fresh cooling sleeps,
And makes his life but half a span.

e ["Ades, Pater supreme," &c.—Prudent. Cathem. hymn. vi.]

VIII.

For, quick as lightning, free as air,
Around the globe, in thought he flies;
To thought all hidden things appear,
Thought all their various forms descries.

IX.

First, loose from cares, and unconfin'd,
Thought from the throne of God was brought,
And thence still streams the ethereal mind,
Where thought so nimbly flows on thought.

X.

A thousand phantoms, here and there,
Bright thought a thousand landscape feigns;
Thought runs through all with swift career,
O'er all its airy conquests reigns.

XI.

The working brain frames divers dreams
Amidst the terrors of the night,
And sometimes heav'n darts, with its beams,
The sacred, the prophetic light.

XII.

Sometimes the fiend, from shades below,
Effaces truth, false lights intrudes;
With scenes of horror and of woe,
With riddles dark the soul deludes.

XIII.

But he, whose heart is ever clean,
Whose hands with sin are never foul,
Shall oft receive, with light serene,
Deep mysteries into his soul.

XIV.

Whilst he, whose breast is vice's cell,
Where nightly hags their revels keep,
In ev'ry consult meets a hell
And all its furies in his sleep.

XV.

The patriarch [f] thus was found to show
Himself in jail the jailor's friend,
And made two courtly pris'ners know
What their mysterious dreams portend.

[f] Joseph.

XVI.

One, to his former trust restor'd,
Does for his master wine prepare;
But th'other, sentenc'd by his lord,
Feeds vultures, and infects the air.

XVII.

When visions so perplex'd the king,
This youthful sage foretold the dearth,
And bade them into gran'ries bring
The plenteous product of the earth.

XVIII.

Then, as chief minister of state,
Rais'd to command the spacious realm,
Great as a demigod he sate,
Dividing empire at the helm.

XIX.

O what mysterious wondrous things
The rays divine in sleep reveal!
What bright ideas Jesus brings
To glorious saints! but they conceal.

XX.

St. John, our Saviour's happy friend,
(Whom his dear Lord, a friend as true,
Bade, in the sp'rit, to heav'n ascend,)
Outreach'd the tow'ring eagle's view.

XXI.

He saw God's Lamb, new slain and crown'd,
Clad in the crimson robes of state:
He, only he, was worthy found
First to unseal the book of fate.

XXII.

Lo! in his thund'ring arm he sways
Such a bright-flaming steel, as, like
The lightning flashing several ways,
Threatens a double stroke to strike.

XXIII.

He, the great Searcher, has in sight
Each soul's, each body's least offence;
He bids the two-edged sword of light
The first and second death dispense.

XXIV.

Yet with his justice mercy vies,
And his fierce anger so repels,
That they alone who Heav'n despise
Shall be condemn'd to endless hells.

XXV.

God, careful of his Son's just fame,
A grand tribunal him allows,
Gives him above all names a name,
For at his name no knee but bows.

XXVI.

Curs'd antichrist, that cruel king,
God, by his strength of hand, subdues;
His servants back the trophies bring
From the vile monster God pursues."

XXVII.

The mighty beast, that for its food
Would the wide universe devour,
That deep unfathom'd gulf of blood,
St. John foretells its fatal hour.

XXVIII.

Now, let the bold usurper swell,
Whilst he himself the Saviour calls,
Lo! down he sinks as low as hell,
The false before the true One falls.

XXIX.

Such blessed visions him inspire,
Till th' apostolic hero wakes,
Then his high genius mounting higher,
Through the whole heav'n a progress takes.

XXX.

Poor we pretend to no such flight,
Whom nature's errors lead astray;
Whose souls such various lusts benight,
Poor we must take a lower way.

XXXI.

Well-pleas'd, if our low nature spent
With kindly slumbers we renew;
Well-pleas'd then, if the night present
No ghastly spectres to our view.

XXXII.

Mortal, who dost thy God revere,
O think upon the laver now,
Once cleans'd, and once anointed there,
O think on thy baptismal vow!

XXXIII.

Then, when soft slumber bows thy head,
Think but who bow'd his head for thee,
And spread thy arms as his were spread,
And fix on him, fix'd on the tree.

XXXIV.

From all foul deeds, and all foul fiends,
But thinking of the cross will keep;
The cross, impress'd on holy minds,
Will keep them steady whilst they sleep.

XXXV.

When wand'ring fancy takes her flight,
Far be all monstrous dreams, we pray;
With thy devices, dark as night,
O charmer vile, be far away.

XXXVI.

How will the twining serpent wind
A thousand ways, by his black arts,
A thousand stratagems will find,
How he may storm our peaceful hearts!

XXXVII.

But Christ is here; Satan be gone;
The Lord is here; fiend, take thy flight;
That heav'nly sign to thee 's well known;
'Tis hell to see his glorious light.

XXXVIII.

Tir'd with the burden of the day,
Tho' sleep our bodies now controls,
We wake in mind, to Christ we pray,
Christ, the great centre of our souls.

Upon reading our blessed Saviour's miracles.

Translated from Prudentius's hymn for any hours.

I.

Boy, reach my lute, and I'll begin my song.
May all the strings be good and strong;
May ev'ry stroke be just and true;
For Christ's illustrious acts are in my view,
Him shall my lute resound, him shall my song pursue.

II.

Christ's advent was king David's glorious theme,
The seer who wore the diadem,
The prince of sacred poets join'd
Voices and strings and instruments of wind,
While ecstasies divine fill'd his capacious mind.

III.

Of wonders wrought, and firmly prov'd, I sing,
And all the world for witness bring:
For sure no man of sense denies
What heaven and earth beheld with joyful eyes,
How God came down to men, that men to God might rise.

IV.

From his dear Father's sacred bosom he,
Before the world began to be,
By divine emanation came;
Alpha and *Omega*, First and Last, his name;
All things which are, which were, which shall be, are his frame.

V.

He spake, and it was done; his high command
Produc'd the spheres, the sea, the land,
That triple machine, which we call
The mighty universe, containing all
Beneath the sun's bright orb, and the moon's changing ball.

[g] ["Da, puer, plectrum, choreis ut canam fidelibus," &c.—Prudent. Cathem. hymn. ix.]

VI.

Behold! a strange new thing under the sun;
A man's frail body God puts on,
Fitted to suffer and to die
For the first guilty man's posterity;
Or else, to die the death, was seal'd their destiny.

VII.

O blessed Son, who from the happy dame
That ever-virgin mother came!
She brought forth life to raise the dead,
On her the Holy Ghost was overspread,
The world's deliv'rer show'd his sacred infant-head.

VIII.

Therefore let angels and archangels sing,
Let heav'n with joyful echoes ring;
Jesus, the powr's of heav'n inspire,
And ev'ry human tongue with strong desire
Of joining with one voice, in one seraphic choir.

IX.

Behold the King, whom tuneful men foretold
(For poets prophets were of old;)
When should his advent be, and how,
Their true oraculous verse foretold; and now
The glorious King arrives, to whom all knees should bow.

X.

He at a marriage-feast vouchsafes to dine,
He turns their water into wine;
Ill news was told, the wine was spent;
To th' amaz'd master of the feast he sent,
And feeble water chang'd to nobler element.

XI.

Poor men, with bodies full of sores and blains,
Their very souls oppress'd with pains,
"Let them be whole," said he, "poor men!"
Their flesh grows young and firm and smooth again:
He spoke the pow'rful word, and, lo! they'r sound and clean.

XII.

The woful eyes condemn'd to lasting night,
He, who is man's immortal light,
He, who no darkness can endure,
With spittle of his own, like nectar pure,
Half opens those blind eyes, and then completes the cure.

XIII.

The raging winds break loose, the roaring waves
For ships and sailors gape like graves:
"Save our torn bark, save, Lord," they cried:
"Peace, furious winds!" said he: the winds comply'd,
Trembling stand all the waves, then like calm rivers glide.

XIV.

One touch but of his garment's hem transfus'd
A sov'reign balm and health produc'd;
On the pale cheeks fresh roses blow,
Dried is the fountain of the patient's woe,
The constant purple streams no more their banks o'erflow.

XV.

He saw the lovely youth, death's early prey,
Alas! too early snatch'd away;
He heard his mother's funeral cries;
"Rise, youth," he said; the youth begins to rise:
Lowly the matron bow'd, and bore away the prize.

XVI.

Dead Lazarus was laid in his dark cave,
Four suns had set upon his grave;
A brighter sun, which ne'er will set,
Brought healing in his wings, and life with heat;
The putrid breathless lungs their vig'rous task repeat.

XVII.

The wa'try pavement felt his sacred feet;
He treads the billows; they submit,
And as he walks low rev'rence pay;
The rolling mountains smooth his steepy way,
Firm as a marble floor to him whom seas obey.

XVIII.

Fierce in the tombs the strong demoniac reigns,
He bites his fetters, breaks his chains;
Tho' mad to an extreme degree,
When he sees Christ approach, he cries, "'Tis he!"
And leaps with sober joy, and bends his humble knee.

XIX.

A legion of foul fiends, an odious pest,
In various shapes he dispossess'd;
Straight they the filthy swine invade,
Who run into the floods; the devil's glad
In any place but hell to drive but any trade.

XX.

Five loaves, two fishes, let the Saviour bless,
His word so multiplies the mess,
The wondrous relics of their store,
The very fragments fill twelve baskets more,
And yet five thousand guests were strangely fill'd before.

XXI.

Thou, Christ, our living bread, our lasting feast,
Who feeds on thee, feeds on the best;
The most delicious royal fare
Swells not the paunch, but will the soul repair,
That hunger cannot find, nor force an entrance there.

XXII.

Ears that were deaf, through which the loudest sound,
Thunder itself, no passage found,
Hear the still voice of Christ's command;
He bids the gross obstructing ills disband,
The softest accents straight they hear and understand.

XXIII.

To Christ whole troops of fierce diseases yield,
And every sickness quits the field;
The dumb lethargic finds his tongue,
The old paralytic rises brisk and young,
Takes up his bed, and walks through all the gazing throng.

XXIV.

Christ from his heav'n descends to hell below,
T' attend his triumphs angels go,
To the dark seats of sep'rate souls;
He scales their walls, their garrisons controls,
Their strong portcullis breaks, their gate wide open rolls.

XXV.

Open to all that knock'd it flew before,
But who went in, return'd no more,
Till the severe decree of fate,
And Death itself on this great Conqu'ror wait;
The God removes the bar, the men repass the gate.

XXVI.

For when the God, from whom all glory streams,
Gilds those dark regions with his beams,
Then their dim smoky torches fail;
Thus did the dayspring from on high prevail;
In that low dismal world the setting stars grew pale.

XXVII.

Then was the strange eclipse, the sun was fled,
Then in foul shame he hid his head,
His fiery axis left in spite,
In mourning weeds so deeply veil'd his light,
The world stood all in dread of everlasting night.

XXVIII.

My soul, now raise, now reinforce thy song:
Ah! would thou hadst an angel's tongue!
Tell of the trophies all divine,
The triumphs of the cross, that heav'nly sign,
That sacred badge, which makes the Christian's forehead shine.

XXIX.

New miracle in death! a double tide,
Water and blood, stream'd from his side;
The water for a laver stood,
For eucharistic wine the crimson flood,
T' adorn the martyr's crown, when he's baptiz'd in blood.

XXX.

The cursed serpent saw, with envious eyes,
The blessed man a sacrifice;
He saw, and vented at the sight
Choler adust, and venom black as night,
To see his empire, which broke his heart with spite.

XXXI.

What hast thou gain'd, deceiver, by thy plot?
What by thy changing shapes hast got?
Though Eve became thy easy prey,
Though Adam felt a mortal wound that day,
Yet God, in mortal shape, takes mortal sin away.

XXXII.

Our valiant Chief resign'd his sacred breath,
He lent himself a while to death;
A royal loan! but soon repaid:
Old pris'ners of the grave he freemen made,
And, loos'd from bonds of sin, rose many a blessed shade.

XXXIII.

Fathers, who rise, and saints, who live again,
Make up their new Creator's train;
Early the third, bright happy day,
He the triumphant Victor calls, and they
Leap from their shrouds well-flesh'd, and his loud call obey.

XXXIV.

Here 'twas to see how dust and ashes close,
When strong and well-knit members rose,
How the cold particles would fain
Get vital gen'rous warmth, through ev'ry vein,
How nerves, bones, marrow greet, and all skinn'd o'er again.

XXXV.

Thus Death, the king of terrors, he subdu'd,
And fall'n man's short life renew'd:
Then did the godlike hero fly
Up to his Father's judgment-seat on high,
And his own glorious death proclaim'd through all the sky.

XXXVI.

Hail! mighty Judge of sleepers in the grave.
Hail! King of saints, mighty to save.
In heav'n possess the highest room;
Thou from thy Father's own right hand shalt come,
A just avenging God, to speak the fatal doom.

XXXVII.

Thee sages old and vig'rous youths shall praise,
Babes shall their tender voices raise,
Chaste matrons, and the virgin choir,
Such as who burn with pure and hallow'd fire,
Earth shall repeat their notes, heav'n shall their songs inspire.

XXXVIII.

Thee silent streams shall praise, and seas that roar,
Thee every rock and every shore:
Rain, snow and frost, and burning rays,
Fair woods, fresh air, cool nights, and sultry days,
Loudly, from age to age, shall sound thine endless praise.

Upon the morning we are to receive the holy communion.

An hymn translated from Aquinas [h].

I.

Such joys as angels felt when Christ drew nigh,
When Christ ascended up on high,
Such joys this holy sacrament attend;
May Christ into our prostrate hearts descend.
Souls in the dust, advance! put on new rays,
Sing this new song in our great Master's praise.
'Tis a plain song, you'll sing it at first view;
New hearts, new hymns, new lives should prove it true;
Old things are pass'd away, and all things become new.

II.

O wondrous night! strange Supper of the Lord!
"I come," said he, "my God," to do thy will;
I must all rites, all promises fulfil.
For his selected twelve the sacred board
With his own type, the Paschal Lamb, was spread:
All he their dark forefathers would afford,

[h] ["Sacris sollemniis juncta sint gaudia," &c.—S. Thom. Aquin. apud Daniel. Thes. Hymnol. tom. i. p. 252.]

With a plain salad, and no pleasant bread.
When on the dusky type the twelve had fed,
With his own hands he deals his body for a dole,
So deals it to them all, that each receives the whole.

III.

Their flesh was weak, therefore he nobly gave
His flesh to strengthen what in them was frail.
Sorrow had filled their hearts, sorrow would have
Refreshing wine; under wine's mystic veil
He into them his own heart's blood convey'd,
Gave it for him, who that rich blood betray'd.
To ev'ry one he said, "*This blood is mine;*
But take, and drink, and make it thine,
And so be like the mighty man refresh'd with wine."

IV.

"Be this the sacrifice of praise," said he,
"And *Do this in memorial* still of me.
None but the sep'rate holy priest come near.
To bless and part it to the laity:"
His mother (worthy deaconess) came not there,
Although her womb his temple were.
We have an altar, he that shall aspire
To offer there with strange unhallow'd fire
May feel a stranger fire from heav'n, or dwell
With endless burnings in the deepest hell.

V.

To day is that fulfill'd and understood,
How man should eat the angels' food:
All its old airy shadows chas'd away,
Substantial food comes down from heav'n to day.
Mirac'lous feast! where the poor humble slave,
To whom the wealthy glutton bars his doors,
While every dog belicks the lazar's sores,
Who alms which would not court a dog may crave,
Now, like a royal, welcome guest,
Feeds on his Lord himself, at his mirac'lous feast.

On very tempestuous weather.

From St. Ambrose[i].

I.

The clouds have veil'd our heav'nly sphere,
The day's shut up; the sun is fled!
All the long night no stars appear,
Nor dares the moon once show her head.

II.

What dreadful lightning fires the air!
In thunder pole to pole replies;
All nature quakes, and cries, Prepare!
For the world's axis drops, the skies.

III.

The seas are swell'd with winds and rain,
The seas forget their ancient bounds,
O'er inland countries flows the main,
And the ships plough the fallow grounds.

IV.

In vain the seaman seeks the shore,
Amaz'd, now ev'ry sea-mark fails;
Where vines and fig-trees grew before,
And where the mowers reapt, he sails.

V.

The wretched farmer, drown'd in tears,
Sees a year's labour of his hands,
Which floating lies in full-charg'd ears,
With children, cattle, houses, lands.

VI.

Roofs from their buildings torn away,
Turn'd upside down, one ruin make:
With the poor birds proud fishes play
In cottages which rock and shake.

VII.

The lofty trees are overthrown,
Trees, nests, and young-ones, swim along;
Still the old raven makes her moan,
And still she calls upon her young.

[i] ["Obduxere polum nubila cœli," &c.—S. Ambros. hymn xxi. apud Daniel. Thes. Hymnol. tom. i. p. 29.]

VIII.

Men at their windows stand and gaze,
Gaze on the flood with woful eyes,
While the devout sex always prays,
And them the flood with boats supplies.

IX.

" Christ, spare us, since thy blood is spilt.
The world once perish'd by a flood,
To cleanse the sinful earth from guilt;
But now 'tis cleans'd by thine own blood.

X.

" O! send thy dove in sign of peace;
When he the branch of olive brings,
Then from their rage the waters cease;
O! send thy dove with silver wings."

An hymn for a fasting-day, at the ninth hour.

From Prudentius[k].

I.

O mighty Jesu! who with gentle hand
Dost strongly guide, kindly command,
With silken curb, and no stiff rein,
And with no rugged law thy servants dost restrain;
Though thou didst bear, as an incarnate God,
Thy sacred body's precious load,
Inimitable toils didst bear,
Yet laidst thou on our necks a yoke far less severe.

II.

Now 's the ninth hour, an hour of pray'r; the sun
Thus far his whirling course has run,
Almost three parts of his old race;
One fourth of light remains, then darkness takes his place.
We in devotion missing our repast,
Already break so short a fast;
Already such full boards enjoy,
Enough to serve, to please, if not enough to cloy.

[k] [" Christe, servorum regimen tuorum," &c.—Prudent. Cathem. hymn viii.]

III.

Our everlasting Father is so free,
Such an indulgent tutor he,
He with short toil our ease commends,
Small abstinence accepts, then great refreshment sends.
Nor does he love whom sordid clothes disgrace,
Nor the disfigur'd Lenten face,
To boast the fast which we should hide,
With looks and hair adorn'd with no indecent pride.

IV.

He bids thee, who dost fast, have nothing foul,
No more thy body than thy soul;
Put not thy native red away,
Affect not, whilst thou liv'st, dead-colour'd cheeks of clay.
Our free-will offerings, meant to God alone,
Are nobler when conceal'd than shown;
Our closet-incense he regards,
He who in secret sees, but openly rewards.

V.

He, the good Shepherd, seeks one drooping sheep,
Not able with the flock to keep,
Where all are safe and sound but this;
While ev'ry creeping bush tears the poor wand'rer's fleece.
He on his shoulders does it safely lay,
And drives the envious wolves away;
Till it gets health he gets no sleep,
And to the sunny fold brings it, no drooping sheep.

VI.

He leads it to the plains, and flow'ry meads,
Where Spring her verdant carpet spreads,
Where not a choking burr can shoot,
Nor prickly thistle grow, nor barbed thorn take root;
But a delicious grove of lofty palms,
And wholesome plants drop nat'ral balms
Down their curl'd heads, and laurel-shades,
A living crystal stream, laurel which never fades.

VII.

O faithful Shepherd! for thy bounteous cares
How many lives, how many pray'rs,
Shall we repay! Yet all too few,
For him who sav'd our lives, and still preserves them too.
Tho' the fresh pastures gladly we forsake,
And willing penance undertake,
And mortify, 'till truly dead,
And, praying night and day, forget our daily bread.

VIII.

All these officious pains to him run low,
Nor rise to his, which overflow;
Both his full hands large blessings hold,
When our frail vessel breaks, if once we make too bold.
Lest our frail vessel, form'd of sandy clay,
Its atoms loos'ning, should decay,
For fear the blood chill in our veins,
Till weak'ning the whole frame, the wat'ry humour reigns.

IX.

The broad highway of abstinence is so,
As God makes room enough to go,
Where he drives none, but leads at ease.
Travel we may, as far, as fast, too, as we please;
Act as we please, we shall be free from blame,
Commencing all in his great name;
Whether our food we still delay,
Or whether here we close our solemn fast to day.

X.

He, who with eyes of mercy sees the heart,
Takes the good meaning in good part:
Bless we our sober meal with pray'r,
'Twill soon our soul's as well as body's health repair.
If soul and body live, I justly say,
Our meals did us much good to day;
Gifts which a double life restore,
For which, great Giver, still we humbly thee adore.

On the resurrection of the same body.

Translated from Prudentius's conclusion of his *Apotheosis*[1].

NOW Christ is risen, what are you, who dare
Deride my hopes, or tempt me to despair?
Sure I shall one day come the way he came,
Trampling on death, no more a dreadful name.
Me the same man I was shall he restore,
I am not I, if other than before:
Such features, but more lustre in my eyes,
Like looks, like mien, but nobler when I rise.
Earth shall disgorge me whole, heav'n will not spare
A tooth, a nail, a fibre, or a hair.
He who recalls me will not bring me lame;
What resurrection, if there's still a maim?
Where chance, disease, or grief, has ought decay'd,
Where old, lethargic, eating age has prey'd,
When all shall be reviv'd, that all shall be repaid.
For vanquish'd death shall then by force be just,
And give account of every grain of dust.
Where death his agents, wasting pains, employ'd,
Death shall restore what he or they destroy'd,
Departed mortals, rescu'd from their graves,
Ought to come back entire, and not by halves.
My sinking limbs, be fearless, since 'tis true
The Prince of Life return'd to quicken you.
Who carried our own flesh, must needs be kind,
And raise up our vile bodies more refin'd.
Think then on sickness with a gen'rous scorn,
Think wounds and scars may easily be borne:
Defy the yawning grave, and march away,
Led by your mighty Chief on his high Easter-day.

[1] ["Nosco meum in Christo corpus consurgere. Quid me Desperare jubes?" &c.—Prudent. Apoth. 1063—1085.]

A hymn at the cock-crowing [m].

I.

FATHER of lights, without eclipse or change,
Who mad'st the world with that great word *Let be*;
Who days and nights and times dost wisely range,
Life would be loath'd without variety.

II.

Now chanticleer proclaims the coming day,
Now the night's watcher crows with early pride;
His lofty song guides travellers that stray,
And darkness from the darkness does divide.

III.

The day-star at his call begins to rise,
And foggy damps retreat at his alarm;
The hateful crew of wand'ring spirits flies,
Following the night, and frees the day from harm.

IV.

His matins sung the lab'ring seaman cheers,
When after midnight storms the sea grows calm;
When the cock crew Christ's fisherman shed tears,
Tears to his wounded mind a sov'reign balm.

V.

High time 'tis then for vig'rous souls to rise.
So nature's winged herald warns us all,
And seems to urge the sinner, who denies
To rise like Peter, who like Peter fall.

VI.

His sprightly notes wake lively hope betimes,
Men on sick beds almost forget their pain;
Night-thieves put up their swords, put off their crimes,
Apostates pray, and turn to saints again.

VII.

O Jesus, Mediator, deign to see
Where our feet slip; us with thine eye control;
Though bruis'd with many falls, one look from thee
Will make us weep, and, weeping, make us whole.

[m] ["Æterne rerum conditor," &c.—S. Ambros. hymn. i. Opp. tom. ii. col. 1209; et apud Daniel. Thes. Hymnol. tom. i. p. 15.]

VIII.

Light of the world! O cast on us thy rays,
Dispel the fumes which cloud our minds too long;
And when our mouths are filled with thy due praise.
Wee'll come before thy presence with a song.

An Easter-hymn.

Translated from Prudentius[m].

Will not thy heart yet ache? will it not bleed,
Woful Judea, for thy bloody deed?
Now open thy dull eyes, now see and know,
Whether our Jesus be a God, or no.
He by whose will thy Sabbath was disus'd,
Us to an endless Sabbath introduc'd.
He, like the sun, with healing in his wings,
Rose on the nations, and the Gentile kings:
The world he governs, and he grasps the ball;
Rome, the world's empress, at his feet does fall,
And every pagan god in Rome's proud Capitol.
Let the fool's tutor, sad experience, show
What strong avenging hand now plagues thee so;
Scourging thy superstition, most unwise,
Which laws divine so carnally applies.
That sacred pile, so admirably built
By thy rare architects, so nobly gilt;
Has it now left a stone upon a stone,
Or an inscription of king Solomon?
For since but mortal gods are greatest kings,
Temples they build can be but mortal things;
Since all things made with hands to ruin tend,
Art gives short being, Time a fatal end.

Should you now ask me where our temple stands,
I'll tell you: Ours was never made with hands.
There's no tall pine, no cedar fell'd and plan'd,
No polish'd marble delicately vein'd;

[m] ["Jamne piget facti? jam pœnitet? En tibi Christum
Infelix Judæa Deum;" &c.—
Prudent. Apoth. 503—551.]

No curious arch on which the mighty weight
By Geometry forgets its tow'ring height:
'Tis built by God's own word of ancient date.
No time of silence, ere that word was spoke,
Nor then, by any sound was silence broke.
The Word made flesh, that we our temple call,
Which, though the world shall end, will never fall,
The temple of his body, spiteful Jew,
Thou by the cross and torture wouldst subdue;
And thou hast gain'd thy hellish point, 'tis true.
That feeble part he to his mother gave,
And for a while was captiv'd by the grave:
But, from his Father's Majesty deriv'd,
On the third morn his better part reviv'd.
Thine eyes beheld this temple mount on high,
This sanctuary, whither I must fly,
Guarded by troops of angels, pierc'd the sky.
When its approach the well-pleas'd angels knew,
Their everlasting doors wide open flew,
The tow'r impregnable is seal'd that day,
And left behind it a bright milky way.
But oh! thy temple is become a tomb!
Pompey the Great carried thy spoils to Rome;
And then the valiant Titus seal'd thy doom:
Pluck'd up thy nation by the very root,
Left thee no place on earth to fix thy foot.
Thus, wand'ring Jew, thou art condemn'd to roam,
But justly banish'd from thy native home.
Thou felt'st his terrors, whom thou hast denied,
And with the blood of God thy soul is dyed.
How are thy pious ancestors forgot!
Their heirs are slaves, their scutcheons have a blot;
Descended from the noble and the good,
But bloody minds embase the noblest blood.
Th' apostles could the Gentile world subdue,
So glorious was the faith whilst it was new;
Those faithless nations knew no God before,
Now say the Creed, and triumph, and adore:
The Jews to Christ himself disdain'd to bow;
To Christian lords they bend as vassals now.

An hymn for the eves of the martyrs[n].

I.

Come, all ye saints on earth, and let us sing
The joyful triumphs of the saints on high:
My mind is fix'd, my muse is on the wing,
And to those glorious conqu'rors longs to fly.

II.

They struck the world with awful fear, to see
How they its flow'ry gaieties abhorr'd,
Marching through deserts up to heaven and thee,
Christ, their great leader, and all-gracious Lord.

III.

They, for thy sake, the devil and man defied,
The cruel rods and tort'ring scourges foil'd;
Their adamantine hearts all engines tried,
But all from the bright shield of faith recoil'd.

IV.

As beasts for sacrifice, so were they slain,
Slain with the sword, yet never once repin'd;
Good conscience, dumb, and scorning to complain,
Possess'd their souls in patience so resign'd.

V.

What tongue of men or angels can express
The glories thou for martyrs hast in store,
Whom thou with thy most radiant crowns wilt bless,
When they come reeking to thee in their gore?

VI.

Almighty thou, with eyes of pity see,
And wash our spots; no fiery trial send;
Give us, weak men, peace in our time, and we
Shall give thee praise when time itself shall end.

On a prospect of the University from the top of an hill.

A prayer for its prosperity.

I.

Hail! to those sacred mansions, great and high!
Methinks a glory o'er each chapel dwells,
Christ's colours streaming there of crimson die;
Each offering like the balm of Gilead smells,
Which, mix'd with od'rous gums, all mean perfumes excels.

[n] ["Sanctorum meritis inclyta gaudia," &c.—Brev. Rom. apud Daniel. Thes. Hymnol. i. 203.]

II.

Lord, on each holy pile, each house of pray'r,
Open, still open thy propitious eyes;
Bow down thine ear, be they thy special care;
Who after sunset, and before sunrise,
Those benedictions ask, thy bounty ne'er denies.

III.

Let thy good angels still the place frequent;
Send from thy treasures of celestial grace
Those gifts thy Holy Spirit oft has sent,
Send them, bless'd Father, on that chosen place;
Lift up thy light serene on all who seek thy face.

IV.

Thou bad'st the heav'nly meteor take its stand
O'er thine itinerant temple in the way,
When Israel travell'd o'er the barren sand:
As thou wert in that meteor, so, I pray,
Dart thro' yon sacred roofs a kind inspiring ray.

V.

O thou, who didst an orient cloud prepare,
To fill that house which fill'd the mouth of fame,
That day 'twas hallow'd by its founder's pray'r,
Greater than Solomon, thou art the same
To shine on them who now invoke thy glorious name.

VI.

Whoever there, dread Lord, shall thee adore,
And beg thy pardon with a broken heart,
Prostrate upon the consecrated floor,
The pardon which they beg do thou impart;
All plague, diseases, griefs, from them, O Lord, divert.

VII.

All who are there with thy bless'd body fill'd,
And with thy precious blood, good angels' fare,
Under the wings of thy compassion shield;
For they thy servants, thy sworn servants are,
Let them thine endless joys and endless glory share.

VIII.

Son of the Father, who the worlds didst frame,
And thine elect redeem with thine own blood,
Who tak'st away our sins, O thou the Lamb!
To that bless'd colony of thine be good,
Wash them all clean for heav'n in thy rich purple flood.

A prayer, translated from the Latin.

Father of heav'n and earth! on earth give peace;
We pray thee with one voice let discord cease.
The hearts of Christian kings vouchsafe to bend,
Till they Christ's empire through the world extend.
The Church, whose many spots we now deplore,
Well-cleans'd, to its first purity restore.
Shield her till all her faithless foes grow tame,
Who would not leave thee upon earth a name.
Her tender lambs, that on the mountains stray,
Direct, good Shepherd, to thy fold the way.
Let no dire blast her blooming honours spoil,
Nor beasts obscene her crystal springs defile.
Preserve her faith on its foundation sure,
From which let nought me ravish or allure.
Teach me the sense of thine own sacred book;
Forgive me if I err or overlook:
Give me a body sound, as sound a mind,
Join'd in thy praise below, in glory to be join'd.

An hymn for the third hour[o].

I.

O Holy Spirit, who reside'st on high,
With Son and Father thou one essence art;
Down on thy dovelike wings vouchsafe to fly,
And spread thyself once more on my dull heart.

II.

So shall my mouth, my senses, mind, and strength,
With grateful joy my humble thanks proclaim;
My charity shall burn, till it at length
Causes my neighbour's charity to flame.

[o] ["Nunc sancte nobis Spiritus," &c.—Hymn. Ambrosian. xl. apud Daniel. tom. i. p. 50.]

III.

Kind Father of the fatherless, attend;
And hear me, thou coequal only Son!
O comfortable Spirit, now descend,
Be now and ever with me, bless'd Three One.

An hymn before Lent [p].

I.

Hallelujah to our king!
That's the song good angels love;
Hallelujah sweetly sing
All the souls of saints above:
There they sing, and singing stay
In God's courts an endless day.

II.

In eternal hymns of praise,
Great Jerusalem on high
Tunefully her voice does raise;
All her sons in bliss reply:
Thus they sing, but we must weep,
Exiles whom the heathen keep.

III.

Ah! unworthy we, unfit,
Hallelujah should not sing;
Guilty souls must intermit,
And no hallelujah bring.
Now the solemn time comes in,
To lament for every sin.

IV.

O bless'd Three One! then let us pray,
And beg thy mercy now we may;
Beg that we may observe one high
Perpetual Easter in the sky,
And to thy praise the song may sing
Of hallelujah to our King.

[p] ["Alleluia, dulce carmen, vox perennis gaudii," &c.—Brev. Rom. apud Daniel. tom. i. p. 261.]

An hymn for the sixth hour[q].

I.

GREAT, universal King, and God of day,
Whom all things and all times obey;
Thou God of truth, who lov'st the light,
Make the morn fair and cool, and the noon hot and bright.

II.

O! quench the flames of strife, earth's greatest hell,
Lest we with endless burnings dwell;
To our frail bodies health impart,
And the best health of mind, a lasting peace of heart.

An hymn for the ninth hour[r].

I.

Author and Keeper of this goodly all,
Who dost in thy great self well-fix'd remain:
Thou who the day to run its course dost call,
And mak'st the twilight to succeed again.

II.

O! let the evening of my life be fair,
No sunset of thy favour let me see:
But if death takes me saying this good pray'r,
In glory I shall ever dwell with thee.

Psalm XV.[s]

I.

Lord, who's the happy man thou wilt admit
Thee in thy temple to attend?
Or who is he that's qualified and fit
Thy holy mount for to ascend?

[q] ["Rector potens, verax Deus," &c.—Hymn. Ambrosian. xli. apud Daniel. i. 51.]

[r] ["Rerum Deus tenax vigor," &c.—Hymn. Ambrosian. xlii. ibid. p. 52.]

[s] [The following hymns are now first printed from the author's manuscript.]

Even he, and only he,
That leads his life still in strict purity ;
Who ne'er made use of his authority
Injurious acts to justify ;
But always takes delight
To do and suffer what is just and right :
Whose obliging speech from all design is free,
And his heart and mouth do constantly agree :
Whose tongue was ne'er employed to deceive,
Nor heart delights to see another grieve,
Nor of fair fame his neighbour willingly bereave :
Who hasty credit to rash rumours ne'er does give,
But first examines ere he does believe.

II.

He that though good and great, yet's lowly in his own eyes,
But those that fear the Lord does highly prize ;
Though in the world they happen to be mean,
Yet he admires the virtue, and esteems the men :
He that of himself does stand in awe,
And his own word binds firmly as a law;
Who to his promises (when to his loss) does still adhere,
And his neighbour's right before his own prefer ;
Who to his power relieves the poor man's misery,
But ne'er does grind his face by biting usury.
Who ne'er betray'd oppressed innocence,
But still stands up in the virtuous man's defence :
He that is daily exercis'd in these things,
His seat stands firmer than the throne of kings.

Psalm XXVIII.

O Lord, my strength, attend my cries,
For should'st thou seem them to despise,
And make as though thou hearest not,
Alas! how soon should I
Become like those who in the dust do lie,
Whose very mem'ry 's now forgot !
O Thou that mak'st the ear,
My humble supplications hear.

When with fixt eyes and lift up hands before
Thy mercy seat I do thy grace implore.

II.

O pluck me not away
With the wicked and deceitful men,
Nor let my portion be with them;
Whose tongue all kindness does express,
But in their hearts contrive maliciousness.
Rewards proportion'd to their deeds dispense;
According to their deceitful wickedness.
Their handiwork thou, Lord, wilt recompense,
And in thy justice their deserts repay.
For although now of the Lord's works they will not hear,
Nor his stupendous operations fear,
Yet he at last shall their great haughtiness bring down,
And make his power in their destruction known.

III.

Prais'd be the Lord, thou, Lord, who art
My shield and strength,
Who hast at length
Vouchsaf'd my humble pray'r to hear,
And to my sad complaints inclin'd thine ear:
To thee with panting heart
And tuneful voice I will my praise address,
And in my song thy grace and pow'r confess.
For thou by them wilt still my steps direct,
And thine anointed by thy strength protect.
O save thy people, thy blessing give to those
Whom thou for thine own inheritance hast chose:
For if thou, Lord, thy servants wilt deliver,
We shall feed safe, and be secure for ever.

Psalm XXX.

To thee, my God and King,
My soul shall sing;
I will extol and laud thy name,
And to succeeding times thy praise proclaim:
For thou above my foes
Hast rais'd my head, made me rejoice o'er those

Who lately hop'd to see
Me perish in my misery.
But when in that estate,
Hopelessly disconsolate,
To thee, my God, I did address my cry,
Thou heardst me instantly.
My feeble body thou didst restore and heal,
And to my fainting soul thy saving health reveal.
Thou, Lord, who graciously wast pleas'd to save
Thy servant from the gaping grave;
Who suffer'dst not the pit to swallow me,
Grant that to thee
I may return the life thou'rt pleas'd to give,
And unto thee hereafter live.
O let the saints of God agree
with me
To sing his praise.
Let all the world confess
Unto his name, his mercy bless,
And to his holiness
Triumphant trophies raise.
His wrath for a small space
Eclipst his face,
But his reviving favour soon restor'd to grace.
Sorrow indeed did me attend
For the sad night,
But to my failing eyes
The Sun of righteousness did rise,
And with the dawning morn restor'd my light.
Then in my joy said I,
Sure this prosperity
Can never now have end:
Since thou, O Lord, art my defence,
In vain my foes attempt to drive me hence.
But since thou, Lord, again art pleas'd to try,
And leave thy servant in perplexity,
Thy glorious countenance to conceal
And in thy wrath thyself reveal:
Alas! my God, to whom but thee should I
Address myself in this my misery?

To none but thee can I with hope apply,
To thee, my God, my hope, my trust,
E'en thee who rais'd me from the dust.
Ah, my dear God, could my blood profit bring
To thee, this hand should make it a glad offering.
But to the grave's inhabitants thou dost not show
Thy truth; nor do those that now lie low
In darkness thy great wonders know;
The living only can thy praise declare.
O then thy servant, Lord, vouchsafe to hear;
Hear, Lord, and with thy favour visit me,
Once more, my God, my helper be.
Then shall my soul that mercy bless
That into joy hath turn'd my heaviness;
My drooping soul, o'erwhelm'd with misery.
Will then exult and sing to thee.
Instead of sackcloth wherewith I
Have been attir'd continually,
Upon my loins thou shalt gird on
The garments of salvation;
The ornaments of joy put on my head,
My soul shall now no longer feed on mourner's bread,
But with the sacrifice of praise my table thou shalt spread.
For this thy saints shall daily in thy house
Pay thee their solemn vows,
My glory shall be evermore
Thy mercy to adore.
My only joy, my greatest happiness
Shall be thy goodness to confess:
But then, alas! compar'd to thee,
E'en praise itself must silent be.

Te Deum.

Great God, thy praise our only theme shall be,
Dominion we acknowledge due to thee;
Eternal Father of the universe,
The earth thy praise and glory doth rehearse.
To thee with ecstasies of joy the crowd,
And bands of holy angels sing aloud:

The heav'ns and heavn'ly powers declare
How manifold, how great thy mercies are.
To thee the pure and ravish'd seraphim,
Anthems of love and wonder alway sing:
Th' inspired cherubims continually
Their Holy, holy, holies chaunt to thee.
Thou God, whose glory fills that heav'n and earth
Which from thy powerful word receiv'd its birth,
The most glorious sacred company
Of the blest apostles acknowledge thee.
The fellowship o'th' prophets who of old
Those times of grace and light to th' world foretold,
Bless thee (on our behalf, and joy to see
Our knowledge now exceed their prophecy.)
The martyrs' noble army, whose blood did gain
Them victorious palms, thy praise proclaim;
The holy church through all the world renown'd
In hymns of love thy praise with joy resound.
Thou God of majesty most infinite,
Thou Father of the Word and world's true Light,
Our Christ, thy true and only Son, whom we
With th' Holy Ghost confess our Deity.
O Christ, thou art the King of glory,
The Father's Son from all eternity.
When thou in mercy wouldst our nature take,
And become man for sinful mankind's sake;
Then thou didst not abhor the virgin's womb
When thou death's sharpest sting hadst overcome:
Thy heaven, thyself thou promised to give
To those whose life dare own that they believe.
Thou sit'st at the right hand of God most high,
In the bright glory of thy majesty;
We know that thou shalt come our Judge to be;
O then spare us, spare all that call on thee;
For our dear price, thy blood most precious,
Among thy saints vouchsafe to number us;
Both them and us we thee desire to make
Thine everlasting joys for to partake.
O Christ, thine own dear church, thy people, save,
The heritage thy Father to thee gave:

For ever govern us, be thou our King;
Then day by day we will thee off'rings bring.
To the world's end we alway will proclaim
The worship, honour due unto thy name.
From sin, O Lord, vouchsafe to keep 's this day,
Have mercy, Lord, mercy on us we pray.
Thy tenderest mercy, Lord, to those dispense,
That in thee alway place their confidence;
On thee alone, my God, my hope is grounded,
O then permit me not to be confounded.

THE END.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

OF

SYMON PATRICK.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF

MY LIFE,

WITH A

THANKFUL REMEMBRANCE OF GOD'S MERCIES TO ME[a].

I WAS born at Gainsborough in Lincolnshire, of pious parents, Henry Patrick and Mary Naylor—September 8th, 1626. My father was the son of Symon Patrick, a gentleman of good quality, who had fifteen children, of whom my father was the sixth son[b]. He had an estate of between four and five hundred pounds a year, (as my father hath told me,) but having so many children he could make but a small provision for the youngest of them. I account it a great blessing that I

[a] [This memoir, drawn up by the bishop in his declining years, from his diary and other memoranda which he had continued to accumulate from his earliest youth, passed some time after his death into the hands of Dr. Samuel Knight, archdeacon of Berks, the biographer of Colet and Erasmus, who made use of the information it supplied, almost to its precise language, as the groundwork of a life of bishop Patrick. This work he never lived to complete or to commit to the press. Dr. Knight's MS. has been preserved in the custody of his family to the present day, although many of the documents which he specifies therein as forming part of his contemplated publication have since disappeared. The original manuscript of the bishop's auto-biography has been transmitted through the same hands. By the permission of the late Mrs. Knight of Milton hall near Cambridge, it was first given to the public in a small octavo volume in the year 1839. It has been once more carefully collated throughout for the present impression: and such additional notices or illustrations as Dr. Knight's MS. volume is calculated to afford have been incorporated among the notes to the bishop's narrative, their authorship being uniformly specified.]

[b] [Some particulars relating to the earlier history of Patrick's family, too lengthy for insertion in this place, will be found in the Appendix.]

am descended from a person of religion and learning, as appears by the books my grandfather wrote, or rather translated, for the benefit of mankind. For having travelled in his younger days, he translated two books in the beginning of the last century out of the French tongue (of which he was a perfect master) into our English language. The first was a large quarto, being the history of the church [c]: the other a folio, being an excellent discourse against Machiavel and his pernicious principles, printed 1602 by Felix Kingston[d].

[c] [Published by Jean Crespin or Crispinus, the learned printer at Geneva, and friend of Theodore Beza; a scarce book, a copy of which is in the Bodleian library, entitled, "L'estat de l'eglise, avec le discours des temps depuis les apostres jusques au present, 8vo, Gen. 1581."

Patrick's translation bears the title,—"The Estate of the Church, with the discourse of times, from the apostles untill this present: also of the liues of all the emperours, popes of Rome, and Turkes: as also of the kings of Fraunce, England, Scotland, Spaine, Portugall, Denmarke, &c. with all the memorable accidents of their times. Translated out of French into English, by Simon Patrike, gentleman. London, printed by Thomas Creede, (4to,) 1602."

It is dedicated to sir William Wray, knight, of Glentworth, Lincolnshire, and is not so rare as the original. The editor possesses a copy.]

[d] [If the bishop is correct in his citation of the printer's name and date, there was more than one edition of his grandfather's publication. The copy in the British Museum bears title,

"A Discourse upon the meanes of wel governing and maintaining in good peace a kingdome or other principalitie. Divided into three parts, namely, the Counsell, the Religion, and the Policie, which a prince ought to hold and follow. Against Nicholas Machiavel the Florentine. Translated into English by Simon Patricke. London, printed by Adam Islip, 1608."

In his preface, dedicated "to the most famous yong gentlemen, as well for religion, modestie, and other vertues, as also for kinred, Francis Hastings, (nephew to the earl of Huntingdon,) and Edward Bacon," (son of sir Nicholas Bacon,) dated "Kalends Augusti, 1577," the translator speaks of himself as never having visited England. There is no apparent clue to the authorship of the French original. In the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Impériale, Paris, (tit. Jurisprudence, Droit de la Nature et des gens, 917, tom. i. p. 68.) which possesses likewise a copy of Patrick's translation, it is designated thus:

"Discours sur les moyens de bien gouverner et maintenir en paix un royaume, ou autre principauté, divisés en trois parties, à sçavoir, du Conseil, de la Religion, et de la Police, que doit tenir un prince; contre Nic. Machiavel; troisième edition, 1579, in 8vo."

It might with much plausibility be assigned either to Innocent Gentillet, Jean de Marcouville, or Guillaume de La Perrière, contemporary writers of the same school on political subjects.]

He gave his sons a taste of learning, keeping a schoolmaster in his house to instruct them. My father[e] kept such a tincture of it, that though he was bound apprentice to a mercer, yet he was a great lover of books, and read very much to his dying day. He had a great desire to breed me a scholar, and put me early to a master of great fame, but of no great skill in teaching, as I myself found when I came under the tuition of that worthy man Mr. Merryweather, who was an excellent Latinist, as he showed by his translation of *Religio Medici*[f], But I ought to acknowledge, what my former master wanted in learning he made up in piety. For he touched my heart betimes by his affectionate discourses upon some part of the Church Catechism, which he was wont to explain on Saturday in the afternoon; which I cannot think of without thankfulness to God for those discourses. Before which time my mind was prepared to receive those good instructions, by the care of my godly parents in my very childhood; wherein they endeavoured to instil good principles into me: and I can remember many exhortations which my mother upon all occasions made me to be good, and to avoid the sin of lying and such like; which made such an impression upon me, that I cannot remember I ever disobeyed her in the smallest injunction she laid upon me. She was the daughter of an holy minister in Nottinghamshire, and had been bred up by the rules of the Practice of Piety, a book of great note in those days. To those she laboured to conform me, causing me, for instance, to read to her three chapters in the Bible every day; whereby (reading six psalms when I came there[g]) it was read over every year.

[e] [Henry Patrick's name frequently occurs in the memoranda of the borough as foreman of the jury. —Allen's Hist. of Lincolnshire, ii. 27.]

[f] ["John Merryweather of Magdalen college, Cambridge, became B.D. before 1652, in which year is dated Some Short Directions for a Student in the University."—Note by Bliss, from a MS. in the Bodleian, on Wood, Athen. Oxon. iv. 57. His translation of sir Thomas Browne's Religio Medici was printed at Strasburg in 1652, and again in 1665, with Latin annotations, by a certain German who subscribes himself L. N. M. E. M.]

[g] [Bishop Baily's little manual The Practice of Piety has been already noticed in vol. vi. p. 448. Among the "brief directions how to read the Holy Scriptures once every year over, with ease profit and reverence," the following particular rule is therein laid down: "If in this manner thou shalt read three chapters every day, one in the morning, another at noon, and the third at night, (reading over so many psalms

My father constantly prayed with his family morning and evening when he was at home, and when he was abroad my mother thought herself obliged to it; and I can never forget with what warmth she commended us all to God. Especially on the Lord's day they were very strict, and ordered things so that every one went to church; and we having no sermon in the afternoon, my father after prayers was wont to read a sermon at home, and sing psalms both after dinner and after we came from church. Sometimes indeed he would go to hear a sermon in the afternoon in a neighbouring town; for which reason he got the name of a Puritan, but very undeservedly, for I remember very well that the sermons he read at home were some of the famous Dr. Sanderson's, which he read over and over with high admiration: and he constantly went to the church where the Common Prayer was read, (as it was where we lived,) a long time after the beginning of our civil wars without any scruple; and at the return of the king immediately attended them again to the end of his days. This I have often reflected upon as an argument of great judgment in my father, that he should make choice of such a volume of sermons to read constantly, and none else but those he heard in the church, which he wrote and would repeat in his family

Being thus educated, I had an early sense of religion (blessed be God) imprinted on my mind; which was much increased by my attending to sermons: for having, when I was a school boy, learnt to write in characters, my father required me to take the sermons I heard in that manner, and read them over when I came at home. This, no doubt, fixed my thoughts upon what was delivered, and made me remember it. Insomuch that hearing a rigid sermon about reprobation of the greatest part of mankind, I remember well that when I was a little boy, I resolved if that were true, I would never marry; because most, if not all my children, might be damned.

When I was about twelve years old, I had a most dangerous fever, and there was little hope of my life, when I was extremely troubled that I had neglected often to say my prayers; and I resolved, if God would spare me, to be more careful in

instead of a chapter,) thou shalt read over all the canonical Scriptures in a year, except six chapters, which thou mayest add to the duties of the last day of the year."—p. 106. ed. 1842.]

time to come, as I think I was. Many other deliverances I had in my very young years, which I shall not here set down; but only mention one which was very remarkable. When I was about thirteen or fourteen years old, it was thought I might very safely ride alone with my father and mother a small journey. And being set upon a little horse, we went through a gate entering into a large common; this gate being let fall to, gave a great clap, and made such a noise as frightened my horse and made him run away with me. I sat a good while, but at last he threw me, and I fell into a sawpit, which my father and mother feared might prove my grave. But, blessed be God, I was laid there all at length, and taken up without the least hurt. This I have often thought of as a singular providence of God over me, which I now acknowledge with thankfulness to him.

Not long after it was thought I might be fit for the university. But the war between king and parliament breaking out, put by all those thoughts; my father falling into great straits and difficulties. For the town of Gainsborough thought it would be most for their security, if they cast up some works round the town, and got fire arms, and formed themselves into a company of six score men. But they declared neither for king or parliament; intending only to stand upon their guard against rovers. But in a short time the garrison of Newark (which was but seventeen miles from it) sent out a strong party who surrounded the town very early in the morning, and demanded it should be instantly surrendered to the king; which was immediately done without the least resistance or dispute. Whereupon our schoolmaster fled, and left all his scholars to play; till at last a neighbouring minister undertook the charge, who we found did not understand so much as ourselves; and besides, sometimes never came among us for three days together. This made the school break up, and, which was worse, there was a great breach in the town by a new oath that was tendered to them. I do not remember what it was, but only that my father was one that refused to take it: whereupon he was ordered by some furious persons in the committee to leave the town, and not permitted to stay and dispose of his wife and children and goods. He obeyed; but from a neighbouring place sent a petition to be delivered by my mother to the earl

of Kingston, who was the governor of the town. He received her with much humanity, and asked her, among other things, what made her so cheerful in such a distress; for she did not appear before him in tears, but with an humble modest confidence. To which she replying that she always had a good hope in God, and now expected to find favour with his lordship, he immediately revoked the order of the committee, and gave my father leave to return, and to dispose of his family and affairs before he departed. When he came back, he found a gentleman in town of singular goodness, and a great friend of his, sir William Pelham of Brocklesby [i], who very much pitied his condition, and prayed him to leave what money he had with him, and go with his wife and children to his house at Brocklesby, where they should be kindly entertained. This extraordinary kindness he most thankfully embraced, and carried my mother, my younger brother and sister, with his goods, to sir William's house; but thought fit to go himself with me to Boston, where he had a cousin who received us into his house.

Here I did but lose my time, and therefore my father, who still in his low condition was desirous to make me a scholar, sent me to Hull, where he had a good friend, Mr. Foxley, who, with his wife, were as kind to me as to their own children. There I went to school every day with a master who preserved what learning I had, if he did not add unto it. Mr. Foxley, who was an wholesale grocer, had such an affection to me, as his wife had also, that he offered to take me his apprentice for nothing, if I would be of his trade. This was a great temptation, he being a great dealer, and a very rich man [k]. But my father was so kind as to leave me to my own choice, and I persisted in my desire to be a scholar, in which Mr. Foxley mightily encouraged me, and both he and his wife gave me some pieces of gold, when I went from them to the university: for I had given some proofs of my being religiously inclined, which made them, being pious persons, have a more than or-

[i] [Ancestor of the earls of Yarborough, whose family seat is Brocklesby Park.]

[k] ["The learned Dr. Thos. Jackson, as also the learned Joseph Mede, had like to have been diverted from their studies after much the same manner, if they had not been endued with equal resolution to withstand the importunity of their friends."—Dr. Knight.]

dinary love to me. For instance, when Mr. Foxley was gone a journey (who always used to pray with his family before he went to bed) I composed a prayer, about the sixteenth year of my age, and said it in the family without book, during his absence. This was highly acceptable to them, as I hope it was well pleasing to God, who thus early disposed me to his service[l].

But many things hindered my going to the university; for my father was brought still lower, and disabled to maintain me there as he desired. For the parliament soldiers plundering sir William Pelham's house, took away my father's goods, which were there with my mother, as well as his[m]. Several other losses befell him, and all the country was so infested with soldiers that it was dangerous to travel. Notwithstanding which, my father adventured to carry me round from Boston to Lynn, and so to Cambridge; whereby we passed without any impediment.

It was in the year 1644, when I was between seventeen and eighteen years old, and had some discretion to govern myself. My father had recommendations to Dr. Whichcote[n] and Dr.

[l] ["I can't but mention that he spent some time at Beverley before he went to Cambridge, for I find a letter of the corporation to him upon his advancement, wherein they seem to claim some share in him: which probably was when at school in this town."—Dr. Knight.]

[m] [In June, 1643, Gainsborough was taken by the parliamentary forces under lord Willoughby; and the earl of Kingston, sir Gervase Scroop, and the garrison, numbering about 250 men, taken prisoners. The earl being sent to Hull under an escort was unintentionally shot by some of the royal soldiers, while descending the Trent in an open pinnace. The town was threatened by the king's troops from Newark, when Cromwell, at the end of July, succeeded in relieving it, but was compelled to retreat before the earl of Newcastle, who speedily retook the town, and held the adjacent country.—Rushworth, V. 278.]

[n] [Benjamin Whichcote was born of a good Shropshire family at Stoke, March 11, 1610. He entered Emanuel college in 1626, graduated B. A. in 1629 and M. A. in 1633. In the latter year he was made fellow of his college, and became distinguished as a tutor, many of his pupils, as Wallis, Smith, Worthington, Cradock, &c., attaining to great eminence. In 1636 he was ordained deacon and priest by Williams bishop of Lincoln, and succeeded to the college living of North-Cadbury in Somersetshire. On the ejection of Dr. Samuel Collins by the parliamentary commissioners, he was induced to accept the dignity of provost of King's college, March 16, 1644, and the living of Milton attached to it. He did not take the degree of D. D. till

Cudworth[q], of Emanuel college, who, it was hoped, might take me to be their sizer. For my father was so mean then, he could not otherwise maintain me. They were both very kind, and being full themselves, recommended us to Queen's college, which was newly filled with fellows from thence. Thither we went, and I was admitted there June 25th of that year[r], under Mr. Wells[s], who loved me very well, insomuch that he left me

1649. On the restoration he was deprived of the provostship, but was allowed to retain his living. Proceeding to London, he was chosen minister of St. Anne's Blackfriars. That church having been burnt in the great fire of 1666 he retired for a while to Milton, was soon recalled and presented by the crown to the living of St. Lawrence Jewry. During the rebuilding of this church he continued to preach for some years before the lord mayor and corporation at Guildhall. A little before Easter 1683 he took a journey to Cambridge, where he contracted a severe cold, and died in the month of May at the house of his intimate friend Dr. Cudworth, master of Christ's college. During the whole of his ministry at Cambridge he held an afternoon lecture at Trinity church, where he laboured to diffuse a spirit of sober piety and rational religion in opposition to the style of preaching and doctrinal views then paramount in the university; and is considered to have been the founder of the liberal and philosophical school afterwards characterized by the epithet of Latitudinarian. He directed the minds of his pupils in the direction of the later Platonism, and his system of philosophy and religion was largely coloured by the tenets of the Alexandrian school. His principal writings, consisting of sermons, were published in 4 vols., 8vo, 1751.]

[q] [Ralph Cudworth, the son of a divine of the same name, rector of Aller in Somersetshire, was born in the year 1617, admitted pensioner of Emanuel college, of which, after taking the degrees of B. A. and M. A., he was chosen fellow, and acquired distinction as a tutor. Among his numerous pupils who attained celebrity was sir William Temple. About the year 1641 he succeeded Whichcote in the living of North Cadbury; in 1644 took the degree of B. D. and was appointed master of Clare Hall, in the room of Dr. Paske, ejected by the university visitors. In the year following he was chosen regius professor of Hebrew, graduated D. D. in 1657, and in 1654 was elected master of Christ's college, which post he retained after the restoration till his death on June 26, 1688. Cudworth was one of the leading professors of the Platonic school in the university. He is chiefly known by his learned and valuable work, "The True Intellectual System of the Universe," published in 1678, intended to refute the principles of Atheism. Numerous MS. remains on similar subjects are preserved in the British Museum.]

[r] ["Anno 1644. Symon Patrick, Lincolniensis, admissus sizator, Junii 25, tutore Mro. Wells."—Regr. Coll. Regin.]

[s] [John Wells of Emanuel college was elected June 11, 1644 in the place of an expelled fellow named Rogers.—Walker. ii. p. 157.

"Mr. Wells," adds Dr. Knight, "was also tutor to the brother of Mr. Patrick, afterwards preacher to the Charter House. He left the

the key of his chamber, and of his study, when he was out of town. Here I found myself in a solitary place at first; for though Mr. Fuller, in his Church History, was mistaken in saying this college was like a landwrack [u], (as I think his words are,) in which there was [not] one left to keep possession, yet there were about a dozen scholars, and almost half of the old fellows: the visitors at first doing no more than putting in a majority of new to govern the college. The other, rarely appearing, were all turned out for refusing the covenant; which was then so zealously pressed, that all scholars were summoned to take it at Trinity college [x]. Thither I went, and had it tendered to me. But God so directed me, that I, telling them my age, was dismissed, and never heard more of it—blessed be God.

I had not been long in the college before the master, Mr.

college about 1650. I find him soon after vicar of St. Ives in Huntingdonshire, where he continued till 1665, at which time he removed to London, and was (as I have been informed) minister of St. Botolph's Aldersgate, which being in the gift of the dean and chapter of Westminster, probably was owing to this his pupil's interest. All that he published was a sermon before sir R. Chiverton, lord mayor, 'A Discovery of what is truly good, from Micah vi. 8. Feb. 21, 1657, by John Wells, B. D.'"]

[u] ["In Queen's college there was made a thorough reformation, neither master, fellow, nor scholar being left of the foundation; so that according to the laws of the admiralty, it might seem a true wreck, and forfeited in their land tempest, for lack of a live thing therein to preserve the propriety thereof. However some conceived this a great severity, contrary to the eternal moral of the Jewish Law provided against the depopulation of birds' nests, that the old and young ones should be destroyed together. But to prevent a vacuity, (the detestation of nature,) a new plantation was soon substituted in their room; who, short of the former in learning and abilities, went beyond them in good affections to the parliament."—Fuller, Hist. of Cambridge, p. 169. fol. Lond. 1655. Walker repeats Fuller's language, declaring that they left neither fellow nor scholar.—p. 158.

Dr. Martin, president of Queen's, had been carried to London, and imprisoned in the Tower, together with Dr. Beale of St. John's, and Dr. Stern master of Jesus, for having been active in promoting the dedication of the college plate to the service of the king.—*ibid.* Dr. Martin's life is given at length by Walker.]

[x] [The covenant was enforced upon the university by the earl of Manchester and his two chaplains, Ash and Good, all members being required to appear and take it within twelve days. This time was subsequently enlarged. All who then refused to take it were summarily expelled.—Fuller, *ibid.*]

The names of the fellows of Queen's expelled are supplied by Walker as follows, from Querela Cantabrigensis;—Anthony Sparrow, (subsequently president,) George Bardsey, Thomas Marley, Daniel

Herbert Palmer[y], took some notice of me, and sent for me to transcribe some things he intended for the press; and soon after made me the college scribe[z], which brought me in a great deal of money, many leases being to be renewed. It was not long before I had one of the best scholarships in the college bestowed upon me; so that I was advanced to a higher rank, being made a pensioner. But before I was bachelor of arts this good man died, who was of an excellent spirit, and was unwearied in doing good. Though he was a little crooked man, yet he had such an authority, that the fellows reverenced him as much as we did them, going bare when he passed through the court, which after his death was disused.

I remember very well that, being a member of the assembly of divines, he went off to London, and sometimes stayed there a quarter of a year. But before he went, he was wont to

Wicherly, Chandler, Capel, Cox, Coldham, Kemp, Bryan, Hills, Rogers, Cox, Walpole, Appleby, Frear, Natley, Wells, and Whitehead. The fellow last but one in the list was not John Wells, Patrick's tutor; but William Wells, ejected Sept. 26, 1644, who was presented on the restoration to the rectory of Sandon in Essex, became archdeacon of Colchester, Feb. 5, 1667, and in the same year president of Queen's. He died some time before August 1675.]

[y] [Herbert Palmer, son of sir Thomas Palmer of Wingham in Kent, was born in 1601, and baptized there March 29. He was early distinguished for his skill in languages, especially in French. In the year 1615 he was admitted fellow-commoner of St. John's college, Cambridge, graduated there M. A. in 1622, and in 1623 was chosen fellow of Queen's. In the following year he entered the ministry, and held a weekly lecture in the city of Canterbury. In 1632 he was instituted to the vicarage of Ashwell, Herts, by archbishop Laud, who cited this fact on his trial as an instance of his impartiality. He was in the same year appointed one of the university preachers. In 1643 he was nominated one of the Westminster assembly of divines, and soon after their meeting chosen to be one of their assessors, in which post he displayed wisdom and integrity. On the expulsion of Dr. Edward Martin by the parliamentary commissioners he was nominated president by the earl of Manchester. While in London he frequently preached at the New Church in Westminster, where he was buried. He died in the year 1647.—Fuller, Hist. of Cambridge, p. 170. Neal, Puritans, iii. 103, 403. Chalmers, Biogr. Dict.

"Amongst other writings he published, in conjunction with Dr. Daniel Cawdry, what he calls 'The Christian Sabbath vindicated,' 4to, 1645, two sermons before the commons in 1643 and 1645, and a little book entitled, 'An Endeavour of making the principles of Christian religion, viz. Creed, Ten Commandments, &c. plain and easy, 8vo. Lond. 1641.'"—Dr. Knight.]

[z] ["Simon Patrick, nominatus scriba per suffragium præsidentis, Feb. 7, 1645."—Regr. Coll. Regin.]

cause the bell to be tolled, to summon us all to meet in the hall. There he made a pathetical speech to us, stirring us up to pious diligence in our studies, and told us, with such seriousness as made us believe, he should have as true an account from those he could trust, of the behaviour of every one of us in his absence, as if he were here present with us to observe us himself. This he said we should certainly find true at his return. And truly he was as good as his word; for those youths whom he heard well of, when he came back to college, he sent for to his lodgings, and commended them; giving books to those that were well maintained, and money to the poorer sort. He was succeeded by a good man (Dr. Horton[a]), but not such a governor: under whom I was chosen fellow of the college, when I was one year bachelor of arts[b]; before which time I had been so studious as to fill whole books with observations out of various ancient authors, with some of my own which I made upon them. For I find one book begun in the year 1646, wherein I have noted many useful things, and another more large in the year 1647, having the word *Æternitas* at the top of many pages, by the thought of which I perceive I was quickened to spend my time well. For I have set down what I did every day, and when I took the liberty to recreate myself.

It is a great comfort now in my old age to find that I was so diligent in my youth; for in those books I have noted how I spent my time.

What progress I made in 1648 I cannot tell; for I cannot find any book which gives an account of that year; but I have

[a] [In 1653 he was nominated one of the triers for the approbation of young ministers, and professor of divinity in Gresham college. He was ejected by the Bartholomew Act, after the restoration; but conforming afterwards held the vicarage of Great St. Helen's in Bishopsgate street. Many sermons of his were published after his death.]

[b] ["Simon Patrick (socius electus) A. B. Lincolniensis in locum Mri Ingelo, Mart. 1°, 1648." (1649)—Regr. Coll. Regin. Nathaniel Ingelo, M. A. of Emanuel college, had been elected April 8, 1644, in succession to Mr. Hills, B. D. ejected for refusing the covenant. — Walker, ii. 157. Ingelo became afterwards D. D. and fellow of Eton, where he died Aug. 11, 1683, aged 62. He was the author of a religious romance, Bentivolio and Urania, fol. Lond. 1660; and also published a few occasional sermons.

Patrick was admitted to the degree of B. A. Jan. 21, 1647. (1648.) —Univ. Regr.]

two which relate my improvements in 1649: and the next year, March 21st, 1650, I was admitted master of arts[c]; and about that time I find these words in a little note book:

Several Providences of God about me, which I desire to take special notice of, and to keep in remembrance.

1. His inclining my heart to come to the university, when I had divers good offers in another way of life.

2. The time of my going thither, when my father was very low in the world, turned from home, and sojourning in another place, and so continuing some time after my going. He even cast me upon the providence of God, who took care of me, blessed be God.

3. God's placing me, when I came thither, in Queen's college, when we were resolved to go to another, and there providing me such a loving kind tutor, of extraordinary affection to me, which he expressed sundry ways exceeding my account.

4. Casting me into such good company and acquaintance, the names of many of which, who were my chamber fellows, [I] have set down in that book.

5. His liberal maintenance of me, by giving me many additional helps to my father's small allowance.

6. His staying me strangely by the encouragement of many loving friends, when my design was set for Oxford; and making room for me in the society wherein I was bred; in which many remarkable passages did occur. Blessed be God for keeping me at Queen's!

7. His bringing me into some intimacy with Mr. Smith[d], τῷ

[c] [The college grace for the degree of M. A. bears date Jan. 18, 1650 (1651).—Regr. Coll. Regin.]

[d] [John Smith was born in the year 1618, at Achurch near Oundle, in Northamptonshire, where his father possessed a small farm. In April 1636 he entered Emanuel college, Cambridge, having the celebrated Dr. Whichcote for his tutor. He took the degree of B. A. in 1640, and M. A. in 1644: in which year he was chosen fellow of Queen's college, June 11, in the place of Mr. Appleby, B. D., expelled for refusing the covenant. Here he became eminent as a tutor, and read annually a mathematical lecture for many years. He was in the habit of visiting and preaching at his native village, where he had the utmost success in adapting his discourses to the necessities and capacities of his rural hearers. His early death cannot but be regarded as a profound loss to literature and religion. From the affectionate memorial of him bequeathed by Patrick in his

πάνυ μακαρίτῃ—whose memory is most blessed. He died August 7th, 1652, much lamented. But blessed be God for the good I got by him while he lived.

This I have set down in the very words wherein it was written, as a testimony of that seriousness of spirit which God had then endued me withal; disposing me to reflect so particularly on his mercies to me. And indeed I cannot but here acknowledge one singular blessing which I enjoyed by my conversation with Mr. Smith, which is fresh in my mind to this day, as the very place is where we were discoursing together about the doctrine of absolute predestination; which I told him had always seemed to me very hard, and I could never answer the objections against it, but was advised by divines to silence carnal reason.

At which he fell a laughing, and told me they were good and sound reasons which I had objected against that doctrine; and made such a representation of the nature of God to me, and of his good-will to men in Christ Jesus, as quite altered my opinion, and made me take the liberty to read such authors (which were before forbidden me) as settled me in the belief that God would really have all men to be saved, of which I never after made a question, nor looked upon it as a matter of controversy, but presumed it in all my sermons.

For being master of arts I bent my studies chiefly to theology, and the manner of those times was for young men to preach before they were in holy orders, and the first sermon I preached was at Okeington, (a college living near Cambridge,) April 6th, 1651, upon Acts iii. 19, *Repent and be converted*, &c. It pleased God this year to visit that excellent man Mr. Smith with a disease which nobody with us under-

funeral sermon, we form some faint estimate of the personal qualities and attainments which graced his character, and attracted the love and reverence of his contemporaries. His posthumous discourses, the sole remains of his literary labours which have been preserved, indicate a mind possessed of extraordinary intellectual power, and amazing erudition for his years. There can be no doubt that he was calculated, had he been spared, to have attained the very highest rank among the literary and philosophic celebrities that have shed lustre on this country.— See Kennet, Reg. 127. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, ii. 157. Chalmers, Biogr. Dict.]

stood [e]. He had a husking cough, and frequently spit up stones. So I call them, for they resembled a cherry stone, and were of that bigness. In the spring of next year he was advised to go to London, and consult with physicians there. Which he did, and continued the most part of summer under the care of the famous physician Dr. Theodore Mahern [f], who

[e] [From Patrick's description of the symptoms it may most probably be inferred, that the malady which occasioned John Smith's premature death was tubercular disease of the lungs (consumption); the too frequent concomitant of a highly refined and sensitive organization: assiduous habits of study and intense strain upon the cerebral and nervous systems tending to develope into morbid activity the hereditary or constitutional diathesis. The peculiar concretions which he is stated to have expectorated are reported by medical authorities to be not unfrequently observed in similar cases, deposits of calcareous matter being formed in old tubercular cavities, as also in the dilated bronchial tubes.—See Rokitansky's Pathologische Anatomie, Bd. i. p. 400. iii. p. 135. ed. 1. Förster's Path. Anat. p. 308. Watson's Lectures, vol. ii. p. 179.

The "looseness" with which he was affected was doubtless the colliquative diarrhœa which often precedes dissolution in phthisical patients.—Watson, ii. p. 195. Smith is stated to have been nearly insensible or comatose for six or seven days before death. This is unusual with sufferers from consumption, who commonly retain their senses and other faculties to the last. Possibly Patrick may have mistaken exhaustion for stupor. If otherwise, it might be suspected that narcotics had been administered, or taken without the knowledge of the patient's friends. Such potent efficacy can hardly be attributed to the "steel gad" alluded to; which, it may be observed, was simply the recognised mode in those days of exhibiting steel or iron.]

[f] [Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne (as his name is properly to be designated), baron of Albone, first physician to their majesties James I. and Charles I., was the son of Louis de Mayerne, author of a General History of Spain, and of the Monarchie aristodémocratique, dedicated to the States-general. His mother was Louisa, daughter of Antoine le Masson, treasurer of the army to Francis I. and Henry II. in Piedmont. Theodore Mayerne was born at Geneva, Sept. 28, 1573, and had for his godfather Theodore Beza. At an early age he went to Heidelberg, and after some years to Montpellier, where he took the degree of B. D. in 1596, and M. D. in 1597. Thence he went to Paris, where he lectured in pharmacy and anatomy, and was appointed, through Riverius, physician in ordinary to Henry IV., who would have done more for him had Mayerne been inclined to follow the royal example, in adopting the religion of Rome. After a short visit to England in 1607, he returned once more at the king's invitation in 1611, and settled in this country, being appointed by royal patent first physician to the king and royal family. He was admitted to the degree of doctor in both universities, and licensed by the college of physicians. He incurred some obloquy on account of the fatal sickness of Henry prince of Wales, in October 1612, in the treatment of which he differed in opinion from the other physicians

prescribed a vast number of medicines, none of which did him any good. He brought a long bill with him down to Cambridge about the end of July, (as I remember,) and fell into a looseness which brought him very low. I should have noted before this, that when he went to London he committed his pupils, which were many, to my care; of which trust I gave him as good an account as I was able at his return, when I was seldom absent from him. And I observed that he was very desirous to have his looseness stopped, by which he hoped to gather strength. His physician telling him it would be dangerous, he asked him if he knew how to do it, and he saying, very easily, but he durst not, he never left his importunity till he told him how it might be easily done, by quenching a gad of steel in all his drink, but beseeching him not to use it. He was so weak that he resolved to try, and immediately the humour flew up into his head, and never could be got out; but he dosed perpetually, and rarely spoke any thing of sense.

in advocating the use of bloodletting; but his conduct was formally approved by the certificates of the king and privy-council. He was knighted by James in July 1624, and became first physician to his successor, and to Charles II. Thus having enjoyed the honour of serving four monarchs successively, and acquired vast practice among the highest ranks of society, he accumulated a large fortune. He died at Chelsea, March 15, 1655, from an excess in drinking bad wine, and was buried at St. Martin's in the fields. His only daughter and heiress married the marquis de Montpouvillon, grandson of the marshal duc de la Force, but died in childbirth, in 1661.

Various works were published under the name of Mayerne after the author's death, of which a list may be seen in Hutchinson's account of the author. They furnish a highly graphic illustration of the state of medical and pathological science at that period; experimental observations of an acute and practical character being mixed up with astral, legendary and demonological speculations. Many of his remedies are as recondite in their origin as revolting in their composition. He recommends, for instance, a powder for the gout, one of the ingredients of which is raspings of a human skull unburied; while for hypochondriacal patients he prescribes a balsam of bats, in the composition of which there enter adders, bats, sucking-whelps, earthworms, hog's grease, the marrow of a stag, and of the thigh bone of an ox; ingredients fitter for the witches' caldron in Macbeth than the prescription of a learned physician. Amulets of various kinds are also freely sanctioned by him, and among his *materia medica* are found the bowels of a mole cut open alive, mummy made of the lungs of a man who had died a violent death, the liver of frogs, the blood of weasels, &c. But the common surmise that he was the Dr. Caius of the Merry Wives of Windsor is not easily compatible with the date of that play. — Hutchinson, Biogr. Med. i. 735. Aikin, Biogr. Mem. p. 249. Paris, Pharmacologia, p. 35.]

Thus he lay near a week, and though we watched him carefully, we never could find him able to tell us how he would dispose of his library and his estate, which he had of twenty pound a year. Whereupon Mr. Meadows (since sir Philip [g]) and myself, standing by him with the doctor, asked if no means could be used to bring him for a while to himself. Which made the doctor send for some oil of mace, with which he chafed his temples strongly, and brought him to look about him and speak very sensibly. We took this opportunity to ask him how he would have his library and every thing else disposed of; which, by the help of our suggestions, he directed, and named his executor. All which we wrote down, and read it to him. But before he could set his hand to it, he dropped asleep and never waked more, but died, as I said before, August 7th, 1652, leaving a noble company of books to Queen's college library, and his land to a kinsman. I was desired by the fellows of the college, and by his executor, to preach his funeral sermon, which I did in the chapel, where the vice-chancellor and all the heads, and a great many others, (more than the chapel could hold,) attended him to his grave in that place. It was some years after printed at the desire of Dr. Worthington, master of Jesus college, who published some discourses of Mr. Smith, with my sermon set before them [h].

[g] [From the MS. rolls of knighthood entered at Herald's college, it appears that sir Philip Meadows of Bentley, Suffolk, had that distinction conferred upon him at Whitehall, Nov. 24, 1662.

He had been sent on a political mission to the court of Denmark, then at war with Sweden, and was mediator in the treaty of Roschild, Feb. 26, 165$\frac{7}{8}$. He was the author of "A Narrative of the principal actions occurring in the wars betwixt Sweden and Denmark, before and after the Roschild treaty," originally communicated to George earl of Bristol, and published from his papers after his death, in 12mo, 1677. The dedication to the earl is dated Parham, Suffolk, Sept. 24, 1675.

The same rolls record his creation as knight marshall, Dec. 23, 1700. He was a friend of Evelyn, who mentions his son's marriage, Sept. 6, 1697.]

[h] [The subjects of these discourses are; 1st, of the True way or method of attaining to divine knowledge. 2nd, of Superstition. 3rd, of Atheism. 4th, of the Immortality of the soul. 5th, of the Existence and nature of God. 6th, of Prophecy. 7th, of the Difference between the legal and evangelical righteousness, the old and new covenant. 8th, of the Shortness and vanity of a Pharisaical righteousness. 9th, of the Excellency and nobleness of true religion. 10th, of a Christian's conflict with, and conquest over Satan. They are remarkable for philosophical penetration, and logical power. Kennet describes them as having tended to

In those may be seen the admirable genius of Mr. Smith, which my poor young weak thoughts were not able to express. For I could only declare how much I was transported in my admiration of him, who spake of God and religion so as I never heard man speak. Once, I remember, speaking of the being of God, he told me that perhaps he had reason to believe there was a God, above most if not all other men. I have often since blamed myself that I was not so bold as to inquire what he meant: but modesty becomes young men, especially to their superiors; and a profound reverence for him, as vastly above me, though not in years; for he was but thirty-two years old when he died. Lord! what a man would he have been if he had lived as long as I have done, when he had attained to such a pitch of perfection at those years!

After this I had occasion to go to London, and being bound by the statutes of the college to enter into holy orders when I was two years master of arts, I knew no better than to go to a classis of presbyters who then sat; and was examined by them, and afterward received the imposition of their hands. This afterwards troubled me very much, when not long after I met with Dr. Hammond upon Ignatius' Epistles, and Mr. Thorndike's Primitive Government of the Church; whereby I was fully convinced of the necessity of episcopal ordination. This made me inquire after a bishop to whom I might resort; and hearing that bishop Hall[i] lived not far from Norwich, of which he was bishop, thither I went with two other fellows of our college, and a gentleman, (Mr. Gore, with whom I had contracted a great friendship,) as a companion and witness of what we did. There we were received with great kindness by that

" raise new thoughts and a sublimer style in the members of the university," and mentions that bishop Burnet acknowledged having received much benefit from reading them.—Reg. 127.

The first edition of the Select Discourses, together with Patrick's sermon, and Dr. Worthington's preface, was published in 1660. A second appeared in 1673, and a later abridged reprint in 1820.

The discourse upon Prophecy was translated into Latin by John Le Clerc, and prefixed to his Commentary on the Prophets, published in 1731.]

[i] [Bishop Hall retired to Higham, on being turned out of his bishopric, to a small estate which he rented there. He lived at Higham till his death, Sept. 8, 1656, in the eighty-second year of his age, and is buried in the churchyard there, without any monument.]

rev. old bishop, who examined us and gave us many good exhortations, and then ordained us in his own parlour at Higham, about a mile from Norwich, April 5th, 1654[k]. About this time[l] I find in a little book that I set a great many rules and admonitions to myself, which argue my mind to be well disposed to do God service. I will mention a few out of many.

Remember thy promises when made a minister. Remember the preciousness of a soul; how much we should do for its good. Read St. Chrysostom xxix. Hom. in Rom. Observe

[k] [This fact, besides the case of Tenison, ordained by Duppa, and Dolben by King, disproves the supposition of Wood, (iv. 843.) that the only bishop who conferred holy orders during the interregnum was Robert Skinner, the ejected bishop of Oxford, from whom George Bull received the ordination of deacon and priest in one day, being only twenty-one years of age.—Nelson's Life of Bull, p. 22. It appears that in Patrick's case the same necessity compelled the bishop to dispense with the strict canonical rule which required an interval of a year between the reception of deacon's and priest's orders.

"The confusion of the times was such," says Dr. Knight, "that there could be no regular distance between his receiving the order of deacon and priest, so that the different instruments bear the same date. There is something remarkable in the seal affixed to them, representing Noah's ark with a dove holding an olive branch in its mouth, hovering over it, with the arms of the see of Norwich, and the bishop's own, under it. Whereby the good man, even under all the pressures and difficulties which the church of England then suffered, yet had faith enough to believe that better times would ensue; which in a few years after came to pass, by the restoration of the king, though he himself lived not to see them.

"I find notice of this," (his ordination,) continues his biographer, "taken in a little book which was published by a lady (Mrs. Eyre), who also had a great value for Dr. Patrick; who speaking of the merit of bp. Lake, his predecessor in the see of Chichester, in taking episcopal orders in the late times, says, 'I know one that now fills as eminent a place in the church as bp. Lake ever did, that did the same thing, and that under more discouraging circumstances; for he had not only the danger of the times to contend with, but was to reject the importunity of his friends also, nay, more than that, to overcome himself, and root out all those prejudices that a contrary education (for he was brought up a strict presbyterian) and prepossession had implanted in him; which were indeed such difficulties as might have discouraged any but himself: but by God's grace he overcame them all, and is now as useful, as eminent in that church to which he dedicated himself six years before king Charles the Second's restoration.'" Mrs. Eyre's work is entitled "A Vindication of the letter out of the North concerning Bp. Lake's declaration of his dying in the doctrine of passive obedience."—p. 7. anon. Lond. 4to, 1690.]

[l] [During the year 1653-4 Patrick held the office of senior bursar in Queen's college, and dean of the chapel 1654-5.—Regr. Coll. Regin.]

every good motion in thy spirit, and cherish them. Let them not die, lest God's Spirit depart from thee. Consider often how long thou hast lived, and how ignorant still thou art: now almost twenty-seven years old, and yet a child. Pray to God to learn thee the divine skill of working truths into thy heart as principles of life; that they may be as fixed and settled there, as the understanding and will, and all the natural faculties are.

Remember my father's saying, "The more you spend, the more you have; viz. in spiritual things."

Look upon prayer as that which, in the very act of it, brings thee the blessing thou most desirest. For when we beg any heavenly quality, if our mind be intent towards it, that very intention works and frames our soul into that disposition. We become more able to act any virtue, by desiring it earnestly in prayer.

Embrace that which is good in any man, and look not strangely upon him because he differs from thee in some opinions.

Be moderate in thy desires of what thou hast not; and moderate in the use of what thou hast.

Be sure to mend that in thyself which thou observest doth exceedingly displease thee in others.

By such meditations as these, (which I shall not further relate,) I find my endeavour was, blessed be God, to frame myself to a holy temper of mind; having no other design in the world (as it there follows in a pious desire) but to be good and to do good; no other interest but to please God, and to enjoy him and glorify his name.

Some fruits I hope there were of these and such like meditations, in my care to bring up my pupils not only in human, but in divine knowledge. For I not only read lectures to them in philosophy [m], but constantly had them to my chamber at night, and examined what they had read, and prayed with them before I dismissed them. I frequently also expounded some portion of Scripture to them, and instructed them out of Dr. Hammond's Practical Catechism. This procured me with many the name of an Arminian, though I never made a controversy

[m] ["Symon Patrick, prælector Arithmetices, 1652–3."—Regr. Coll. Regin.]

about those matters, (as I said before,) but preached God's love to mankind as the most evident truth; laying down that as a rule which I find in the little book I mentioned, never to believe any thing to my eternal prejudice, as the soul's mortality, and God's rejecting man merely because he will [n], &c.

It was in the year 1655[o], I think, wherein a fellow of our college, Mr. Samuel Jacomb, was invited to a benefice in London, for he was an excellent preacher, and of good principles, and a prudent, courteous, obliging behaviour. He had a great kindness for me, being of the same year, and a constant companion; which made him very desirous to get me settled there also, but all those endeavours proved vain, God designing some easier employment for me for a short season.

A religious gentleman, sir Walter St. John[p], being newly come to the possession of a great estate by the death of his nephew sir John St. John, resolved to keep a chaplain in his

[n] ["He was but a very few years engaged in the business of a tutor, so that we can say little as to his pupils who arrived at any eminence in the world: but sure no person could be more diligent than he in this business; which he looked upon as a most important thing, there being none that do more mischief than careless tutors.

"I have not room to mention several of Patrick's pupils who arrived at any degree of eminence, though he left the college very early: but can't omit to give some account of one of them, of the physick profession, who died some time after he was bp. of Ely, viz. Dr. Stockham, who, after he left Cambridge, pursued his studies with great diligence; and being determined by his own choice to the study of physick, he repaired to the university of Padua, a place which then had a name for the study of physick; where he acquired a deep and accurate insight into the frame and structure of human bodies, a large and comprehensive knowledge as of the nature and symptoms of diseases, so of the virtues and qualities of those medicines which are proper for them. Insomuch that he returned to England a most accomplished physician, so that he soon fell into considerable practice; and as that learned society at Padua, whereof for some time he was head, out of a grateful sense of his worth, and some remarkable cures he by God's blessing succeeded in, erected to him a lasting monument to his name and memory; so was he here at home highly rated, and with great confidence applied to by some of the greatest families in England; and if he was not at the top of his profession, yet few or none exceeded him either in practice, skill, or success. He lived twenty years in Covent Garden, where he was very intimate with his tutor, Dr. Patrick, who valued him as a worthy and religious man."—Dr. Knight.]

[o] [Patrick was appointed to the college office of prælector of Hebrew, 1655-6.—Regr. Coll. Regin.]

[p] [Grandfather of Henry St. John, lord Bolingbroke; he died, July 3, 1708.]

house, and make him an handsome allowance. This he signified to a minister in London, who told Mr. Jacomb of it, and asked him if he could commend one to that place. He presently sent to me, and I came up, and going to Battersea, (where his house was,) became so acceptable to him and his lady, that he offered me three score pound per annum[q]: and his lady privately told me she would give ten pound a year (which she did) rather than not have my service, which was only to pray in the family, and instruct the servants after the evening sermon on Sundays. I repeated all the sermons which were preached; which was sometimes the hardest task of all, because I did not relish them.

I was not in good health when I came thither, but by God's goodness, and their care of me, I soon recovered. For some time before I should have remembered that I conflicted with a sore distemper, which I brought upon myself by hard and unseasonable study; it being usual with me to sit up till one or two o'clock in the morning, even in winter time; and yet I rose to go to chapel constantly. This brought upon (me) a sore disease, the hæmorrhoids, with which I was so afflicted, that I was forced to lay aside my books, and wholly mind my health. For being obliged to be let blood by leeches, they were so carelessly administered, that I bled all night in my bed; and was brought so weak on a sudden, that I could scarce crawl about my chamber. By the use of proper remedies, and God's blessing, I got so much strength, as to be able to go into my own country, where after a quarter of a year's stay I returned perfectly well. But this distemper often afflicted me in the future course of my life; which made me more willing, I believe, to leave the university, as I did, much to my advantage every way. For never was any man, I have often thought, more beloved in any family than I was; especially by the lady of it, who was very pious, and so delighted in my conversation, that she desired to contract a friendship with me: and I hope they received no small benefit by me; particularly my lady, who told me she never understood religion till she knew me: which I mention not to my own praise, but to give glory to God, who brought me hither, and made me useful here.

[q] [Leave of absence from college was granted to Mr. Patrick, by the president and fellows, Midsummer, 1656, and in Michaelmas term, 1657. —Regr. Coll. Regin.]

The next year, 1657, I went to Cambridge, and took my degree of bachelor of divinity [q]. I know not well what moved me to it, for I had no foresight of what afterward happened. When I came back, I found much discourse about the disposal of the vicarage of Battersea, which was likely to be shortly void, by the removal of Dr. Temple to a better benefice in Northamptonshire. Several suitors there were for it, and preached there for the approbation of the parish. Though the right of presentation was in sir Walter St. John, I had no thoughts of it, being highly pleased in my employment, and besides, very loath to go to be examined before the triers which were in those days. But after long deliberation, the lord chief justice St. John (father to sir Walter's lady) being at Battersea, said to his daughter, "Why are you so long in doubt whom to present to this vicarage, when you have one in your own house, who in my opinion well deserves it[r]?" Whereupon sir Walter made me an offer of it; Dr. Temple himself telling him also he thought me fit to succeed him: for I had often preached for him, and visited him. This was a great surprise to me, and I was unwilling to accept of the kindness. My chief reason was fear of being examined and rejected by the triers. But several worthy friends urging me to accept of the presentation, and one London minister promising me that he would dispose the triers to be very favourable in their examination of me, I adventured upon it. And truly they asked me no hard questions, but chiefly what evidence I could give of my conversion; and I gave them such an answer as satisfied them I was a good man, and so they admitted me; Mr. Caryl[s] saying when I was going

[q] ["Grace for B. D. granted to Mr. Patrick, Jan. 18, 165$\frac{7}{8}$."—Regr. Coll. Regin. His supplicat is dated June 11.—Regr. Univ.]

[r] ["He had known Patrick some years previously, being chancellor of the university of Cambridge, and had conferred the honour upon him of being one of the university preachers, as may be seen by an instrument in the Appendix."—Dr. Knight. The document alluded to has disappeared with the rest of Dr. Knight's collection. Sir Oliver was chancellor from Nov. 1651 to 1660.]

[s] [Joseph Caryl, one of the most eminent non-conformist divines, was a native of London, born in 1604; entered as a commoner at Exeter College, Oxford, in 1621, where he became a noted disputant. In 1627 he proceeded in arts, and entered into holy orders, first exercising his ministry in Oxford, and next as preacher at Lincoln's Inn, where he officiated with much applause. During the civil war he openly espoused presbyterian principles, became a frequent preacher before the long parliament, a licenser of books

away that he was once minister of Battersea, and had still such a love to them, that he desired me to have a special care of their souls.

And truly I had such a sense then of the weight of the care of souls, that after I had undertaken it, I was ready to sink under it, and was once resolved to quit the place, because I thought I should not be able to discharge the duty of it. This despondency went so far as to desire sir Walter to provide another minister, and let me continue his chaplain still. He was ready to do any thing I desired, but many things occurred which persuaded me to go on in the ministry I had entered into; in which I found the assistance of God beyond my expectation; which raised my despondency, and made me proceed with some alacrity and cheerfulness. One afternoon in every week I set apart to visit as many families as I could in my parish, till I had gone through it, and given them private monitions, and catechized their children. I find this note in a little book: "God was with me, (such a day;) O, my soul, depend always on God! Lift up thine eyes unto him, from whom is my help!" And a few days after I find this note: "I overcame my own inclinations, and went whither I had no mind to go; and I found for some days my heart was raised to a greater sense of God, and something ashamed I should mention his name

for the cause, and a zealous member of the Westminster Assembly. In 1645 he was made minister of St. Magnus, near London bridge, which he held until ejected by the act of uniformity. In January 1646 he, together with Stephen Marshall, was appointed chaplain to the commissioners sent to the king at Newcastle, and subsequently at Holmby House. He also formed one of the commissioners in the treaty of the Isle of Wight, in 1648. Two years later, he accompanied Dr. John Owen, in attendance upon Oliver Cromwell in Scotland. His sentiments were those of a moderate independent, but he was not so advanced as to be numbered among the famous five "dissenting brethren." In 1653, he was appointed one of the triers for the approbation of ministers, and for the ejection of the scandalous and ignorant. After his ejection from St. Magnus, he gathered a congregation in the neighbourhood, to which he preached until the time of his death, Feb. 23, 1672. He was a man of parts, learning, and indefatigable industry. Wood gives a list of his publications, which were numerous, consisting chiefly of sermons and tracts. But his principal work is his Commentary on Job, first printed in six vols. 4to, 1644–60, and afterwards in two vols. folio, 1676, 7. It was also epitomised in the second volume of Poole's Synopsis Criticorum. — Wood, Athen. Oxon. iii. 979. Neal, iv. 415. Chalmers, Biogr. Dict.]

with so little feeling of him, as if I spake or thought of a shadow, or of a thing that had no being or existence. O Lord, make me to feel thee as the most real being!"

In such manner as this I spent my time there with great satisfaction[t]. And having a friend in London, Mr. Vaughan, a minister in Lombard street, who had a son born, he would take no denial but I must consent to preach at his baptism, which I did. And afterwards he was as earnest that I would print the sermon. I was very unwilling. But Mr. Jacomb joining his importunity with Mr. Vaughan, I yielded to it, and made a little book of it, dedicated to him, which I called *Aqua Genitalis*[u], wherein I adventured in those days to say a great deal of confirmation[x], which ought to follow baptism. This little book proved so acceptable, that an excellent person, Dr. Worthington, then master of Jesus college in Cambridge, sent me thanks for it, and desired me earnestly to write about the other sacrament; which I did, and called it *Mensa Mystica*[y]: which was so approved, that an acquaintance of mine told me, he being to wait on bishop Wren[z], then in the Tower, he commended it to him,

[t] [In consequence of his acceptance of the benefice of Battersea, Patrick's fellowship became void by virtue of the college statutes. It was declared so to be on Jan. 18, 165$\frac{7}{8}$, and formally voted to be vacant by the master and major part of the fellows on the third of February following, as the register of Queen's college records.]

[u] [Vol. i. pp. 1—64.]

[x] [P. 47.]

[y] [Vol. i. pp. 65—318.]

[z] [Matthew Wren, descended from an ancient family of Danish extraction, was born in the parish of St. Petercheap, London, Dec. 23, 1585. Under the patronage of Andrewes, he entered at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, June 23, 1601, where he obtained the scholarship for Greek, and on taking his B. A. degree, was chosen fellow, Nov. 9, 1605. He graduated M. A. in 1608, and took the orders of deacon and priest in 1610. Andrewes appointed him his chaplain in 1615, and presented him to the rectory of Feversham. In 1621, he was made chaplain to prince Charles, (afterwards Charles I.) and attended him in that capacity in Spain. He was elected in July 1625 master of St. Peter's College, to which he became a munificent benefactor; in 1628 dean of Windsor and vice-chancellor of the university. Wren attended king Charles in his progress in Scotland, in 1633, and had some share with Laud in composing the ill-fated Liturgy for that country. On his return, he was made clerk of the closet to the king, and prebendary of Westminster. In 1634, he was presented to the bishopric of Hereford, which he held only one year, being translated to that of Norwich. There he became highly obnoxious to the puritanic party, and is charged, even by Clarendon, with having contributed to ruin the town, by driving away the wealthy weavers of that

and said he did not think any among the Presbyterians could have written such a book. After which, the same Dr. Worthington wrote to me, pressing me to turn a sermon I had preached in the university, and printed under a feigned na[me] into a larger treatise. The truth is, I being appointed bef[ore] I left Cambridge to preach a fast sermon at St. Mary's, [my] spirit was so stirred against the hypocrisy of the faction, who had lately decimated those loyal persons who were admitted before to compound for their delinquency, (as they called it,) that I made a vehement discourse against the hypocrisy of fasting and prayer, when we continue to be unjust, and oppress our neighbours. When I came to Battersea, I printed this sermon under the name of Ric. Patius[a], of which the forenamed doctor persuaded me to make a book, which I did, and called it "Jewish Hypocrisy, a Caveat to the present Generation[b]." It was just finished at the restoration of the king and the church; but not much minded in that time of overflowing joy wherewith the nation was filled. I remember that some years after, the bishop of Rochester, Dr. Dolben[c], told me, that

denomination. In May 1638, he was translated to Ely. Soon after the impeachment of Laud, Wren was impeached on similar charges, by order of the Commons, his bail being set at 10,000*l*. The charges against him were comprised in twenty-four articles, against which he composed a long and spirited defence; in consequence of which, his enemies declined trying him for his life, but obtained an order for his detention in the Tower during their pleasure. This lasted eighteen years, during which he refused Cromwell's terms for his release, till the restoration set him at liberty. He then returned to his palace in Holborn, and there died, April 24, 1607. He was a man of unquestionable learning, and sincere in his attachment to the church, of great courage in suffering for his principles, but of a most intolerant spirit. In character he much resembled Laud, and narrowly escaped his fate.—Parentalia, by Chr. Wren, junr. Biogr. Brit. Granger, ii. 338. Chalmers, &c.]

[a] [Vol. vii. pp. 403—454.]

[b] [Vol. v. pp. 1—251.]

[c] ["John Dolben, son of William Dolben, D. D., was born at Stanwick in Northamptonshire, of which his father was rector, elected a student of Ch. Ch. from Westminster School, an. 1640, aged fifteen years, bore arms for a time in Oxon., when made a garrison for his majesty; and having made proof of his courage in that service, he was appointed an ensign, and at length a major in one of the armies belonging to his majesty; but after the surrender of Oxford, the declining of the king's cause, and his army disbanded, he returned to Ch. Ch. again, and took the degree of M. A. in 1647, and the next year was ejected from his student's place by the visitors appointed by parliament. Soon after he took to wife

...r-zealous man, speaking of me, said he wished I was not an ove...esbyterian; to which he replied, "Read such a book," a Pr... ng that before mentioned, "and then tell me what you nami... k of him." The next time he saw him, he asked him if he thin... done as he advised, and what now was his opinion. To ha...ich he answered, "I wonder the Presbyterians did not tear w...m in pieces." Before this also I wrote a little book called "Heart's Ease[d]," which was written chiefly for the use of the lady St. John, to whom it was dedicated. I added to it a Consolatory Discourse upon the death of friends.

In the year 1659 sir Walter's family intended to go into Wiltshire, where their most ancient seat and greatest estate lay, at Liddiard Tregoze. This put me into a great perplexity how to dispose of myself, and I betook myself to God, begging of him that he would direct me to place myself to the best advantage. He was pleased to answer my prayers speedily, and grant me what I should have chosen, if it had been left to me

Catharine, daughter of Ralph Sheldon, (elder brother to Dr. Gilb. Sheldon, then lately Warden of All Souls College,) with whom he lived during the time of usurpation, in St. Aldate's parish in Oxon., and assisted Mr. John Fell in keeping up the orders and ceremonies of the church of England, in a private house opposite to Merton Coll. Church. After the king's restoration he was installed canon of Ch. Ch., 27 Jul. 1660, in the place of John Pointer, then ejected; and soon after was created doctor of divinity, at which time the uncle of his wife being bishop of London, and in great favour with the king, he was upon his recommendation deservedly made not only archdeacon of London, in the place of Dr. Thomas Paske, deceased, but afterwards clerk of the closet and dean of Westminster, upon the promotion of Dr. Earle to the see of Worcester; in which last dignity he was installed 5 Dec. 1662. In 1664 he acted as prolocutor to the lower house of convocation. In 1666 he was made bishop of Rochester in the place of Dr. Warner, deceased, to which see being consecrated in the archbishop's chapel at Lambeth, on the 25th of November, the same year, he had then liberty allowed him by his majesty to keep his deanery in commendam. Afterwards he became almoner to his majesty, and at that time and before, that place was managed to the benefit of the poor with great justice and integrity. At length, upon the death of Dr. Sterne, archbishop of York, he was by virtue of the king's *congé d'élire*, elected to that see, 28 July 1683, and soon after, viz. Aug. 16, being translated thereunto in the archbishop's chapel at Lambeth, was on the 23rd of the same month enthronized. He was a man of a free, generous, and noble disposition, and withal of a natural bold and happy eloquence. He died of the small pox, April 11, 1686, and was buried at York Minster, where a monument was erected to him bearing his epitaph, by his chaplain, Leonard Welsted."—Wood, Athen. Oxon. iv. 188.]

[d] [Vol. iii. pp. 493—635.]

to settle myself where I pleased. For I was given to understand that sir Walter had ordered I should not leave his house, but provision should be made for me there by his steward, whom he left in his house with a maid. This was such a kindness, that I could think of nothing else but the love of my friend, to whom I ascribed this; and did not for an hour reflect upon the goodness of God to me herein, but was wholly taken up with my obligations to my friend. Thus I have noted in the little book I have often mentioned, that at last I did think of the great mercy of God, who did me this favour without my desire; saying, (as I have there noted,) if I should not be thankful to God more than to my friend, (who gives me that friend,) he may make that in which I rejoice not to be a contentment to me, but prove my disquiet.

But I will not proceed to set down all the good thoughts which in those days abounded in my mind. These few I have noted, as a comfortable remembrance of the temper of mind in in which I find I all along continued: praising God for his goodness, and endeavouring to do good.

The next year the king was restored, and many ministers began of themselves to read the Common Prayer. I was pressed to it by some in my parish; but I thought, there being no injunction for it, that it would be most prudent to prepare my people for it, by preaching about forms of prayer, the lawfulness and usefulness of them; and showed that unity and peace was far better than those things we were apt to contend about. This I did more than once with good success and satisfaction; so that upon the 22nd of July I read the Common Prayer publicly in the church, and do not remember that any abstained from joining in it. For I had won the good opinion of the best in the town, who knew something of [my] mind before the restoration. For from my first coming to be their minister, I always received the communion myself kneeling. Some scruples I found remained in many minds, which made me solicitous to give them satisfaction. And as I was walking in the street, these thoughts came into my mind about the Common Prayer. First, that a form of prayer was very useful for the people. Secondly, that this form which we use is very good. Thirdly, that it is by law enjoined. Fourthly, that we ought not to humour good people in their prejudices and pas-

sions. By giving way to them, they increase. By contradicting them they may be taken away. As we must have a care the people do not make that necessary which is not, so that they do not make that sinful which is not. Fifthly, it has been so much scorned, that I ought to do it what honour I can, lest men remain in a great sin. Sixthly, they are apt to say that none but the ungodly [are] for it; and upon that account scorn it. Therefore I ought to stand up for it. And if upon that account they will take me to be ungodly, then they have no certain rule or measure of ungodliness. These thoughts I have set down in that little book, together with this discourse about kneeling at the communion. The people of the Jews did stand with their staves in their hands when the passover was first celebrated; which was most suitable to their present condition, when they were going out of Egypt. Afterwards they used sitting, without any command that we can find for that alteration, because that posture did much better express the rest they enjoyed when they came to Canaan; where they did rather lie down than sit, to denote by that posture the great ease they now enjoyed. Our blessed Saviour made no scruple of observing this ceremony of lying down, though not ordained by God. Why we should imitate it I know not, because it was a posture accommodated to the passover. What they did when they received the sacrament we are not told. If they still sat, or lay along, the church may better alter this into another posture than the Jews did theirs, because it is not commanded us, as standing was at first to them. And reason there is it should be altered; because if sitting was agreeable to the bodily presence of Christ, when he was not glorified, yet kneeling becomes us better now that we know he is in the heavens, where we worship him, and pray to him to intercede with God for us. Besides, we are not yet come to our rest, and therefore standing is more proper than sitting, till we come to heaven, where we shall sit down in the kingdom of God.

Thus I find I was busied in such thoughts as were proper at that season[e]; and, blessed be God, my patron and his lady, who

[e] ["Nov. 2, this year, I find notice taken by him of three tides in the river Thames within three hours; and as it happened in this remarkable year of the king's coming in, many were ready to give, as they were affected, their opinions concerning it. The royalists were sure to apply it to the full flow of happiness they now expected to enjoy;

were returned to Battersea, had no scruple about conformity, but entirely complied with me in all things; which was an excellent example to the parish, where they were much respected.

I have had such pleasure in looking over that little book I have so often mentioned, (wherein I have given an account how I spent every day in that place, with much comfort,) that it hath made me forget to mention what, in order of time, I should have remembered before this. And that is the death of my dear friend Mr. Jacomb, who departed this world in July, 1659. I was desired to preach his funeral sermon, which I did, and printed it under the title of "Divine Arithmetic[f]." There I have expressed much affection to him, but I think it did not carry me to give a character of him beyond the truth: for he was a man of an excellent temper, a rare preacher, and universally beloved.

On the 29th of April, 1662, I had news from Cambridge of the death of Dr. Martin, master of Queen's college; and that the major part of the fellows expressed their desires to have me to be their president, as the statutes call the master. I find, by the memorial I have kept of things that year, that I felt no ambition of that preferment, but prayed to God, whose wisdom governs all things, that he would incline them to do that which would be most beneficial for the place of my education. Nay, I beseeched him to hinder my advancement, if I were not fit for it, and might not do him more service there than elsewhere. I beseeched God also to govern that affair, that the electors might act more out of love to him than unto me; and that they would consult with their judgment and conscience more than with their affections.

I was desired to come to college, and on the fifth of May

but soon after some of them, by being baulked of their expectations, changed their note.

"There had been nothing like to this since the year 1413, the 13th of Henry the Fourth, when, as Holinshed says, on the 12th of October were two floods in the Thames, the one following upon the other, and no ebbing between; which thing no man living could remember the like to be seen."—Dr. Knight. See Holinshed, iii. 55. There were two floodtides in one hour, Nov. 6. 1574 (ib. iv. 325.), three in four hours, March 22, 1682, and two in three hours, Nov. 24, 1777.]

[f] [The sermon is printed in vol. vii. p. 483, and contains many interesting particulars of Jacomb's life and character.]

word was brought me to Trompington, within a mile of Cambridge, that I was legally chosen by the majority of the fellows, but another admitted, contrary to the statutes. For thus the election was managed. The senior fellow went up to the communion table, and read the statute, and invoked the Holy Ghost to direct their choice, and they were sworn to choose him whom they knew most worthy. Then he read a letter from the king recommending Dr. Sparrow[h] to their choice, and standing *in scrutinio* the fellows came up one by one, and in a paper wrote their suffrages, (which I still have to show;) and when he saw that eleven of nineteen had wrote for me, he snatched up the paper, and read a *mandamus* from the king to choose Dr. Sparrow.

They told him he should have produced it sooner, for now it was too late, another being chose by the major part of the fellows, before they knew the king's mind. But the old man, one Mr. Brian, pronounced Mr. Sparrow to be chosen by the king's authority, and admitted him. I came to the college when this was done, and staying one night with my friends, returned to London, to advise what was to be done in this case. All my acquaintance told me I had a good action against him that refused to admit me, which was demanded, and advised me to move for a *mandamus* in the king's bench [for my] admission. I followed this advice, May 9th, in Westminster

[h] [Anthony Sparrow was a native of Depden in Suffolk, born in 1619, and became, at the age of 13, scholar of Queen's, and fellow of that college July 12, 1633. He was one of those expelled the college in 1643. (ante, p. 415.) Soon afterwards he accepted the rectory of Hawkedon in Suffolk; but before he had held it five weeks, was again ejected for reading the Common Prayer. After the restoration he returned to his living, was elected one of the preachers at St. Edmunds Bury, archdeacon of Sudbury, prebendary of Ely, and chaplain to the king 1661. While president he was vice-chancellor, in 1666. He did not long continue president of Queen's, being appointed in 1667 bishop of Exeter, and consecrated to that see Nov. 8, 1667: from which he was translated on the death of Dr. Edward Reynolds to that of Norwich, where he died May 19, 1685.

His best known writings are, the Rationale of the Book of Common Prayer, first published in 1657, and a Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons, &c. 4to, 1671.—Wood, Athen. Oxon. iv. 852. Chalmers, Biogr. Dict.

Some documents bearing upon the disputed election of Dr. Sparrow to the mastership of Queen's college, too lengthy to be inserted in this place, will be found in the appendix.]

hall[i]; which was not granted by the judges. Whereupon Mr. Serjeant Keeling[k] (who was my counsel) expressing great dissatisfaction at it, as they were at dinner in Serjeant's Inn; desiring all that were present (judges and serjeants) to give their opinion. Who all declared I ought to have right done me; and judge Twisden[l] bid him move it again. It was moved May 12th, and granted[m]; and the same day a commission being sent to the vice-chancellor, the two divinity professors, and the provost of King's, to suspend all those who chose me, it was executed this day: which did not in the least daunt any of them; but one of them wrote me word that he never spent a quieter hour in all his life, than when he was thus censured. No return being made to the writ of *mandamus*, I had an *alias* granted me, (on the 31st of May[n], and June 6th I had a new motion made for me, which was granted me:) but on the 14th my business was put off till the next term. Which gave me no trouble at all; for I find that all along my mind was in a most happy temper, full of good thoughts and earnest desires that God would assist me to manage it with a meek, charitable spirit, without the least hatred to any man whatsoever.

After this I went into Northamptonshire, to see my father and mother, and there met my mother's brother, a grave divine[o], who was also come to visit her. I have often consulted him about my studies, and prayed him to direct what

[i] [The accuracy of Patrick's narrative is strictly confirmed by the report of the legal proceedings in the court of king's bench.

"May 9, Pasch. 14 Car. 2. Keling moved for mandamus to admit Patrick, being by a majority of the fellows chosen master of Queen's college &c. Mandamus granted."—Keble's Reports, i. 289.]

[k] [John Keeling or Kelynge, created king's sergeant in 1661, puisne justice of the king's bench, June 23, 1663, receiving the honour of knighthood; and chief justice Nov. 22, 1665. He died in 1671. The act of uniformity was drawn up by him.—Burnet i. 316. His son John was also created knight Oct. 26, 1679, being described in the MS. roll at Herald's college as of Southall, Bedfordshire.]

[l] [Sir Thomas Twysden, puisne judge of the king's bench, July 2, 1660, dispensed with in 1678, but continued judge until his death in Jan. 1682.—Haydn, Book of Dignities.]

[m] [Keble, 294.] [n] [Ibid. 298.]

[o] [Wood mentions a certain John Naylour, sometime of St. Alban's hall, Oxford, as vicar of St. Nicholas, Newcastle, and deceased in 1679. Whether this divine was related to Patrick's mother, whose maiden name was Naylor, it appears impossible to ascertain. See Athen. Oxon. iv. 373. Another

books to read, when I bent my thoughts to divinity. He never would say any thing to me, neither by word or writing, but—"Study the Scriptures." He was counted a very wise man, which made me regard his words the more, and conclude he liked none of the books in common use. And I understood more of his mind, when he wrote me a letter, and told me he would now commend a little book to me, and prayed me to read it, which was Mr. Baxter's Aphorisms of Justification, in which the doctrine of justification by faith is cleared from many errors.

After this followed the great turn of things at Bartholomew day 1662, before which all that had benefices were to conform to the new Book of Common Prayer, which I procured and read, and expressed my assent and consent to the use of it, August the 17th, and subscribed before the bishop on the 18th, at Kingston.

On the 4th of September I was very much surprised at a message I received by a gentleman belonging to the earl of Bedford, who told me he came from the earl, to offer the benefice of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, now void by Dr. Manton's [p] refusal to conform. I had never seen the earl, nor any of his family, and therefore was the more amazed at the offer of such

Another divine of the same name, Joseph Naylor, D. D., was ejected from his prebend at Durham, and the rectory of Sedgefield in that diocese, for refusing the covenant. He had been fellow of Sidney college, and chaplain to bishop Morton, to whom he owed those preferments. The additions to the life of bp. Morton were drawn up by him. He died in 1668.—Walker, Sufferings of the Clergy, part ii. p. 20.]

[p] [Thomas Manton was born in 1620 at Laurence Lydiard, Somerset, and entered Wadham college Oxford at the age of 15. He was ordained before he was 20 by bishop Hall, according to Calamy and Harris, but Newcourt (i. 707) and Wood (iv. 1135) speak of him as being ordained in 1660 by Thomas, bishop of Galloway. He first had a cure at Culliton, Devon, then at Stoke Newington in Middlesex, and on the resignation of Mr. Sedgwick was instituted to the living of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, on the presentation of William, earl of Bedford, Jan. 10, 166$\frac{9}{10}$, taking the customary oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles. The inhabitants of the parish shortly after presented a petition to Sheldon, bishop of London, for the restoration of the liturgy of the church of England, in the following terms:

"Since by the blessing of God we have seen the happy restauration of our gracious king, we hope that we shall not be deprived of the exercise of religion in such manner and form as is by law established: wherefore we humbly pray your lordship to use your episcopal power that we may have Divine service celebrated, and both the sacraments

a kindness; which I thankfully acknowledged, and desired a little time to consider of it, which being allowed, I was in great doubt what to do, but at last resolved to accept it, because I had not sought it, nor thought of it, but it seemed to come to me from God; and I should have opportunity to bring my brother (who was but meanly provided for) to succeed me in Battersea. So going to London on the 15th to see a friend, I met with a presentation from the earl of Bedford, who was in the country, at Wooburn, with a desire I would pursue it; which I did, and on the 17th got a grant of a dispensation to keep Battersea with it, not knowing how the air of London might agree with me, nor how acceptable I should be to the parish. On the 18th I got it ready for the broad seal, and on the 22nd carried my presentation to the bishop of London, who gave me institution on the 23rd, with many kind words[q]. I preached on the 28th at Covent Garden, and took induction into my living on the 6th of October, where, for a quarter of a year, I preached and read prayers twice every Sunday; the curate refusing to conform, as well as Dr. Manton; and I could not find one to my mind[r]. But, blessed be God, he enabled

duly administered in such form and with such rites as by the laws of the land hath been most laudably ordered."

Manton seems to have complied with this request without opposition, establishing daily service in his church, which renders his resignation more remarkable. He continued to attend the services at St. Paul's for some time afterwards, until offended by Patrick's imputing to him a violent anonymous letter which he had received. He was appointed one of the non-conformist delegates at the Savoy conference, and is said to have had the offer of a deanery, which he declined. He was distinguished as a preacher and controversialist, and suffered imprisonment and persecution for his opinions. He died Oct. 18, 1677.—Kennet, Reg. p. 358. Harris, Memoirs of Manton. Calamy, Silenced Ministers, p. 42. Rugge's Diurnall, i. 275.

In the churchwarden's books Dr. Manton is debited with 75*l.*, his income for the half year, Patrick receiving the remaining 75*l.*; the sum of 150*l.* being the fixed payment regularly disbursed to the rector every year. Mr. Herbert 4*l.* for officiating in the interval between the resignation of Manton and Patrick's induction, between St. Bartholomew's day and Michaelmas.]

[q] ["1662, 23 Sept. Simon Patrick, S. T. B., admiss. ad eccl. S. Pauli, Covent Garden, ad pres. Gul. com. Bedf. Reg. Lond."—Wood, Fasti, ii. 292.]

[r] ["Mr. Pinchbeck was Dr. Manton's assistant, and was also ejected with him. He was a man very zealous against the ceremonies."—Calamy, p. 43.

In the churchwarden's accounts Mr. Pinchbeck receives 25*l.* for part of his year, confirming the accuracy of Calamy's statement.

A certain John Pinchback, A.M.,

me to go through so great a labour, in which I was much hindered by the business of Queen's college. For on the 22nd of October I was summoned to appear before some commissioners, whom the king appointed to hear our business. I was advised by some hot persons not to go. But both I and the fellows who chose me appeared on the 30th at Worcester house, before the lord chancellor, the bishops of London, Winchester, Ely [s], and others, whose names I have forgot, where I was thought to speak very pertinently in my own behalf. And the lord chancellor, after some sharp words, bade us bring what friends we pleased with us the next time they met to examine the business, and they should see whether they did not do us justice. But on the 3rd of November, when we appeared again, they were all shut out; and I having then thought fit to entertain counsel, when I came to call serjeant Keeling to go along with me, he told me he was ordered at that hour to wait upon the king at the council table. So I was forced to desire leave I might plead my own cause as well as I could; which was granted, and some of the fellows had permission to speak, who made it so evidently appear that I was duly chosen, that the counsel on the other side had nothing to reply, but that they were fellows only by the king's grace and favour, who sent a mandamus that all should keep their fellowships at the restoration who were not in sequestered places. To which Dr. Cradock answered, that it was true his majesty had sent such a mandamus, but Dr. Martin the master said this was not sufficient to give them so good a title as he desired they should have; and therefore called all the old fellows together, who had been rejected and now restored, who chose every man of them regularly, according to the statutes, and admitted them

was licensed to the curacy of St. James's, Duke's Place, March 11, 1686, vice Adam Elliot, suspended for performing irregular marriages, and subsequently to that of Northall, Middlesex, in 1700.—Newcourt, i. 848, 917. Whether they are to be identified or not is questionable.

In the same books Edward Peeres is also designated as curate of St. Paul's at the time of Patrick's induction; different sums, amounting on the average to forty pounds per annum, being debited to him under the head of disbursements. His name occurs as late as the year 1672, in which he receives only three quarters' stipend, being superseded by the notorious Samuel Johnson, whose name is introduced at a later page in this narrative. They were, strictly speaking, domestic chaplains to the earl of Bedford.]

[s] [Earl of Clarendon, Gilbert Sheldon, George Morley, Matthew Wren.]

fellows. At which the chancellor said, "Well then, he is legally chosen; but will he yield nothing to the king?" I humbly told him I had nothing to yield; but if they pleased to put me in possession of that to which they acknowledged I had a right, they should see what I would do. Upon which he was angry, and bade all our names be taken and set down in writing, that we might be noted as a company of factious fellows; and then bid us withdraw; and we heard no more of this commission, by which we were heard, and nothing determined. I have not here set down a great many strange things that were said at this hearing, because I reverence the memory of that great man, who hath deserved highly of this nation. His intention was only to discourage from proceeding in my action in Westminster hall, which I plainly signified I would pursue, though I did not decline their judgment.

On the 10th I was told that my counsel was taken off; and when I went to him to know the truth, he freely confessed he had received instructions to meddle no more in my business, which was moved again by another person on the 27th of November in Westminster hall. But after a long attendance there, for two years, or more, I found it was to no purpose[a]; for after three arguments by sir William Jones[b], sir Thomas Raymond[c], and another, the judges were divided; two being of opinion that the mandamus did lie, and I ought to be admitted, the other two were against it; so that it was to be an

[a] [The cause was heard and adjourned Nov. 17, 1662; and argued again by sir W. Jones, Feb. 4, 1664, and Jan. 28, 1665 (16 and 17 Car. II.) by sir Thomas Raymond; but no decision recorded.—Keble's Reports, i. 610, 665, 833.]

[b] [Sir William Jones was attorney general from Jan. 1675 to Oct. 27, 1679.]

[c] [Sir Thomas Raymond was said to be descended from the celebrated crusader of that name, count of Toulouse. His family had, however, sunk into decay, his father being a trader in the city of London. His talents as a lawyer were undeniable, but he owed his elevation, in the words of lord Campbell, (Chief Justices, ii. 189,) to "extraordinary servility combined with extraordinary learning." He rose to be junior baron of the Exchequer, May 5, 1679, was removed to the Common Pleas, Feb. 7, 1680, and thence Feb. 29 in the same year to the King's Bench. He expired in 1683, of disappointment, it was said, at the elevation of Jeffreys to the chief-justiceship, which he had laboured to obtain for himself by unprincipled zeal for the crown in the important *quo warranto* prosecution against the city of London.]

exchequer case before the judges, who it is likely would have been equally divided. Therefore I let it fall, being settled in a better place, wherein I hope I did more good than I should have done there. I had much business indeed, but found time to follow my studies, and in the year 1663 wrote a book called "The Parable of the Pilgrim," which was published the next year, at the end of which was a very hard frost, which lasted from Christmas till near the middle of April in the year 1665, when the plague began to break out[d], a little after the breaking of the frost. The next month, May 13, I went to drink Astrop waters[e]; where I stayed a month, and there met that great man Dr. Willis[f]; who understanding that I intended to return

[d] [The first cases were said to be those of two Frenchmen who died in Long Acre, and the upper part of Drury Lane, at the end of November or beginning of December 1664. Throughout the winter there was an increasing mortality, chiefly in the parishes of St. Giles' and St. Andrew's. The winter that year was long and severe, and the pestilence seemed arrested for a time; but broke out with fearful violence on the approach of warmer weather. See Defoe's narrative.]

[e] ["The medicinal spring at Astrop near King's Sutton, Northamptonshire, was accidentally discovered by Dr. Willis the eminent physician, or, according to other accounts, by Dr. Richard Lower, his travelling companion, in April, 1664. It was inclosed in a well, and became a place of great repute. Dr. Ratcliffe benefitted it much by his patronage, and in 1749 a new well at Sutton, half a mile from the old spa, was opened with much ceremony. From the beginning of the present century its attraction rapidly declined, and it is now completely stopped by more popular rivals. Dr. Short in his account of mineral waters, characterises that of Astrop as a noble, brisk, very spirituous, clear, pleasant-tasted chalybeate; and states that the spring discharges between three and four hundred gallons of water in an hour. With galls there it is of a deep purple, but carried a quarter of a mile to the house it is only a pink."—Baker's Northamptonshire, p. 703.]

[f] [Thomas Willis, one of the most distinguished physicians of his age, was born at Great Bedwyn in Wilts, Jan. 27, 162½. His father, Thomas Willis, was steward to sir Walter Smith of Bedwyn, and afterwards kept a farm of his own at North Hinksey, near Oxford. Through his mother Rachel, daughter of Mr. William Howell, he could trace a relationship to William of Wykeham. Having received his scholastic education at Oxford under Edward Sylvester, he was admitted at Ch. Ch. as a batteler at the age of fifteen, and graduated B. A. June 19, 1639, M. A. June 18, 1642. His original inclination was for the church. On his father's death in 1643, he assumed the management of the farm at Hinksey, but was compelled by the incursions of the parliamentary troops to retire to Oxford, where he bore arms for a time on the side of the king.

Despairing of the fortunes of the king and church, he devoted him-

to London, and look after my parish, was wonderfully kind to me, and directed me how to order myself, and often in the time of the plague wrote to me, and sent me money to give to the poor.

After a short visit which I paid to my father and mother, I returned to London in July, where I found the plague already

self to the study of medicine, in which he graduated B. M. Dec. 8, 1646. During this time he maintained, in company with Fell, his brother-in-law, Dolben, Allestree, and other staunch churchmen, the regular use of the common prayer and sacraments of the church at his rooms in Ch. Ch. and subsequently in his private house opposite Merton college, to which many members of the university used to resort: and published his earliest medical tracts on Fermentation, Fevers, and Urines, which at once established his reputation. He also united with a number of scientific men in the university in instituting a philosophical society for the improvement of physical science. On the restoration he was appointed Sedleian reader in natural philosophy, and took the degree of M. D. Oct. 30, 1660. On the institution of the Royal Society he became one of its first fellows. In 1664 he discovered the chalybeate spring at Astrop, which became a place of great resort for invalids, until supplanted by more fashionable rivals. On the outbreak of the plague in 1665 he drew up "A plain and easy method for the cure of the epidemic and the prevention of contagion." By the advice of archbishop Sheldon Willis removed in the next year to London, and entered upon an extensive practice in St. Martin's Lane, becoming fellow of the college of physicians, and physician to ordinary to king Charles II, declining at the same time the honour of knighthood offered him by his majesty.

The doctor was twice married, first to Mary, sister to bishop Fell, and secondly to lady Cowley, a knight's widow, and left three sons and five daughters. He died of pleurisy Nov. 11, 1675, and was interred in Westminster Abbey. His principal writings were on the anatomy and pathology of the brain, on nervous and convulsive affections, and on the souls of brutes, which he considers to be only vital and sensitive, consisting of mere matter, and perishing with the body, as he does also the sensitive soul of man, asserting immateriality, and consequently immortality to be the prerogative of the rational soul. The majority of his writings were published in 1685 under the title of the London Practice of Physic, &c.; and his Latin works were printed together at Geneva in 1670 and at Amsterdam in 1682 under the care of Dr. Gerard Blasius.

"Though Dr. Willis," says Wood, "was a plain man, a man of no carriage, little discourse, complaisance or society, yet for his deep insight, happy researches in natural and experimental philosophy, anatomy and chymistry, for his wonderful success and repute in his practice, the natural smoothness, pure elegancy, delightful unaffected neatness of his Latin style, none, scarce, hath equalled, much less out-done him, how great soever;" and adds that "he hath laid a lasting foundation of a body of physic, chiefly on hypotheses of his own framing:" a panegyric, which the progress of medical science has by no means tended to verify.—Wood, Athen. Oxon. iii. 1048. Biogr. Brit. vi. 4291—7.]

broke out in my parish g: notwithstanding which, I resolved to commit myself to the care of God in the discharge of my duty, and accordingly preached July the 23rd, when I had many heavenly meditations in my mind, and found the pleasure wherewith they filled the soul was far beyond all the pleasures of the flesh. Nor could I fancy any thing that would last so long, nor give me such joy and delight as those thoughts which I had of the other world, and the taste which God vouchsafed me of it. Which made me pray, "Lord, evermore indulge to thy poor servant these favours!" And accordingly, blessed be God, I found myself mightily supported and assisted in doing my duty cheerfully. About the middle of August I set myself to write a short exhortation to those who were shut up because of the plague, and just when I had finished it, heard the melancholy news of my father's death, on the 16th; upon which I wrote a letter to comfort my mother, wherewith I much comforted myself; and on the 24th sent abroad my little exhortation to those who were shut up, beseeching God that it might do good to all. And on the 30th I thought of writing a little treatise of comfort in this sad time, which I finished and sent to my bookseller September the first, praying the blessing of Heaven might attend upon these my little labours for the good of souls.

On the 3rd my brother was taken very ill, and vomited forty or fifty times, and my servant also had a swelled face, and I myself also on the 7th had a sore pain in my leg, which broke my sleep, and made me suspect some touch of the plague, which was now come to its height, there dying ten thousand in one week. But, blessed be God, all these maladies went well over without danger. On the 9th I set myself to consider the great goodness of God to me since this plague, and how many dangers I had been in, by people coming to speak to me out of infected houses, and by my going to those houses to give them money, which was sent to me by charitable persons to distribute to those in need. Particularly sir William Jones sent me fifty pounds, and many other things, which I have noted in a little book, but shall not here rehearse. One thing

g [In the bills of mortality the first entry of St. Paul's Covent Garden records two cases in the week from June 20 to 27. The highest was twenty-nine, between Sept. 12 and 19; the total for the year 261.]

I cannot but remember, that preaching a funeral sermon at Battersea, I was desired to let a gentleman come back to Londen in a coach which I had hired to wait upon me. This gentleman proved an apothecary, who entertained me all the way home with a relation of the many persons he had visited, who had the plague; how they were affected, with the nature of their swellings and sores. But, blessed be God, I was not in the least affrighted, but let him go on, without any conceit that he might infect me.

My poor clerk, a very honest man, found his house infected, and acquainted me with it. I was so pitiful as to bid him come out of the house himself, and attend his business, and I should not be afraid of him. He did so, and his wife and child died of the plague; but he was preserved, and had a thankful remembrance of my kindness to his dying day, many years after.

Upon the fifteenth of October I preached a sermon, (when the plague began to abate very much[h],) of the remembrance we ought to have of the time of affliction, when God restores to prosperity. It was upon consideration of Psalm xxxviii. whose title is, "A Psalm to bring to remembrance;" wherein I wished them to set down in writing all that they found observable in the late time of danger, their thoughts, their promises and vows, their good resolutions, their deliverances, &c., and to write at the head of them, "A meditation to bring to remembrance." And accordingly, I noted how good God had been to myself, not only in preserving my life, but giving so much health, and enabling me with cheerfulness to go through my labours; resolving to do my duty still more faithfully for the time to come.

I studied very hard all the time of the plague, and read many good authors, for I had seldom any company; only my brother came to see me, and I went to see him once a week, which was a great refreshment to me. I gave an account also once in a week in a letter to a friend in Essex[i], how I did, and

[h] [The highest mortality was between the twelfth and nineteenth of September, when the numbers were returned as 8,297.—Defoe, ix. 169. In the last week of that month it began sensibly to diminish. The total number of deaths occasioned by the pestilence was returned as 68,596.]

[i] [Elizabeth, wife of sir Dennis Gauden. These letters, as transcribed and abridged by Cole, are printed in the appendix from his MSS. in the British Museum.]

how I spent my time. Which letters, upon the death of that friend were returned to me, and I have thought good to print them at the end of this narrative[j].

Towards Christmas my parish began to fill again, which had been a long time very empty. For none but the ordinary sort of people continued there, all the gentry and better sort of tradesmen being gone. Insomuch that a collection of my dues could not be made, which sometimes brought me to want money. But I observed that whatsoever I gave to the poor, was shortly after repaid me by more bestowed on me; and when I have been in want of money, I have found some in some corner or other, where I could not remember that ever I had laid up any.

When my parishioners returned, they were wonderful kind to me[k], and I found myself much endeared to them by my stay

[j] [They were never actually committed to the press, but passed with the rest of Patrick's papers into Dr. Knight's custody. The originals cannot now be found.]

[k] ["Dr. Patrick's intrepid and constant attendance on his parish in this time of difficulty and danger, was so pleasing to his noble patron, that he could not but show his high esteem of him in a letter writ by his order by one of his domestics; which abundantly testifies his thorough satisfaction that he had made so good a choice, in placing one in his parish where he was so highly useful and serviceable. The letter deserves a place here, and is as follows:

"Sir, your great piety and charity in this sad conjuncture hath not only reached my lord's ears, but also affected his heart in such a manner, that he could not contain from giving me in command to let you know his joyful resentment thereof. Sir, could my pen but give you the expressions so affectionate and full of respect towards you, and so accorded as they came from his honour, you would conclude yourself very much in his friendship; nay, doubtless your piously good actions have begotten in his lordship a very noble esteem of you, which I am truly glad of out of the pure affection I have had for you ever since I first grew into acquaintance with you. Sir, I conceive you have endeared yourself to all where your fame hath been spread; for although there is a sort of men who out of a peevish humour are ready to cast dirt upon the well-deserving actions of others, yet I am confident the brightness of your's must either stop their mouths, or make them instruments in sounding your praises. Sir, I speak not in raillery or compliment, for if you know me you will deem me much concerned in your welfare, and soon made happy by your being so. Mr. Thornton commends himself heartily to you: the Lord keep you and send us an happy meeting."

Your very humble servant,

Geo. Collop.

Woburn-Abbey, Nov. 8, 1665.

To the Revd. Mr. Patrick,
Rector of Covent-Garden."—Dr. Knight.]

among those that remained. And one gentleman would have carried me to the king, and acquainted him with my care of my flock. But I did not think fit to accept of his kindness, having happiness enough in being preserved and assisted in the performance of my duty. Many such observations I made in that time, and it fills my heart with joy to read the loving-kindness of the Lord, and the holy resolutions he wrought in me to be wholly his.

In the next year I resolved to take my degree of doctor of divinity[1], and for that end sent to Cambridge for a certificate

[1] ["About the beginning of the year 1666 he was under such a malady, that he had once laid aside the thought of taking his degree which he had proposed, and seemed to despair of any help from physic. But hearing of Mr. Valentine Greatrake the famous stroker, and of the wonderful cures done by him, though he was far from being credulous and had no opinion of empiricks, yet he submitted himself to him, and met with surprising success in being cured by him. Moved by gratitude for the profit he had received, and being an eye-witness of several surprising cures done by him, he thought in justice he ought to give some account to the world thereof: which for the sake of the curious I have given a more full account of in the appendix. It is singled out from several other certificates of Dr. Whichcott (who was cured by him), bishop Wilkins, Dr. R. Cudworth, the honourable Rob. Boyle, Dr. Rust, dean of Connor, &c., published in a letter to the honourable R. Boyle, Esq., as also Dr. Henry Stubbe's Miraculous Conformist, where are set down also many of his marvellous cures well attested,—4to, Oxon. 1668."—Dr. Knight.

Patrick's certificate will be found in the appendix.

That an empiric like Greatrakes should have acquired so powerful an ascendancy over some of the ablest intellects of his day, will hardly be thought strange by those who have studied the settled laws by which the spiritual organisation of mankind is uniformly regulated, or who are conversant with the phenomena produced at the present time by the professors of animal magnetism, and other cognate processes, of which Greatrakes' system must be considered the precursor in this country. It is certainly not in the comparatively low state of medical science at that date, nor in any greater degree of credulity attaching to a less advanced condition of general enlightenment, that a solution of this problem is to be sought. The periodical superstitions and impostures by which society has been successively swayed from age to age, present indeed one of the most interesting phases in which human nature can be contemplated. Nor should it justly tend to depreciate the importance of such investigations of exploded fallacies, that they so frequently result in the exhibition (however deplorable it may appear) of grosser and more animal temperaments in casual ascendancy over others less sensual and more spiritually gifted. To deny that success, and physically speaking very material benefit has ensued from shallow and fraudulent modes of combating disease, were to be uncandid

of my commencing bachelor of divinity long ago. Which having obtained, I went to Oxford, June 25th, and by the advice of my worthy friend Dr. Willis, was admitted into Christ Church, where I was most kindly received by the dean, the bishop of Oxford, who ever after expressed a great affection to

and prejudiced, as to ignore the significance of that fact would be to the highest degree unphilosophical.

Why need it be questioned that there is exerted by one living agent over another (notably in the instance of redundant animal vigour and tenacity of will, in contact with one constitutionally weaker, or enfeebled by disease) a subtle personal influence, such as to be neither reducible to the ordinary processes of art, nor explicable by the received canons of medical science? The various elements which make up into one harmonious whole the vital constitution of man, are at once too subtle for analysis, and too multiform for enumeration. No experimental study can exhaust, as no artificial generalization can embody the laws of its composition and mechanical action. In the treatment of the intricate class of disorders affecting the brain and nervous system, the influence, immediate or indirect, of the imagination upon the bodily organism is too well known to be questioned; while its inherent caprice must defy every attempt to assign limits to its possible effects. By what particular mode the brain, the centre at once of conscious impressions, and of nervous and muscular action, is placed *en rapport* with external agents, and brought to bear upon the special seat of morbid action, is of little comparative import. Such methods will necessarily vary from age to age, as their curative influence will be found equally to vary in the ratio of their novelty or strangeness, or with the shifting current of fashion, or of social and religious opinion. No fact however admits of more strict verification than the remedial efficacy of charms, relics, and every species of reputed nostrum or mysterious agent, in cases where more scientific treatment had proved unavailing; and where no system of therapeutics based upon a single regard to the physical conditions of healthy organisation would be likely to command success. In the extreme instance in which the corporeal malady has become complicated with confirmed hypochondriacal affections, the depressed mind of the patient feels a natural affinity for the imposing arts of the charlatan: analogous to that which leads the intellect in its last state of decline from healthy belief to prostrate itself before the most monstrous idol of the fancy, or to cling with abject superstition to the most glaring figment of imposture and fraud.

Every age has witnessed the like occasional arrest of moral and intellectual development, as every age has called forth the system or the individual adapted to satisfy its morbid cravings. Yet before proceeding to pity or to condemn the infirmity which yields an unreasoning confidence to baseless illusions, let it not be overlooked that the success of the charlatan forms at all times a measure of the short-comings of the philosopher; empiricism never daring to step in but where the demonstrations of science have turned away baffled before the enigma of nature.]

me [m]. There was no public commencement that year, but I read in the schools three public lectures upon the Epistle of St. Paul to Titus, and was admitted doctor July the third.

The following year was made memorable by that dreadful fire, which consumed the city of London; burning with great fury for above three days together [n]. This disordered my studies very much, for a friend came to my house, and asked what I meant not to remove my goods. I told him that the fire was so far off, that I hoped it would be stopped before it came to us. He made no answer, but fell to pulling down my hangings in the diningroom himself, and never left me till I had taken down all my books, and sent them to Battersea, from whence I could not have them brought back so soon as I desired, and cost me a great deal of time to set up my books again in their place. And a little after composed as moving a sermon as I could make concerning the late calamity; and in the afternoon inquired into the causes why men do not repent and turn to God after such fearful judgments.

I do not find that I attempted to compose any thing the next year, but only sermons, with a paraphrase upon the ninth of Romans, for the satisfaction of a friend, who feared he was under the sentence of reprobation. What effect it had upon him I am not able to say, for he was a silent man, and very

[m] [Patrick was incorporated at Ch. Ch. June 27, and admitted D. D. July 5, 1666.—Wood, Fasti Oxon. ii. 292. Cat. of Oxford Graduates, p. 505.

John Fell, son of Dr. Samuel Fell, some time dean of Ch. Ch., was born at Longworth, Berks, June 23, 1625, and educated at the free school at Thame; made student of Ch. Ch. in 1636, at the early age of eleven, and took the degree of B. A. in Oct. 1640, and M. A. in June 1643. He held a commission in the Oxford troop raised for the king, and in 1648, being then in holy orders, was expelled by the parliamentary visitors, but continued to reside in private, and discharge his clerical functions. On the restoration he was installed canon of Ch. Ch. July 27, and dean Nov. 30, 1660. On his elevation to be bishop of the see (consecr. Feb. 6, $167\frac{5}{6}$) he was permitted to retain his deanery in commendam. He died July 10, 1686.

The university of Oxford exhibits lasting traces of Fell's munificence, energy and taste; while his critical works, in particular his editions of Cyprian and of the Greek Testament, bespeak his high attainments and industry in theological scholarship.—See Wood, iv. 193, Biogr. Brit. &c.]

[n] [The great fire broke out near the site of the present monument, Sept. 2, 1666, and raged upwards of four days, consuming eighty-nine churches, St. Paul's cathedral included, and 13,200 houses, and laying waste four hundred streets.]

melancholy all his days, but I hope it was beneficial to others who got copies of it.

In the latter end of the year 1668, the insolence of many of the dissenters grew so great, that it provoked me to write a little book, which I called "A Friendly Debate between a Conformist and a Nonconformist[b]." My intention in it was sincere, to persuade them in a kind manner to join with us; at least not to have us in contempt, as if they were the only godly people, and we at the best but moral men, (as they called us,) who had not the grace of God in us. This book proved very acceptable, and had many editions[c]; but was only guessed to be mine; for I told nobody of it but my brother, and one that carried it to the press. At last, one of my lord of Canterbury's chaplains wheedled Mr. Royston the bookseller to confess he had it from me. Whereupon his grace, who had long been angry with me upon the account of Queen's college business, ordered one to bring me over to him, assuring me of a very kind welcome. Which indeed I had from him ever after upon many occasions[d].

The next year, in the beginning of March, I began to write a second part of that work, and made a considerable progress in it by the end of that month; and made an end of it on the 13th of April[e]. In the month of August an answer came out to my first book under the name of Philagathus, which was full of frivolous things and foul mistakes. But being cried up by a party, I thought good to answer it. Which I began on the fourth of September[f], in a way a little too jocular, as many of my friends thought. But after I had exposed him to laugh-

[b] [Vol. v. p. 253–433. The preface to the first edition is dated Oct. 20, 1688.]

[c] [Five editions of the first part were published in the course of the two years 1668–9: and in 1684 a sixth edition, to which was added a reprint of the second part, or Continuation.]

[d] ["Nov. 28, 1668. Dr. Patrick preached at Covent Garden on Acts xvii. 31. the certainty of Christ's coming to judgment; a most suitable discourse."—Evelyn's Diary.]

[e] [The preface to the reader bears date April 15, 1669; and the imprimatur of the archbishop's chaplain, Thomas Tomkyns, April 24. Vol. v. pp. 435–691.]

[f] [The only particular which the records of the parish present under the current year is the following disbursement in the churchwardens' accounts, an item which has long since ceased to be chargeable to the parish funds.—"Sept. 4, 1669. To Mr. Bruce for a scarlet hood for Dr. Patrick, £02. 00. 00."]

ter in the beginning, I made serious reflections upon him throughout the book, and was never answered by him[g]. I finished it upon the 12th of October, for which I find I gave solemn thanks to God, who assisted me beyond my expectation.

On the 12th of November, the bishop of Lincoln (Dr. W. Fuller[h]) sent for me, and most kindly offered me the archdeaconry of Huntingdon, then void[i], and in his gift. That morning I had read prayers in my church, and that advice of the son of Sirach, Ecclus. xxxvii. 27, 28, which I read in the first lesson, much affected me, and run in my mind a long time after: *Prove thy soul in thy life; for all things are not profitable for all men.* So that having consulted my own inclinations, after three or four days' deliberation, I most humbly and thankfully declined to accept of it, thinking myself unfit for that government[k]. A little after which, reading in St. Gregory Nazianzen, I was confirmed in my resolution by some good advice of his, Orat. viii. p. 148[l]. O, blessed be God, that I was then so free from all ambition, as I am sure I was from all disaffection to those against whom I wrote, having a great esteem of many that were good amongst them, and a pity for the rest, with earnest desire to do them good. For two days after that which I last noted, I find I was so much affected with what I then preached, that I wrote it down in these words: "I would give all I had in the world to be alway in such a

[g] ["A Further Continuation or the third part of the Friendly Debate," vol. vi. pp. 1–265. The preface is dated Oct. 13, 1669.]

[h] [Elected to the see of Lincoln from that of Limerick, Sept. 17, 1667, and confirmed Sept. 26 in St. Paul's church, Covent Garden. He died April 22, 1675, at Kensington, and was buried in his own cathedral.]

[i] [Previously held by Dr. Henry Downhall, and apparently vacated by him before his death; unless the latter event is incorrectly recorded by Le Neve as not occurring till December. The archdeaconry was bestowed on Dr. Richard Perinchief, who was collated to it March 29, and installed April 20, 1670.]

[k] [In this year Patrick acted in conjunction with Tillotson and Stillingfleet as trustee of the funds subscribed for the publication of Matthew Poole's learned compilation, the Synopsis Criticorum, to which he was also a liberal contributor and patron. See the preface, and Birch's life of Tillotson, p. 37.]

[l] [Orat. xii. in the Benedictine edition, (tom. i. pp. 248–251,) addressed to his father about the end of the year 372 A.D., having recently, at his request, consented to associate himself as coadjutor with him in the pastoral care of his diocese of Nazianzus. It expresses in forcible language his impressions of the importance and arduousness of the office, and his diffidence in undertaking it.]

temper of mind, full of faith, hope, and charity:" for I had preached upon that place, 1 Cor. xiii. ult. In the conclusion of this year [m] another little book came out against a few things in the "Friendly Debate;" but very gravely, and with some show of reason [n]. I set myself to answer it with the same gravity, and finished it the 29th of January, as an appendix to the third part of that work [o], in which I was no further engaged; but only added a postscript to that appendix, February the 2nd [p], and wrote a letter to Dr. Parker [q], in answer to some exceptions of Dr. Owen, which he printed at the end [r].

[m] ["Nov. 25, 1669. I heard an excellent discourse by Dr. Patrick on the resurrection."—Evelyn's Diary.]

[n] ["An Humble Apology for Non-conformists, with modest and serious reflections on the Friendly Debate, by a lover of truth and peace." 8vo, Lond. 1669. There is no clue to its authorship.]

[o] ["An Appendix to the third part of the Friendly Debate, being a letter of the Conformist to the Non-conformist." Vol. vi. pp. 267–360.]

[p] [In reply to an anonymous paper which he had received: "A Case of Conscience," relative to the conduct and position of non-conformists under the five mile act. Vol. vi. pp. 361–386.]

[q] [Samuel Parker, whose marked abilities were obscured by unscrupulous ambition, a servile temper, and an utter absence of moral and religious principle, passed successively through every phase of professed belief, in accordance with the changes of the predominant party. He was the son of an attorney at Northampton, born in Sept. 1640, and educated as a rigid puritan; in which sect he became conspicuous as a zealous professor, while an undergraduate at Wadham college, Oxford. He graduated there B. A., Feb. 28, 1660, being up to that time a violent independent, but shortly saw reason to change his views, and removed to Trinity college, where he took the degree of M. A. in 1663, and entered holy orders. He then became as violent against the non-conformists as he had previously been for them, constantly assailing them with humour as well as invective. In 1665 he was elected fellow of the Royal Society, and published some treatises on natural philosophy in connection with religion. Sheldon chose him in 1667 for one of his chaplains, and made him next year archdeacon of Canterbury, in the place of Sancroft, adding to those favours, towards the end of 1672, a prebend of Canterbury, and the lucrative rectories of Ickham and Chartham in that diocese. At this time he was involved in constant controversy by his bitter attacks upon the dissenters, the first of which was his Discourse of Ecclesiastical Polity; until the superior talents of Andrew Marvel in satirical polemics drove him from the field. His obsequiousness to the court during the reigns of Charles II. and James II. was rewarded by the latter with the bishopric of Oxford, to which he was nominated on the death of Dr. John Fell, and consecrated Oct. 17, 1686. On James's unconstitutional attempt to impose a head upon Magdalene college, Oxford, Parker was nominated by royal

I had often taken notice that the 8th of September was my birthday[s], upon which I find some short acknowledgment of God's goodness in bringing me into the world. But the year 1670 I find a larger reflection upon it in this meditation: The prayer of Martin Crusius[t] came into my mind this day, which he used at the beginning of every year. *Domine Deus, gratias tibi* ὁλοκαρδίᾳ *ago pro innumeris et maximis beneficiis in me tuis*, &c.; which I may use with such alterations as may make it fit for me. "O Lord God, I give thee thanks with my whole heart for thy innumerable and greatest benefits towards me! For when I was not, before the year 1626, thou broughtest me into the world, as on this day, and I was born in honest matrimony, of Christian parents, who took care I should be baptized into the Christian faith, catechized and

mandate in lieu of Dr. Hough, chosen by the majority of the fellows. At that time he undisguisedly espoused Romish views, and attended mass. He did not long enjoy his ill-won eminence, dying despised and unlamented, May 20, 1687. — Wood, Athen. Oxon. iv. 225. Macaulay, ii. 301. Granger and Chalmers, Biogr. Dict.]

[r] [Vol. vi. pp. 387–403.]

[s] [In the month of August Patrick lost a valued friend, the Rev. Thomas Grigg, B. D. rector of St. Andrew Undershaft, and on the 4th of September preached at his funeral in that church. His sermon was shortly afterwards printed, and will be found among his works, vol. vii. p. 553—591.

Another friend, the very reverend Nathaniel Hardy, dean of Rochester, and vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields, had been previously taken away; and it is stated by Dr. Knight that the sermon at his funeral was likewise preached by Dr. Patrick. It was, in fact, preached by Dr. Richard Meggott, rector of St. Olave's Southwark, at St. Martin's, June 9th.]

[t] [Martin Crusius (Kraus), a distinguished scholar and antiquarian, was born at Grebern in the bishopric of Bamberg, Sept. 19, 1526, and after some elementary instruction from his father, a Lutheran minister, was sent to Ulm, where he studied Latin and Greek under Gregory Leonhard, and from thence to Strasburg, acquiring at that university polite literature, Hebrew and theology. After presiding some years with great repute over the school of Memmingen, he was chosen in 1559 professor of Greek and moral philosophy at Tubingen. He died Feb. 25, 1607.

Beside the learned languages he was a good French scholar, but was most distinguished for his acquaintance with the Romaic or modern Greek, and was the first who taught it in Germany. In several works of great learning and research he threw much light upon the history and later condition of the Greek race. Another publication of his of a singular character was a collection in a Greek and Latin version of sermons preached by the professors of Tubingen, 516 in number, (a selection out of 6174 in all,) printed at the expense of the court of Saxony, entitled Corona anni, hoc est, explicatio evangeliorum et epistolarum, &c., 4 tom. 4to, Witemb. 1602.—Moreri, Chalmers, &c.]

instructed, well educated both at home and abroad. Thou hast kept me from all filthy heresies, and brought me from one place to another, till I came to this; given me the grace and honour to preach here; blessed me with a long portion of health; delivered me from many dangers, especially in the time of the plague; given me many friends; enabled me to write many good books, &c. For these, and all other benefits, which I cannot enumerate, I give thee thanks with all my heart; and will thank thee as long as I live. Every day will I bless thee, and praise thy name for ever and ever. Make all my works to promote thy glory, and the profit of many, and at last give me a blessed departure, and eternal life, through Jesus Christ."

Not long after I went to visit a sick person, who told me he stayed there all the plague year, as I had done, and that he had never missed one day since to thank God for his visitation then; which put me to the blush, who had often forgot to thank God, particularly for my preservation in that time.

Toward the latter end of this year several divines in London met and dined together, intending to consult how they might most efficaciously promote true religion by their ministry. And it was agreed that each of them (who were in number, as I remember, sixteen) should write a little plain book, of a shilling or eighteen-pence price, on such subjects as were much misunderstood, as about the knowledge of Christ, faith, justification, repentance, mysteries, temptations, desertions, &c.; and every one chose his subject, but said they would excuse me if I would undertake to make a prayer-book to fit most occasions; and they gave me the heads, to which I consented. And in the end of that year resolved to try what I could do in that kind, by making prayers and meditations at the holy communion of Christ's body and blood. Which I began to compose January the 2nd, 1670, under the name of the "Christian Sacrifice[t];" and, blessed be God, I brought it to a conclusion on May the first[u].

[t] [Vol. i. p. 319.]

[u] ["Mar. 6, 1670, Dr. Patrick preached in Covent Garden church. I participated of the blessed sacrament, recommending to God the deplorable condition of my deare brother, who was almost in ye last agonies of death. I watched late with him this night. It pleased God to deliver him out of this miserable life towards five o'clock this Moneday morning, to my unspeakable griefe."—Evelyn's Diary.]

This year, 1671, I was made the king's chaplain, whether I would or no, by that good man, bishop Blandford[x], dean of the king's chapel. I earnestly begged of him to be excused from that service, finding it very difficult to get a sermon without book. But without my knowledge he put me into the list, and forced me to accept it. And the first place of service I was put upon was to go to Newmarket, where I stayed most of the month of October, very ill accommodated. In the next month Mr. Thriscross[y], preacher of the Charter house, died; whereupon my brother being uneasy at Battersea, (to which he never took institution, but held it in my right, and had entirely all the profits,) desired me to employ my interests in the governors to procure the preacher's place for him. Accordingly I went to his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth, who promised he would do all he could for my brother; but advised me to go myself to every one of the governors, and beg their favour; which I did, and had such success that every one promised their vote. Which they so earnestly pursued, that another person having procured a mandate for the place, some of them went to the king and desired it might be withdrawn, and they left to themselves to choose whom they judged most fit. Which being granted, my brother was unanimously chosen upon the 8th of December. I offered to resign Battersea into the hands of the patron, sir W. St. John, who was so generous, that when my brother left the place he gave him fifty guineas as a token of his love and respect to him.

[x] [Walter Blandford, a native of Melbury Abbots, Dorset, entered Ch. Ch. as a servitor in 1635, at the age of 19, became scholar and fellow of Wadham. He escaped expulsion by the university commissioners, probably by taking the covenant. In 1659 he was chosen warden of that college, and in 1662 vice-chancellor; elected bishop of Oxford Nov. 10, 1665, confirmed in St. Mary's church, Oxford, Nov. 28, and consecrated in New College Chapel Dec. 3; elected to the see of Worcester June 3, 1671, confirmed at St. Mary's in the Savoy June 13, did homage to the king at Windsor June 18, and was enthroned Aug. 10. He lived unmarried, and died July 9, 1675.—Le Neve. Wood, Athen. Oxon. iv. 851.]

[y] [Timothy Thriscross, sometime fellow of Magdalene college, Cambridge, and an intimate friend of Nicholas Ferrar, and Worthington, was appointed prebendary of York Dec. 3, 1622, and archdeacon of Cleveland in Nov. 1635. The latter office he resigned in October 1638. He became preacher of the Charter House Nov. 2, 1661, and died in November 1671.—Wood, Athen. Oxon. iv. 349. Life of Ferrar by Mayor. p. 27. Le Neve, Fasti, &c.]

On the first of January I began to think of performing my promise to make a prayer book. My former book, the "Christian Sacrifice," found such good acceptance that it began to be reprinted this month, and I added several prayers at the end of it. I went on successfully every month till the month of July, 1672, when I broke off for a while, going to see my mother at Yeldham in Essex. Where on the 13th of that month I received a letter that the king had been pleased to bestow a prebend of Westminster upon me, wishing me to come with all speed, and kiss his hand. Thus God bestowed another preferment upon me, which I never sought, no more than I did Covent Garden or Battersea. But the archbishop of Canterbury had oft expressed a great kindness for me, and desire I should be preferred; which Dr. Parker, his chaplain, knowing, (the archbishop being from home at the bishop of Winchester's,) went to secretary Coventry[z], and told him how acceptable it would be to the archbishop if he begged of the king the prebend for me; which he immediately did, and it was promised. But a gentleman then in waiting, mustering up a great many friends in Whitehall, got them to ask it for him, which they did, and the king said he should have it, but would not let him kiss his hand. Mr. Secretary being acquainted with it, went to his majesty, and told him he hoped he should not be denied in the very first thing that he ever asked of him; who bid him be satisfied, for he would be as good as his word to him. So after two or three days I got to London, and had the honour to kiss the king's hand, and had the broad seal for it on the 17th day, when I was installed[a].

On the last day of August I finished the book of prayers which I undertook to compose, and in the beginning of Sep-

[z] [Sir Henry Coventry, third son of Thomas, first lord Coventry, was made after the restoration a groom of the bedchamber, and elected M.P. for Droitwich. In 1644 he was sent envoy extraordinary to Sweden, where he remained two years, and was again employed in an embassy to the same court in 1671. He also succeeded in negotiating the peace of Breda in 1667, and in 1672 was sworn of the privy council, July 3, and one of the two secretaries of state, July 18; his colleague being Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards earl of Arlington. Coventry resigned that office owing to ill health, in 1679, and died unmarried, Dec. 7, 1686.—Lord Braybrooke, note on Pepys, Feb. 14, 1667.]

[a] [Symon Patrick, S.T.P., installed July 17, 1672, vice Walter Jones, deceased.—Le Neve, Fasti, vol. iii. p. 361.]

tember, calling to mind it was my birthday, I gave God thanks for prolonging my life another year, and enabling me to write a new book of devotions, blessed be his goodness, making a comfortable addition to my maintenance, and that without my seeking. Some other things I find I then acknowledged; resolving to depend upon the same goodness for ever, and trust in the Lord at all times, &c.

How the other books which were intended, as I have said, to be composed came to miscarry, I am not able to say. But not one performed what he undertook, but only myself and Dr. Sherlock[b], who wrote a book about the knowledge of Jesus Christ, which was his task. All the rest were as hearty in the design as we could be, but were diverted by other employments.

In the month of February 1673, I began to compose a little book, which I called "Advice to a friend[c]." And having at leisure hours finished it in the month of June[d], sent[e] it to a young

[b] [Dr. William Sherlock, of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, then rector of St. George's, Botolph Lane, subsequently master of the Temple; prebendary of St. Paul's, Nov. 3, 1681, nominated dean of that Cathedral April 25, 1691, and installed June 12. He died June 19, 1707, aged 67.

The discourse here alluded to is entitled "Concerning the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and our communion with him,"—8vo. Lond. 1674. The publication involved him in a controversy with Dr. Owen, Polhill, Dawson, and Hickman; against whose charges of Socinianism and Pelagianism he had to defend himself in a defence and continuation in the course of the following year. He was attacked with great violence by the non-jurors for conforming at the revolution, at which crisis he was guilty of strange vacillation.]

[c] [Vol. iv. p. 399. The original MS. of this work, in the author's hand-writing, contained in a small quarto volume, which had been the property of his brother, John Patrick, forms part of the collection of papers which formerly belonged to archdeacon Knight, and has remained in the hands of his descendants, the autobiography itself included.]

[d] [In the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum, (4223, fol. 131,) is the copy of a certificate signed by Symon Patrick, rector, and James Shaw, churchwarden, dated May 4, 1673, to the effect that Henry Oldenburg, esq., secretary to the Royal Society, did that day receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper in the church of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, according to the usage of the Church of England, to which Robert Boyle is an attesting witness. This form was required by the Test Act enacted in the preceding March.]

[e] [Under date, July 20, 1673, the churchwardens' accounts exhibit the entry,—"A Surplice for Dr. Patrick £04. 15. 00." Was the doctor fastidious as regards the material of his vestments? From the cost of the article, relatively to the value of money at that time, it might otherwise be questioned whether the prohibition

lady to whom I had a great affection, and had long called my sister. The occasion of which was this. When I was at Astrop waters in the beginning of the plague year, there I met a young gentlewoman, grandchild to the lady Dynham of Borstall[f]; who

of interment in linen really needed, as regards the less opulent public, the force of legislative enactment, which had been imposed on protective grounds seven years before, and was renewed in 1678. Compare the note to vol. vi. p. 381.]

[f] [Penelope, second wife of sir John Dynham, or Denham, knight, of Borstall, Bucks, married in 1608, was the daughter of sir Richard Waynman, knight, afterwards viscount Wenman, of Tuam. (Sir John's first wife was Elizabeth, daughter of sir John Dormer.)

Sir John Dynham could trace his lineal descent and ancestral inheritance in a direct line from Nigel, forester of Borstall, before the Norman conquest. (See the pedigree in Lipscomb's Buckinghamshire, i. 66.) He obtained the honour of knighthood from James I, May 28, 1609, was high sheriff of the county in 1620, and died Feb. 16, 1634, leaving no male issue, but by his second marriage three daughters and co-heiresses, Mary, Alicia, and Margaret. Mary, the eldest, married in 1632, Lawrence Banastre, esq., and on his death, Stephen Soane, esq., of Thurlow, Suffolk. Margaret, sole daughter and heiress of Lawrence Banastre, married in 1648 William Lewis, esq., of the Van, Glamorganshire; to whom the manor accordingly passed, and on the death of his only son Edmund Lewis, to Mary, his sole surviving daughter, born in 1654. She married first William Jephson, esq., her first cousin once removed, (who died in 1691,) and secondly, sir John Aubrey, bart., of Llantrithydd, Glamorganshire, whereby the estate passed into the hands of the Aubrey family, its present lords.

Margaret, youngest daughter of sir John Dynham, was married June 17, 1641, to sir George Villiers, knight and bart.; and Alicia, the second, by her union with general William Jephson, son and heir of sir John Jephson, of Froyle, gave birth to William Jephson before mentioned, (secretary to the treasury, &c.,) Penelope (bishop Patrick's lady), and three other sons, John, Denham, and Anthony.—Burke's Peerage, 'Norreys,' Lipscomb, l. c.

On the death of her husband, dame Penelope kept possession for life of the house and manor of Borstall. She seems to have been a woman of commanding mind and character, and during the civil wars to have first espoused, but subsequently forsaken, the royal cause. In 1644, her mansion was converted into a garrison for king Charles, by whom the command was entrusted, by commission dated Oxon., Oct. 28, 1644, to sir William Campion, knight, who was however ere long compelled to surrender it to sir William Waller. It was retaken for the king by colonel Gage, after a short contest, and possibly betrayed by its mistress, it being stated on the authority of sir Edward Walker, that on his attacking the place, lady Dynham "conscious of her disloyalty, stole away in disguise." It is not likely that she would return to her house during its occupancy by Campion's force. The condition of Borstall was noticed by Symonds, one of the king's train, when his majesty passed through the place in his road from Wing to Oxford, Aug. 28, 1645. "This day we marched to Bostoll House, belonging to lady Denham. Sir William Campion is governor.

indeed was every way amiable, and attracted the esteem of all that were acquainted with her; insomuch that a lady who wished me well told me that she would make me an excellent wife. To which I answered, she was much above me, and I must think of dying and not marrying, intending to go and stay with my parish in London.

Accordingly I did, and had no thoughts of this young gentlewoman. But about a year after I was strangely surprised to see her come to my house in Covent Garden in so melancholy a manner that she could not speak, but only weep, and put a paper into my hand, which she prayed me to read. I presently found it contained a case about which she came to consult me. For having read my "Parable of the Pilgrim," she fancied I would have compassion on her; and resolving to consult a stranger, and not any of the divines she knew, her thoughts pitched upon

There is a *pallazado,* or rather a *stockado* without the graffe; a deep graffe and wide, full of water; a *pallizado* above the false bray, another six or seven feet above that, near the top of the curten."

In 1646 Borstall was again attacked by Fairfax, and capitulated on honourable terms, the details of which, together with much correspondence relating to the siege, may be seen in the pages of Lipscomb, l. c.

When the king's force had left Borstall, lady Dynham returned, and was resident there in 1650. In the ensuing year, when sir Thomas Fanshawe, after the battle of Worcester, was marched a prisoner through this part of the country, lady Dynham showed him great kindness. His wife relates that "she would have given him all the money she had in her house, but he returned her thanks, and told her he had so ill kept his own, that he would not tempt his governor with more; but if she would give him a shirt or two and some handkerchiefs, he would keep them as long as he could for her sake. She fetched him two smocks of her own, and some handkerchiefs, saying that she was ashamed to give him them, but having none of her son's at home, she desired him to wear them."—Lady Fanshawe's Memoirs, p. 115. 8vo, 1829. Her ladyship has fallen into an inaccuracy in reporting lady Dynham's words from hearsay, that lady having no sons of her own. She might have alluded to one of her sons-in-law.

A sketch of Borstall House, as it appeared in 1695, will be seen in Kennet's Parochial Antiquities, ii. 409, and in Lipscomb, p. 87.

In 1610 king James I. granted to sir John Dynham and his successors the advowson of Brill and Borstall, and the rectory attached, lately belonging to Ch. Ch., Oxford; and in 1656 his widow as impropriator established by law the right to the great and small tithes.

The parish church or chapelry of Borstall was repaired by dame Penelope Dynham, and consecrated by archbishop Sancroft, in 1660. It has since been rebuilt by sir John Aubrey, in 1818. Her ladyship was buried there Nov. 26, 1672, and by her will bequeathed 8*l. per annum*, in perpetuity, to apprentice poor children of the parish.]

me, as her guide in the difficulties wherein she was. For her grandmother being a person of quality, a great housekeeper, and very religious, there was a great resort thither from Oxford to the place where she lived, six miles from thence. Among other, a grave divine came often thither, who undertook the direction of all the lady's grandchildren in religion; but had a very particular regard to this, whose name was Penelope Jephsonɛ. He gave her many rules for her life, and many prayers, and tied her up very strictly in some things, beyond the common practice of other good Christians. To all which

ɛ [The family of Jephson have for centuries attained distinction, and formed alliances with some of the most illustrious blood in England. The ancestry of Penelope Jephson, on the maternal side, through which bishop Patrick's descendants are entitled to trace their origin to a period anterior to the Norman conquest, has been summarily traced in the preceding note. On the opposite side her parentage was scarcely less distinguished. Her father, general William Jephson, of Froyle, Hants, and Mallow, Ireland, was fourth in descent from William Jephson, to whom Henry VIII. granted the manor of Froyle in Hampshire, by patent bearing date 1534. His father, sir John Jephson, knighted by king James I. in 1603, major general and privy councillor in Ireland, M. P. for Hants in 1620, for Petersfield in 1623 and 1625, married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of sir Thomas Norreys, lord president of Munster, son of Henry lord Norreys of Ricote. By this alliance the Mallow estate, which had been granted by queen Elizabeth to sir Thomas Norreys, came into the Jephson family, and has continued in their possession to the present day. His eldest son William, who succeeded him, was a major general, and envoy to Sweden under the commonwealth in 1657. While M.P. for Stockport, he moved in the House "that the protector should take the title of king." He espoused Alicia, the second daughter and coheiress of sir John Dynham, by whom he had four sons. John, the eldest, succeeded him in his estate, and sat for the borough of Mallow. William became secretary to the treasury under William III. He also intermarried into the Dynham family, choosing as his wife Mary Lewis, only daughter of William Lewis, esq., of the Van, Glamorganshire, whose wife Margaret was the sole daughter and heiress of Mary Dynham, heiress of Borstall, by her first husband, Lawrence Banastre, esq. The secretary became possessed of the Borstall estate by right of his wife; but on his death, in 1691, it passed, with the hand of his widow, to sir John Aubrey, in whose family it has since remained. The remaining issue of general Jephson's marriage were two sons, Denham and Anthony; and Penelope, the subject of this memoir.

The general becoming embarrassed, was compelled to dispose of the Froyle estate, and removed to Mallow, where the family settled in perpetuity, being represented at the present day by his direct descendant sir Charles Denham Orlando Jephson-Norreys.—See Burke's Peerage, Lipscomb's Bucks, i. 66, Berry's Hants Pedigrees, 264, and MS. collections in the royal College of Arms.]

she devoutly submitted, and gave up herself so absolutely to his conduct, that at last he persuaded her never to marry; to which she found no difficulty to give her consent, having never felt the least desire of being joined to a man, though she was twenty years old[h]. At last he drew up a paper in this form;

[h] [The formal renunciation by vow of the privileges of the married state was at that period no infrequent mode, in one extreme section of the church, whereby the religious cravings of the young found an outlet for their more fervid and romantic aspirations, or were guided to that end by the dictates of spiritual directors, or by the writings of divines of the mystic and ascetic schools. Nor is this the only instance recorded in which the inconsiderate resolve, framed while the feelings were immature, with little self-knowledge, scanty experience of the world, and still less insight into the true spirit of evangelical morality revealed in the Scriptures, gave rise to painful struggles, to self-torturing scruples, and domestic unhappiness. While in the inevitable shock of breaking loose from such a tie, however rash and unjustifiable in its origin, there would be no little risk of a total lapse from the principles of moral restraint, and an irremediable overthrow of all the sanctions and obligations of religion. In the present instance indeed, such injurious consequences were happily averted: yet in a private memorandum, the terms of which he cannot have intended to see the light, Patrick allows the fact to transpire, that his bride was haunted for some time after their marriage by scruples engendered by her ill-considered engagement, which he experienced no slight difficulty in overcoming.

The transaction may be paralleled by similar embarrassments which had arisen out of the system enforced by the ascetic Nicholas Ferrar, at the Arminian nunnery at Little Gidding. His two nieces, Mary and Anne, daughters of his sister, Mrs. Collett, "had both stedfastly taken the resolution of living, by God's assistance, in perpetual virginity."—Life, by Mayor, p. 105. Ferrar does not appear to have himself engaged them in any vow, and declared that "the name of nuns was odious;" but on his death-bed had urged them "to be stedfast, to commit themselves to the good guidance of their gracious Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, to whom they had more than in any ordinary manner given themselves, each in their station; assuring them that they should in the end have cause to rejoice in their good resolutions."

Hacket speaks more particularly in his life of Williams of some of the maiden sisterhood "not being able to see when they were well, but aspiring to be transcendants above their measure. For two daughters of the stock came to the bishop, and offered themselves to be veiled virgins, to take upon them the vow of perpetual chastity, with the solemnity of the episcopal blessing and ratification. Whom he admonished very fatherly, that they knew not what they were about; that they had no promise to confirm that grace unto them; that their readiness which they had in the present should be in their will without repentance unto their life's end. *Let the younger women marry*, was the best advice, that they might not be led into temptation; and that they might not forget what he taught them, he drew up the judgment in three sheets of paper, and sent it them home, that they might dress themselves by that glass, and learn

"I promise and vow that I will live a virgin, and never marry any man except yourself;" naming him who thus guided her. The last words something startled her, and made her ask what made him put them in, he being an ancient man, and having a wife and many children. To which he answered, "That it was no more than to say she would not marry at all, because there was no likelihood of his marrying her." The great opinion she had of him made her sign the paper, which he kept. But afterward, she reflecting upon it, was extremely troubled, and acquainted only one friend with it. She encouraged her to come to me and ask my opinion about it. I took a great deal of pains to satisfy her that she was not obliged by this promise to him, and vow (as I took it) to God; which was rashly made, and not acceptable to him. Whereupon she never ceased her importunities till he delivered up the paper to her, which she tore and burnt, and then broke quite off all intercourse with him, and consulted me about all things that concerned religion. This brought me into such an acquaintance with her, that I found her to be a person of such extraordinary understanding, piety, good nature, &c.. that I fell in love with her, which I never had been with any one before. I concealed it all I could, because I had not an estate to maintain her, suitable to her fortune and breeding. But I delighted to be much in her company, which I had often, after her grandmother was dead, and she lodged sometimes in Covent Garden, and then in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

After I was advanced to be a prebendary of Westminster, I adventured to declare myself more plainly to her, which she received with great civility; telling me she really intended never to marry, not out of any obligation to her vow, but out of inclination to a single life. But she prayed me to be as-

not to think of human nature above that which it is, a sea of flowings and ebbings, and of all manner of inconstancy. The direction of God was in the counsel, for one of the gentlewomen afterwards took a liking to a good husband, and was well settled."—ii. p. 52.

The whole topic is treated in a masterly manner by Jeremy Taylor, in his sermon on the Marriage Ring, vol. iv. p. 408—412, and Duct. Dubit. book iii. chap. 4, who admirably concludes, (with reference to the oft-quoted text, 1 Cor. vii. 26): "Virginity is not more holy than chaste marriage, and the one does not more advance religion than the other, directly, but by accident, and in some circumstances, and as an instrument fitted for use in its own time."—vol. x. p. 423.]

sured that she wanted not true affection to me, whom she esteemed above all men, and loved me as a brother, but could not as a husband. Ever after she gave me leave to call her sister. And she styled me in her letters by the name of brother. My affection prompted me to say many passionate things to her, but nothing moved her from her steadfast resolution; only at last she declared, and prayed me to be satisfied with it, that if she ever married any man, it should be me; which gave me abundant contentment. After all this, I did not cease to pursue her with kindnesses; and among other things, having preached a great many sermons about contentment, I transcribed them into a book handsomely bound, with a prayer suitable to each sermon; and at the end two sermons on Michaelmas day, about the care which angels take of us. This I made a present to her, and it proved useful to her[i].

The next year, in the middle of summer, I made her a visit in Gloucestershire, where she lived with a cousin of hers, married to Mr. Sandys of Miserden[k]; where I stayed three weeks, and then most unwillingly left her in the same resolution she always had of continuing a virgin. But on the 21st of October, 1674, I had a letter which informed me she was ill of a fever; and though a second letter told me a while after that she was better, yet on the twenty-fifth a messenger was sent on purpose to tell me that she was in a dangerous condition, and wished often to see me; whereupon I hired a coach and went towards her the next morning early, but could not reach thither the next day. When I came betimes the third day, I found her alive, but in an extreme weak condition, the physicians not knowing what to make of her disease; though there were two of them constantly attending her, one from Gloucester and another from Cirencester. A little after I came she fell into such a drowsiness, that she slept for five days together, seldom waking; and when she was awake, spake im-

[i] [They were printed after the bishop's decease by permission of his widow, and published in 1719, under the title of "Fifteen Sermons on Contentment and Resignation, with two sermons on the Ministry of Angels." They are printed at the beginning of the present volume.]

[k] [Myles Sandys, son of William Sandys, esq. of Miserden, had married Mary, daughter of Stephen Soane or Soames of Thurlow, Suffolk; who had himself espoused Mary, widow of Lawrence Banastre, and daughter of sir John and lady Penelope Dynham. Mrs. Sandys and Penelope Jephson were consequently first cousins.]

perfectly, and presently fell asleep again. There being several dangerous symptoms upon her, I moved for a physician to be sent to her from Oxford, which was about thirty miles off. A messenger was sent thither, and Dr. Eliot[1] came on the 5th of November, and gave her some troches of vipers[m] to make her sweat, which he repeated next day, and stayed with her

[1] [From the Latin epitaph on Dr. Peter Eliot, M. D. in the church of St. Peter's in the East, Oxford, we learn that he was "born at Tavistock, Devon, of a knightly family of Shropshire, educated at Corpus Christi college, Oxford; in the civil war distinguished himself on the side of the king, and subsequently devoted himself to the more peaceful practice of his profession, until he yielded to that mortal enemy whom he had frequently warded off from others, on the fifth of March, 1681, in the sixty-third year of his age."—Le Neve, Mon. Angl. 63. p. 30.]

[m] [Troches, it may be observed, in the earlier nomenclature of pharmacy, were identical with the modern lozenges, as appears from the annexed somewhat splenetic extract from Culpeper's English Physician, or astrologo-physical discourse upon the specific herbs and simples of this country, an amusing compound of the sound sense of a practical observer with the mystic lore of the astrologer or alchemist:—

"Of Troches. The Latins call them *Placentæ*, or little cakes (and you might have seen what the Greeks call them too, had not the last edition of my London Dispensatory been so hellishly printed: that's all the kingdom gets by one stationer's printing another's copies, viz. to plague the country with false prints, and disgrace the author), the Greeks τροχίσκοι, κυκλίσκοι, and ἀρτίσκοι. They are usually little, round, flat cakes, or you make them square if you will."—chap. 13. p. 83. 8vo, Lond. 1666.

He proceeds to give general directions for their composition. But the following prescription from the earliest Pharmacopœia published by the college of physicians will exhibit, on the highest authority, the approved mode of preparing the curious sudorific confection adopted by Dr. Eliot.

"Trochisci de vipera Andromachi ex Galeno. ℞. Carnis viperinæ, abjectis capitibus et caudis, anetho, sale et aqua coctæ, uncias octo. Panis triticei purissimi, aut potius biscocti triti et cribrati uncias duas.

"Formentur trochisci, cum jure in quo decoctæ fuerint carnes viperinæ, et inungantur opobalsamo vel oleo nucis moschatæ per expressionem. Siccentur loco umbroso libero, ventoque perflabili, per dies quindecim, aut eo amplius: sæpe autem sunt convertendi, donec probe exsiccati fuerint, deinde in pixidem vitream, aut figlinam vitreatam bene obturatam reponendi. Annum integrum perseverent, quanquam longe melius fuerit haud multo post quam ipsos confeceris theriacum adornare. Qui porro diutius conservare velit, subinde eos a pulvisculo abstergat, qui illis obnasci consuevit, qui si diutius inhæreat pastillos perforabit. Hoc modo conservari possunt integri ad tertium annum."—p. 107. fol. 1618. See Galen. de Antid. lib. i. capp. 6–9. tom. xiv. pp. 30–51.]

The flesh of vipers was also an ingredient in an electuary called Venice treacle. Compare Jer. Taylor, vol. viii. p. 273.]

till the morning after, when he left her in some good hope of recovery. And, blessed be God, she had got so much strength by the seventeenth, that then I took my leave of her, after I had attended her three weeks, and watched with her several nights.

Her strength increased slowly in the winter time, (and she had a fit of an ague in December,) but her affection to me increased daily; so that she sent me word by her cousin that I had overcome her by my tender kindness to her in her sickness; and she resolved, if God restored her former health, she would no longer delay my suit, but give herself wholly to me, to whom, under God, she owed her life. And it pleased God, by the middle of summer, to restore her to such good health, that she consented I should come into the country to marry her. All this time I did not neglect my studies[n]; and I find I had my thoughts much fixed upon God, to whom I committed all my concerns. And in the beginning of this year, January the 6th, I began a new book, which I called "Witnesses to Christianity[o];" wherein I proved from 1 John v. 7, 8, the truth of our holy religion, and I studied so hard that I finished it and had it printed by the middle of May, 1675. For I pre-

[n] [In this year Patrick took an active part in the philanthropic measures organized by the leading friends of religion, both churchmen and non-conformists, for the religious instruction of the Welsh. A subscription was opened, and an association formed for the distribution of Bibles, Testaments, and practical and devotional treatises, and for the establishment of schools, throughout the principality. At the head of this institution was Tillotson, then dean of Canterbury, whilst among the chief contributors to the design churchmen like Whichcote, Outram, Patrick, and Stillingfleet, were united with the dissenters Baxter, Bates, Burton, Gouge, Poole, Ford, Miriton, Firmin and others. Between Midsummer 1674 and Lady-day 1675, they had distributed thirty-two Welsh Bibles, which were all that could be procured in Wales or London, two hundred and forty New Testaments, and five hundred copies of the Whole Duty of Man in Welsh.

"In the preceding year eight hundred and twelve poor children had, by the charity of others, been put to school in fifty-one of the chief towns in Wales. The distribution of these books provoked others to that charitable work, so that the children placed at school by these gentlemen and others, from their own purse, amounted to one thousand eight hundred and fifty. It appears that this undertaking gave birth to an edition of the Bible and Liturgy in the Welsh tongue, in which Mr. Gouge had a principal concern, and to which Dr. Tillotson gave 50*l.* The impression extended to eight thousand copies."—Neal's Puritans, iv. 429, note.]

[o] [Vol. ii. p. 335—670.]

sented it to archbishop Sheldon[p], to whom it was dedicated, on May the 22nd, at Croydon; whom I acquainted with my intended marriage, and he was so kind to order me a license at any time, and in any decent place, &c. I cannot but admire at the goodness of God, who enabled me to write so much when I was so full of business, by preaching constantly, visiting the sick, writing letters, and abundance of other hinderances by multitudes of visitants, &c. But he carried me in health through all with cheerfulness. And upon Wednesday, May the 24th, I went towards Miserden in Gloucestershire with my brother, who I intended should join us together. Which he did on the first of June[q].

In September following[r], I resolved by God's assistance to write a second part of my book called "Witnesses to Christianity." But before that month ended I undertook another small work, which was to write a little book to his highness the duke of York, persuading him to continue in our religion. I did not print it, nor say a word to anybody of it; but took an opportunity to present it to him, with hopes of his acceptance. For I had some time before been with him, and restored him some money of which a servant of his thought she had wronged him. This pleased him mightily, and he expressed great satisfaction to hear that people came and confessed their sins to us, of which we could not absolve them, unless in case of wrong they made satisfaction. I have caused the greatest part of this little book to be transcribed at the end of this narrative[s].

I wrote a letter also to Mr. John Standish, but did not put my name to it[t], about a sermon preached at Whitehall, to

[p] [Gilbert Sheldon, chaplain to king Charles the First, consecrated bishop of London 1660; translated to Canterbury Aug. 31, 1663. He died Nov. 9, 1677, in the eightieth year of his age; a munificent benefactor to the university of Oxford.]

[q] [The certificate of marriage has been sought for in vain in the register of Miserden. Possibly from the circumstance of the archbishop's license being special, and the ceremony not solemnized in the parish church, the entry of it was deemed superfluous, or not obligatory.]

[r] [On St. Stephen's day, Dec. 26, Patrick preached before the king at Whitehall, and published his sermon at his majesty's command.—Serm. v. vol. vii. pp. 593—610.]

[s] [This interesting document has unhappily shared the same fate as the rest of the author's MS. remains repeatedly alluded to.]

[t] ["An Earnest Request to Mr. John Standish," &c.—vol. vi. pp. 433—444.]

which he never gave any answer; for he was not able to name the men on whom he reflected as Socinians. Such little things as these, and much other business, kept me from entering upon the second part of "Witnesses to Christianity;" which I began on the 3rd of January, but could not finish it till the beginning of September, 1676[u]. For I went with my wife to Bath, and spent six weeks in that journey. In the end of that month we removed from Covent Garden to a house new built in the little cloisters of Westminster, that I might attend to the office of treasurer, unto which I was chosen.

Here we enjoyed many happy days, and my wife thought it the sweetest part of our lives which we spent here. This year I published the "Glorious Epiphany[x]." In the middle of October[y] came out a pretended vindication of Mr. Standish[z], to which I replied the next month in a little pamphlet called, "Falsehood unmasked[a]." The next year, as I remember[b], I put out a paraphrase upon the Book of Job; and on the first of July, 1678, God was pleased to bestow a son on me, who lived no longer than eleven days[c]. Then I finished the

[u] [Vol. iii. pp. 1—346.]

[x] [Vol. iii. pp. 347—492. The imprimatur of Sancroft's chaplain, Dr. Thorp, is dated Apr. 30, 1678.]

[y] ["About the beginning of this month (October, 1677) Mr. Nourse of University college, who formerly turned catholick, fell sick at London, and having something lie heavy on his conscience, sent for Dr. Symon Patrick, minister of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, and told him, that having been in an errour, he desired to receive the sacrament according to the protestant way. The Dr. told him that if his disease was not desperate, he would do well to consider of what he would do, and he would come to him the next day. The Dr. accordingly came, and Mr. Nourse continuing in the same mind, received the sacrament from his hands: but then recovering from his sickness, and repenting of what he had done, returned to his former opinions. So Dr. Patrick in a letter to Mr. Thomas of Ch. Ch. This is to be putt into his life."—Life of Anthony à Wood, i. lxxviii.]

[z] [By Arthur Annesley, earl of Anglesey.]

[a] [Vol. vi. p. 445–469.]

[b] [On the fast-day, for averting the threatened evils of war, April 24, Patrick preached in a country church, the name of which he has omitted to furnish, a sermon entitled "*Angliæ Speculum*, a Glass that flatters not," &c.—Serm. vi. vol. vii. pp. 611–638.]

[c] [The infant was baptized the same day, its life being probably precarious from birth. In the register of baptisms at the abbey, Westminster, occurs the entry:

"William, son of Dr. Patrick, July 1, 1678:" and in that of burials:

"William, an infant, the son of Dr. Patrick, July 12th, 1678."]

two first books of the Psalms, which I began on the 21st of May, 1678, and made a good progress in those that followed [d], so that on the 25th of March, 1679, I find I made the argument of the ninety-fifth Psalm.

In July following I had notice that the dean of Peterborough was dead[e], and was earnestly pressed by a neighbouring gentleman to endeavour to be his successor. I had never sought any thing hitherto, and therefore was unwilling. But was persuaded the next morning to go to Lambeth, and acquaint my lord of Canterbury with his death, who advised me to go to Windsor, (where the king was,) which I did, with his letter of recommendation[f], and had a grant of the deanery immediately, in which I was installed August the 1st[g].

This year also I had another great blessing bestowed upon me, by the kindness of the earl of Bedford and my parishioners,

[d] [On Wednesday, Nov. 13, the fast-day appointed in consequence of Oates' fictitious conspiracy, Patrick preached at Covent Garden, and published his discourse at the request of his parishioners.—Serm. vii. vol. viii. pp. 1–38. Before the end of the year he printed a sermon preached before the king at Whitehall on the second Sunday in Advent, Dec. 8.—Sermon viii. pp. 39–61.]

[e] [James Duport, D. D. master of Magdalene college, Cambridge, vice-chancellor 1669, prebendary of Lincoln Aug. 4, 1641, and archdeacon of Stow; installed dean of Peterborough July 27, 1664, where he died July 1679, æt. 73.]

[f] [Archbishop Sancroft's letter, preserved by Dr. Knight, is to the following effect:

"To the right honourable Henry Coventry, esq., principal secretary of estate to his sacred majesty.

"Mr. Secretary, The bearer hereof, Dr. Patrick, is so well known to the world by his excellent labours both in the pulpit and from the press, and is of so high merit every other way, which may qualify a worthy churchman for promotion, that I dare with great confidence recommend him to you, and by you to his majesty's favour. I have been informed, since I came hither, from a good hand, that he hath some time since had a gracious promise from the king of the deanery of Peterborough, whenever it should fall void; and I believe both the secretaries' books will attest the truth hereof. I hear the deanery is now vacant, and shall say no more than what I would say to the king himself, if I had now the opportunity of waiting upon him, That in my conscience he deserves a better preferment than this, and that his majesty will have the thanks and blessings of the best part of the nation, if he shall think good to bestow that dignity upon so worthy a person. I am, Mr. Secretary, with all sincerity,

your affectionate friend,
and faithful servant,
W. CANT.

Lambeth, July 17, 1679."]

[g] [Le Neve, ii. 540.]

to whom I represented the great burden that was upon me of preaching twice every Sunday in that great church, which I had now continued sixteen years without any complaint. But finding it grow heavy, I desired they would find me a lecturer for the afternoon, as most parishes had in London and Westminster. To which proposal they all readily consented; and after they heard some preach their approbation sermon, (as they called it,) they unanimously agreed to refer the choice of a person to me, who could judge, they said, better than themselves. Accordingly they did, and I nominated a lecturer, whom they paid very liberally; which I took to be the greatest respect they could have paid unto me, and a happy fruit of my labour among them.

In October following I finished the Book of Psalms, and was so thankful to God, that I concluded, as one of the commentators doth, with the last words: Allelujah! Allelujah! again and again praising the Lord, who hath so graciously assisted me, and will I hope enable me to transcribe it for the press. I had the greater reason to be thankful, because God had lately taken away from us an excellent neighbour, Dr. Outram, a far stronger man, I thought, than myself, who died August the 23rd[h].

In this month I was also earnestly entreated to read the English translation of Grotius his book of the Truth of the Christian Religion. Which Mr. Royston the printer likewise very much desired. When I went about it, I found it so bad, that it was easier to make a new translation than to mend the old. Which I therefore undertook, and added a seventh book against popery[i]; with a large preface, giving an account of

[h] [William Outram, M.A., fellow of Christ's and Trinity colleges, Cambridge, proctor 1655, installed archdeacon of Leicester, July 30, 1669, prebendary of Westminster July 30, 1670, died Aug. 23, 1679, ætat. 55. —Le Neve; Wood, iii. 535.

"Of Dr. Outram," subjoins Dr. Knight, "I shall only say, that he was once the honour of Trinity college in Cambridge, whereof he was fellow, afterwards prebendary of Westminster and preacher at St. Margaret's there. He has left behind him a volume of sermons printed since his death. His learned work De Sacrificiis has deservedly rendered him famous abroad as well as at home. He is buried at Westminster abbey, near his friend Dr. Barrow. His character there falls below (which is not very common) his great deservings."]

[i] [It has not been thought worth while to reprint Patrick's translation of Grotius among his original

the whole. I also[k] before the end of this year[l] wrote a little book for children and servants, which I called "A Book for beginners[m]." For not preaching in the afternoon, I had the more leisure for these composures[n].

writings. The seventh book only, Patrick's supplement to the work, has been included.—Vol. vii. p. 337–388.]

[k] ["In this year Dr. Patrick found leisure to publish the sermons of Dr. Walter Raleigh, dean of Wells, which had been in obscurity above thirty years. Dr. Charles Gibbes, one of the prebendaries of Westminster, being brother-in-law to Dr. Raleigh, helped him to this treasure. The sermons are thirteen in number, which are all amended and methodised, and to them is added some account of the author, from which I, from Mr. Wood, take the following abstract. He was the son of Carew Raleigh, of Downton in Wilts, elder brother to the famous sir Walter Raleigh. After his education in Winchester school he was admitted into Magdalen college in 1602, became afterwards chaplain to William, earl of Pembroke, and by his means rector of Chedsey near Bridgwater in Somersetshire. In 1620 he was made minor prebendary of the church of Wells, and just before the death of his patron, chaplain in ordinary to K. Charles I.: in 1636 he was created doctor of divinity; in 1641 dean of Wells, on the death of Dr. Geo. Warburton. Following the fortunes of his royal master he was put under great difficulties: at length being taken prisoner at Bridgwater in 1645, after many removes, he was committed to the custody of one David Barret, in his own house, who after a long course of ill usage of him, Dr. Raleigh having writ a letter to his wife, the rude keeper, thinking it might be some intelligence to his own party, would have taken it from him; while he refusing to deliver, Barret thrust his sword into his groin, of which wound he died in six weeks, to the great grief of his friends, who were some of the first rank (viz.), Lucius lord Falkland, Dr. Hen. Hammond, Mr. Willm. Chillingworth; and no wonder, for he was a person of genteel behaviour, of great wit and elocution, a good orator, and master of strong reason. Mr. Chillingworth (who was the best of judges) used to say, 'he was the best disputant he ever met withal.' His unfortunate death happened in 1646. He was buried in the cathedral of Wells. Reliquiæ Raleighanæ is the title of this book, which is printed in 4to. 1679. By a letter of Dr. Gibbs to Dr. Patrick there seems to have been some other things of Dr. R. which were not printed."—Dr. Knight.]

[l] [On the fast-day, Dec. 22, 1680, Patrick preached at his own church, and published the discourse together with one preached on April 11, under the title of "Christ's Counsel to his Church."–Serm. ix, x. vol. viii. pp. 63–129.]

[m] [Vol. i. p. 589.]

[n] [Tillotson, then dean of Canterbury, being unexpectedly called upon to preach before the king at Whitehall on the 2nd of April 1680, preached a sermon upon Josh. xxiv. 15, in which he laid himself open to animadversion by expressing sentiments of an extremely Erastian character. "I cannot think," he unguardedly averred, "till I be better informed, which I am always ready to be, that any pretence of conscience warrants any man that is not extraordinarily commissioned, as the apostles and first publishers

This summer I perfected the second part of the book of

of the gospel were, and cannot justify that commission by miracles, as they did, to affront the established religion of a nation, though it be false, and openly to draw men off from the profession of it, in contempt of the magistrate and the law. All that persons of a different religion can in such a case reasonably pretend to, is to enjoy the private liberty and exercise of their own conscience and religion; for which they ought to be very thankful, and to forbear the open making of proselytes to their own religion (tho' they be never so sure that they are in the right) till they have either an extraordinary commission from God to that purpose, or the providence of God make way for it by the permission of the magistrate."

Calamy reports that king Charles having lost this passage through his inveterate habit of somnolence during Divine service, a certain nobleman stepped up to him as soon as it was over, and said, "'Tis a pity your majesty slept: for we had the rarest piece of Hobbism that ever you heard in your life." "Ods fish! he shall print it then," answered the king; and at his command the dean was compelled to commit his discourse to the press. It is entitled "The Protestant Religion vindicated from the charge of singularity and novelty" (reprinted in his works, vol. i. p. 246.) It met with universal obloquy on every side, from Howe and the non-conformists to his nearest personal friends, and the stanchest church of England divines. Gunning, bishop of Ely, complained of it in the house of lords, as a doctrine that would equally well serve the turn of popery.

Favourably as he was disposed to Tillotson, both on personal and public grounds, Patrick, as the organ of many of the London clergy, spoke thus strongly in condemnation of the passage in a letter to Parker their common friend, . . . "a passage, I assure you, which I and some of our acquaintance read not without a great deal of trouble, when we first saw it. . . . They think it would be well to admonish him in a letter of this error, and to represent the consequences of it to him, exposing his opinion. . . . It is plain, by another passage in that sermon, that he was not awake, nor had his wits about him, as he used to have, when he wrote it. The place I mean is p. 9. There the very existence of a God may be thought to be called into question by him, and to be in his account but a politic invention. For thus he writes, pressing religion 'as the strongest band of human society:'. . 'God is so necessary to the welfare and happiness of mankind, as if the being of God himself had been purposely designed and contrived for the benefit and advantage of men.' In which his meaning is so untowardly expressed, that you cannot but think he was indisposed when he wrote so untowardly. He hath altered this passage, I hear, in the second edition; but so it is, as I have received it, in that which he hath sent me at its first coming out. And indeed that parenthesis in the first part of the sermon ('till I be better informed') shows he was in too great haste, at least, when he composed it: else he would never have adventured to deliver his opinion, in a matter of such moment, till he had been better informed of its truth. . . . I do not write this out of any change there is in my mind concerning persons or things, having the same thoughts I had when you and I conversed more frequently together, but the lamentable case of things . . . I cannot but have a love to Dr. Tillotson's person, tho'

Psalms, which I dedicated to the lord chancellor Finch [o], in gratitude to him for his most kind offer to bestow upon me the vicarage of St. Martin's in the Fields, then void; which was thought of such value, that he told a friend of mine he offered me a bishopric [p]. I had some notice of his intention when I was at Peterborough, and resolving not to accept of it, I wrote to Dr. Thorp, chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury, to move his grace to employ his interest for Dr. Tenison [q], if I should decline it; which he did very earnestly, and when I came to town, the lord chancellor sent for me, and made me that noble offer: which I told him I could never thankfully enough acknowledge, but my parish had lately been so extraordinary kind to me, that I could not with decency remove from them to another. Besides, I told him, I doubted whether I should be able to perform the duties of so great a parish; but if he would not think me too bold, I would recommend one to him that had strength of body and mind to undergo so great a charge; and named Dr. Tenison: whom I perceived he had heard of, and afterward told me he would bestow it upon him. Of which I wrote word to the doctor, and blessed God for placing so good a man in that great station, who now is deservedly advanced to the highest dignity in the church.

On the 2nd of October in this year, 1680, God was pleased to bestow another son upon me [r], who still lives, and by his own

I have none for his opinion. I therefore would have him well treated, tho' he be never so sharply reproved."—Hickes' Discourses, p. 48. Birch, p. 60.

Hickes adds that Patrick repeated this opinion to Parker in London, and said, that Tillotson ought to give satisfaction by a retractation, or else be exposed. "If he will not," he said, "be reduced, he ought to have no mercy, but to be hunted out of the Christian church, when he will not own it."

[o] [Heneage Finch, first earl of Nottingham. For an account of his distribution of preferments, see Todd's life of archbishop Sharp, and lord Campbell's Chancellors, iii. 423.]

[p] [Patrick thus expresses himself in the dedication of the second volume of his paraphrase of the Psalms.—"It is so unusual in this age to confer benefits unsought, especially such as your lordship was pleased lately to think me worthy of, that I ought to have the higher esteem, not merely of your lordship's singular kindness to me, but chiefly of that noble principle of virtue in your mind from whence it purely flowed."]

[q] [Afterwards bishop of Lincoln, and archbishop of Canterbury.]

[r] ["Symon, ye son of Dr. Simon Patrick by Penelope his wife, Oct. 3, 1680."—Entry in the register of baptisms, Westminster Abbey.]

desire is entered into holy orders, and capable, blessed be God, of doing much good. On that day the hymn at evening prayer in the quire of Westminster was the thirty-third Psalm: *Rejoice in the Lord, ye righteous, for it becometh well the just to be thankful.* Which I endeavoured to do, being sensible how much it becomes me.

On the next day but one after, I was told that Lewis de Moulin[s] (who lived in my parish) was ill, and desired to ask my pardon for what he had written against me. I went immediately to him, and he expressed the great honour he had for my parts, &c., but he thought I had done amiss in what I had written about faith in the "Parable of the Pilgrim." I told him, if he had read the whole book it is likely he would have been of another mind. However, he should have come to me, and inquired my sense, and not put me among the corrupt party, who were bringing in popery, or advancing towards it. He begged my pardon, and beseeched me that I would pray to God to give him his pardon. But when I told him he had wronged the church in general, especially at this time, he said he thought he had reason to charge some, and that the same party had been charged before, by the lord Digby, sir Benjamin Rudyer[t], &c. I answered him that he

[s] [Louis du Moulin, a younger brother of Peter du Moulin, chaplain to Charles II., was the son of the celebrated Peter du Moulin (Molinæus), a French protestant, professor of theology at Sedan, and author of numerous writings, chiefly on the Romish controversy. Louis received his education at Leyden, where he took the degree of M. D., and subsequently settling in England, was incorporated in the same degree at Cambridge, Oct. 1634, and afterwards at Oxford, July 14, 1649. By the parliamentary commissioners he was appointed Camden's professor of ancient history. Ejected at the restoration, he retired to Westminster, living in the parish of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, and distinguished himself by his acrimonious and illiberal writings against the church of England, professing extreme independent opinions. In defence of these he published in the same year in which he died, "The conformity of the discipline and government of those who are commonly called Independents to that of the primitive Christians." Wood gives a list of his writings, and adds, "What other books this Lew. de Moulin hath written, I know not, nor any thing else of him, only that he was a fiery, violent, and hot-headed Independent, and cross and ill-natur'd man, and dying on the 20th of Oct. 1680, aged 77 years, was buried within the precincts of St. Paul in Covent Garden, within the liberty of Westminster, in the parish of which he had before lived several years." —Fast. Oxon. ii. 125.]

[t] [See the lives of George, lord Digby, and sir B. Rudyerd, in Wood, Biogr. Brit., Chalmers, &c.]

might have seen how unjustly that was done, by the constancy of archbishop Laud's faction, (as they called them,) who in the late troubles could not be moved to turn papists, by all that they suffered, and when there was no hope to see this church restored.

At last he prayed me to ask forgiveness of God for all his sins; especially for want of charity. Which when I had done, he gave me great thanks, and expressed an extraordinary affection to me. When I told him that he ought to have charged Mr. Baxter as deeply as any of us, upon account of what he had written about faith, he answered me not one word. I believe he was a good man, but of an angry temper, and very zealous in the Presbyterian way. Yet he constantly came to church, and once, I remember, offered to receive the sacrament, standing devoutly at the rails, unto which he did not scruple to come up. But when I desired him to kneel down, he refused before all the people; and gave me the trouble of putting him by. As soon as I came home I wrote a letter to him, telling what obligation I lay under not to give him the sacrament unless he kneeled. He came to me a little after, and begged my pardon in putting such an affront upon me, as to desire that of me which I was bound not to do; which if he had understood, he would never have been guilty of giving me such a disturbance.

Four days after the last visit I made him, I went to see him again, hearing he had signed a paper to the same effect with what he had said to me, which he told his wife he was ready to sign with his blood[u]. He gave me many thanks for coming to see him, saying I returned to him good for evil, and desired me to pray with him, for my prayers were very comfortable. When I had done, he took me by the hand and kissed it, and thanked me for my prayers, which were the very prayers of the liturgy, which I said without book. He died on the twentieth of this month.

[u] [This paper was afterwards published by Burnet, (who had likewise visited him on his deathbed,) in a quarto pamphlet, entitled "The last words of Louis du Moulin, being his retraction of all the personal reflections he had made on the divines of the church of England in several books of his, signed by himself the 5th and 17th of October, 1680." Patrick among others is specially alluded to by name.]

On the tenth day after my wife was safely delivered, as she sat suckling the child, (for she resolved to nurse it herself,) it fell from her breast upon the floor; she being full of vapours, and light headed. This put us into a great fright, and her physicians agreed she must suckle the child no longer, which put us to great distress. For we had three nurses before we could fix upon one that was to our comfort. Yet God was so merciful as to preserve the child, and restore my wife, who for many weeks continued weak on one side.

On the 10th of November I preached a sermon to the convocation in Henry the VII.'s chapel, of which the archbishop of Canterbury desired to have a copy, he being so deafish that he could not hear it; which I carried to him on the twenty-seventh[x].

Having very often great communions, and sometimes large offerings, (more than once near twenty pound, and on an Easter day five and twenty,) I was very solicitous how to dispose of so much money, and at last resolved to inquire after all that were sick, and in great need, and gave a liberal relief to them; and then ordered the remainder to be put into the chest in the vestry, of which I had one key, and the churchwardens each of them another. And the clerk kept a register of what was thus laid up of the communion money. I am not able to say in

[x] ["How this sermon came not to be printed, I know not; unless the corruptions of the time would not bear with such plain dealing. Perhaps since dean Colet's time no discourse upon that occasion comes up to the flagrant zeal and piety of it. He was aware of the apparent danger we were then in by reason of the divisions amongst ourselves, and the necessity of most ardent prayers for the peace of our Jerusalem, and the reforming what was amiss in the discipline of the church, and the lives of the clergy: without which it was but flattering ourselves to hope for good days, or that the church would ever be able to bear itself up against its own enemies, when we assisted them towards our own ruin. But, as I have placed it at the end of this account, so I have no occasion to say any thing more of it here, but make this one remark, that as he by his mother's side was a descendant from Archb. Cranmer, so not only in this discourse, but in many other respects, he had not a little of his spirit, as the reader will without difficulty observe in the several passages of this essay."—Dr. Knight. This sermon has unfortunately not been preserved.

The highly important statement here made of Patrick's lineal descent from Cranmer has not been found capable of strict verification. But proofs, which will be found more fully exhibited in the preface, place almost beyond doubt the fact of their collateral relationship through the female line, Patrick's grandmother having been a grandniece of the archbishop.]

what year it was; but about this time I took an account from the clerk, out of his register, what the sum was to which the money we had laid up amounted, and found it four hundred pound[y]. Whereupon I called the churchwardens to consider how we should dispose of it to some charitable or pious use, as the rubric in the communion-book directed. They desired it might be laid out for the relief of the poor; who I told them had already had their share, on those Sundays when the offerings were made, and that they were not intended to lessen their rates for the poor, which would be to give to the rich, and not to the needy. And therefore I insisted this money should be employed for some pious use, and propounded the purchase of twenty pound per annum, to be settled on the curate, who should read prayers morning and evening for ever. To this they would by no means consent, till I told them I would appeal to the bishop how this money should be employed, as the rubric directs when the ministers and churchwardens cannot agree. Upon which they yielded to me; and a piece of land being found out in Essex of the forenamed value, a purchase was made of it, and an able lawyer, Mr. Thursby, made a settlement of it in trustees, which was put into the chest afore named, there to be preserved. Some pious persons indeed had desired prayers at the hour of ten in the morning, and three in the afternoon, which they maintained by a voluntary contribution. These therefore were ordered to be at six o'clock in the morning, and seven at night in summer time, (before trading began, and when it was done,) that servants might resort unto them. Which they did very much, and I hope will continue to do. The other prayers also still continue at ten and three, to which the gentry and better sort of people who maintain them are wont to come.

In the next year, 1681, I composed a paraphrase with some notes upon the book of Proverbs, and finished it before the end

[y] ["By the original paper of the moneys collected at the sacrament in a few years it appears that it amounted to the sum of 677*l.*"—Dr. Knight.

The churchwardens' accounts now extant in the vestry of St. Paul's contain no record of such large receipts. The sums annually set down under the head of "offertory" average from 30*l.* to 40*l.* In 1684 it amounted to £52. 08. It appears however that these are not to be taken as the total receipts, but as the proportion set apart for a fund to provide new communion plate.]

of that year. When I find, upon March the 24th, I had the most pleasant day that I had of a long time enjoyed. For I was so highly delighted in the thoughts of God, and found my spirit so free, so clear, (for I had fasted that day,) so pleased, that to be always in that blessed temper, I thought I could be contented to be poor, nay, to lie under any misery. So much satisfaction I found in the sense of God, and of his love, and of our blessed Saviour, that I could have been contented to eat and drink no more, if I could have continued in that sweet disposition of mind, which I wished my little one might inherit, rather than all the riches of this world. The anthem at evening prayer was the third Psalm; which I heard with great joy, to think how easily God could quash all the hopes of our enemies, (it being in the time of the popish plot,) and send salvation to his poor church, as I had hope he would; and break the teeth of the ungodly in pieces, who seek to devour us. I conclude these meditations with those words, "O Lord, if it please thee, give me many such happy days; and make me very thankful, if I have them but seldom."

About this time was the horrid assassination of Mr. Thynne[z].

[z] [Many circumstances of mystery and romance combined to secure for the murder of Thomas Thynne a conspicuous place among the annals of celebrated crimes. The victim was one of the wealthiest commoners in England, having, in addition to the property of his father, sir John Thynne, of Richmond, Surrey, become heir to the princely estates of his uncle, sir James Thynne, of Longleat, in Wiltshire, where an earlier ancestor, sir John, had erected, a century and a half before, a magnificent mansion, still the residence of his representatives, who bear the title of marquis of Bath. Thomas Thynne had been at one time a friend of the duke of York, afterwards James II, but had latterly attached himself to the whig or opposition party in politics, and had become an intimate associate of the duke of Monmouth. He had sat as one of the members for Wilts in four parliaments, and when the house was prorogued to prevent the passing of the first exclusion bill, in July, 1679, was deputed with sir Walter St. John, and sir Walter Hungerford, to petition the king for its being again convoked; on which occasion his majesty, addressing himself especially to Thynne, said, "he admired that persons of their estate should animate people to mutiny and rebellion, and that he wished they would mind their own affairs, and leave him to attend to his." In the next year he united with Monmouth in the bold step of denouncing the duke of York as a recusant. (Echard, iii. 579.) At Longleat, where he lived in a style of princely splendour, Thynne was often visited by Monmouth. He is the Issachar of Dryden's glowing description, in Absolom and Achitophel, of the duke's triumphant progresses.

"Each house receives him like a guardian god.

And

For on the 27th of this month, Dr. Tenison came to see me in the afternoon, and told me how he found Mr. Thynne when he went to visit him between eleven and twelve, and stayed with him till between two and three. He discoursed with him about the state of his soul; and first, as the Office of visitation directs, concerning his faith, which was as it ought to be. Then about his life, which he opened freely to him, and confessed wherein he had been guilty, but nothing so bad as the world had reported him; particularly in the business of Mrs. T., whom he described, but did not name, (because the Dr. desired him for certain reasons not to do it,) whom if he had found what he imagined, he would have married her[a]. Then he said he could not imagine from whom this stroke came, having never had any quarrel with any one[b]. At last he remembered that he

And consecrates the place of his abode.
But hospitable treats did most commend
Wise Issachar, his wealthy western friend."

Mixing in the most fashionable society of that voluptuous age, Thynne numbered among his near associates John Wilmot, the profligate earl of Rochester, who has bequeathed a far less flattering estimate of his friend's wisdom.

"Who'd be a wit in Dryden's cudgel'd skin;
Or who'd be safe and senseless like Tom Thinn?"—

Imitation of Juvenal's first satire. Works, p. 43.]

[a] [The name veiled under this initial letter has not been divulged by any of the contemporary writers, who chronicle the circumstance. Mrs. T—— (this designation, in accordance with the usage then current, implying her to have been unmarried) was a young lady of good connections, and unblemished conduct, whose virtue had resisted the evil influences of a corrupt court, and the more overt designs of the duke of Monmouth, but had been betrayed by the insidious schemes of his friend Thynne, concealed under the mask of a promise of marriage. The impression was at first very general that the hand of the assassin was impelled by vengeance for this act of treachery; though the dying declaration of Thynne must be interpreted as casting a doubt upon the previous spotlessness of the lady's character.]

[b] [His marriage, the theme at the time of infinite envy, was the proximate cause of Thynne's violent death.

Lady Elizabeth Percy, the only child and heiress of Joceline, eleventh and last earl of Northumberland, born Jan. 26, $166\frac{6}{7}$, succeeded on her father's death, May 21, 1670, to the baronial honours and vast estates of her family, being in her own right baroness Percy, Poynings, Fitzpayne, Bryan, and Latimer.

Scarcely had she completed her twelfth year when this infantine heiress was married, through the intrigues of her grandmother and guardian, the countess dowager of Northumberland, to Henry Cavendish, styled earl of Ogle, the only son of Henry, second duke of Newcastle. This nominal union was dissolved by his death, Nov. 1, 1680. The youthful widow, sought after by innumerable suitors, was inveigled by her grandmother, under the influence of

had received a note in an unknown hand, ill written, bidding him do justice to Mrs. T., which was looked upon as a blind for his infamous murder. Then the doctor asked him if ever he had received the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. He answered that, blessed be God, he was never inclined to Atheism or Infidelity, nor to any other communion but that of this church, in which he had received the sacrament about a year ago; and, he assured him, not carelessly, but seriously, and with such resolutions as became a Christian. And he had often thought since of receiving it again; which he had done, he believed, if he had been preserved from many things which he now lamented. He would then have received the communion, and seriously desired it, but vomited so frequently that it was judged he could not do it, and he beseeched God to accept of his good desires.

a heavy bribe, backed by the interest of Monmouth, into a private marriage with Mr. Thynne, in the summer or autumn of the following year. Immediately after the ceremony his bride was separated from him, and proceeded to Holland, prompted, it was said, by aversion to the match. Legal measures now began to be instituted; Thynne, on the one side, moving to recover possession of his wife; on the other, doubts being raised as to the legality of the union. In the meantime, on the night of Saturday, the 12th of February, 168½, about eight o'clock, Thynne, while proceeding in his coach along Pall Mall, at the corner of St. Alban's St., now the site of the Opera Arcade, was fired at, and mortally wounded, by a party of foreign assassins; lingered for a few hours in great agony, and expired at his lodgings at six o'clock on the following morning, Monmouth, who had been with him in the coach but a few moments before, sitting by his bedside, and Tenison ministering to him the consolations of religion. The murderers were promptly arrested, and proved to be Vratz, a German captain, Stern, a Swedish lieutenant, and Borosky or Borodzicz, a Hungarian, the latter of whom fired the fatal shot. It soon transpired that the real instigator of this crime was Charles John, count Königsmark, a Swedish nobleman and adventurer, whose motive was either jealousy at the success of Thynne, his rival for lady Ogle's hand, or the hope of final triumph when he had reduced her once more to widowhood. Königsmark was arrested at Gravesend, while attempting to leave the country in the disguise of a female, and with his associates brought to trial at the Old Bailey, Feb. 28. The courtly servility of the judges secured his acquittal, while his three accomplices were found guilty, and executed on the spot where the crime had been perpetrated. Burnet and Horneck, who visited them in prison, published a curious account of their last moments and confessions.—Domestic Intelligence, London Gazette, Echard, iii. 653. Reresby, 135. Evelyn, Craik's English Causes Celèbres.

Thynne's monument, engraved in Dart's History of Westminster Abbey, ii. 84, exhibits a curious representation of his murder in bas relief.]

He prayed with him several times, and he joined with great fervency in the prayers of the church; professing, among many other things, that he never had any malice to the government. He often repeated these two things, that he was not so bad as he was represented, and often had serious thoughts of doing his duty more carefully. It was one of the last things he said. After such discourse he left him, imagining he would sleep a little. About five o'clock he was called again to him, and then said the commendatory prayer. But that agony went over, and he discoursed afresh, and the doctor prayed again with him; but finding it spent him, he advised him to pray to himself, and he would furnish him with words. Accordingly, he suggested to him short ejaculations, which he repeated alone. One of the last, I think the very last, were those words in the funeral office, "Let me not at my last hour for any fear of death fall from thee." In conclusion, he spake to him about the settlement of his estate; at which he shrugged, and said, "God help me, I can do no more than I have done, but there is a will, which will be found." He said not one word of the lady Ogle[c].

On the 31st of this month, I was much affected at evening prayer, as I was on the 24th before; finding by sweet experience how good it is to keep in memory those gracious touches that are upon our spirits, and the pious dispositions that are at any time wrought in our hearts. Particularly I felt what it is to have a soul lifted up to God, (as the words of the anthem were, Psalm lxxxvi.) above the body, above all things here in this world. And I saw how frivolous all the powers on earth are, in comparison with him, *who doth wondrous things, and is God alone,* overruling all their motions as he pleaseth. I thought also how happy I should be, could I have my heart always knit unto him, by lively thoughts of him, by a strong faith in him, by love to him, by hope in his mercy, by perfect

[c] [Lady Ogle, the unwitting cause of this catastrophe, returned to England within five weeks of her husband's decease, and after a brief interval of seclusion, became for the third time a wife, having only within a few months completed her fifteenth year. On the 30th of May, in the same year, she espoused Charles Seymour, sixth duke of Somerset, to whom she bare seven sons and six daughters. Her grace died Nov. 23, 1722. Lady Russell's correspondence includes an interesting letter addressed to her soon after her first marriage, April 1, 1679.–vol. i. p. 51.]

satisfaction in his love; and by joy from thence flowing abundantly, I cannot but set down these things, in the recounting of which I now find myself moved to the like disposition.

In the year 1682 I came from Peterborough. I was met on the 29th of July by an excellent friend of mine, Mr. Gore[i], who carried me to his house, where he told me this remarkable story: that a little after the breaking out of the popish plot, there was a maid who suspected some of their lodgers and those that came to them to be papists, if not Romish priests. She gave notice to some persons of her suspicion; who got them seized, and sending for Mr. Oates, he looked earnestly upon one

[i] [William Gore, esq., (Patrick's college friend, introduced at an earlier period of this narrative, p. 423,) of Tewing in Hertfordshire, was, in Dr. Knight's words, "from their first acquaintance a great intimate with Dr. Patrick, and reposed an entire confidence in him, which remained till death. He was the son of sir John Gore of Gilston in Hertfordshire, who much valued Dr. Patrick when a young man, foreseeing the eminence to which he would sometime arrive; and that he lost no return of respect to him, see an inscription on the monument of sir John, at Gilston, composed by Dr. Patrick, who never knew the art of flattery; for which he was much valued by all who had the happiness to know him."

The inscription may well claim to be inserted here, as an interesting specimen of the author's Latin style:

CHRISTO RESURGENTI S.
ET PERENNI MEMORIÆ
QUAM POSTERIS RELIQUIT CLARISSIMUS
D. JOHANNES GORE
EQUES AURATUS
EX PERANTIQUO GOREORUM STEMMATE IN AGRO WILTONIEN ORIUNDUS,
VIR NATUS IN EXEMPLUM,
QUI AD INSIGNE VIRTUTIS STUDIUM
MIRUM SAPIENTIÆ AMOREM VEL ADOLESCENTULUS ADJUNXIT.
SE TALEM EXHIBENS IN PUERITIA QUALEM OPTASSET IN SENIO.
QUASI VIRTUTEM EX UTERO TRAXISSET NON EX INSTITUTIONE.
EO DEINCEPS PARI MORUM ATQ: INGENII CULTU
HUMANIORES ARTES EXIMIE CALLUIT EXERCUITQ
QUAS IN SE DIVINAS EFFECIT.
DUM PIETATEM COLUIT SINE FUCO,
SCIENTIAM SINE FASTU,
PRUDENTIAM SINE ASPERITATE,
JUSTITIAM SINE RIGORE,
SUI TANTUM RIGIDUS CENSOR.
HISCE OMNIBUS EXCULTUS VIRTUTIBUS ALIISQ
INNUMERIS MERITIS CLARUS,
PUBLICE BENEFICUS, PRIVATIM BENIGNUS, PASSIM MODESTUS,
OMNIUM

of them, and said, "This is father de Puis[k], who was to write the king's life, as soon as they had killed him," (it is certain he had a good Latin pen, and wrote against *Elenchus Motuum*[l];) whereupon they searched him, and found an almanack in his pocket, wherein he had set down every day that year what pranks the king had played; that such a night he was drunk; what company was with him; what discourse they had against religion; how he had this or that woman; and that he made a speech to the parliament, and when he came away bragged how he had cheated them, &c. This book was carried to the council, and the lord chancellor advised it should be carried to the king; who sent for his attorney general, (sir William Jones,) from whose mouth Mr. Gore had this relation, and taking him into his closet required him to read what was in that almanack, and told him the nature of the crime. "You will find," said he, "he hath represented me after a most villanous fashion; and I must confess I have not led such a life as I ought to have done, but been guilty of many sins. Yet, I thank God, I am not so black a villain as he makes me. The attorney told his majesty he had such and such business upon his hands, and therefore asked him how long time he would allow him to peruse it. He gave him four-and-twenty hours, in which time he read it over, and

OMNIUM BONORUM ELOGIO BONUS,
TANDEM, CUM ANNOS NUMERASSET LXI, ET 10 MENSES,
NON SINE PUBLICO SENSU, ET AMICORUM LUCTU
NATURÆ CONCESSIT TERTIO CALEND: NOVEMB:
1659.
LAUDIS CELEBRITATEM IN TERRIS CONSECUTUS,
GLORIÆ AMPLITUDINEM IN CÆLIS HIC EXSPECTANS,
HOC TANTUM IN SEPULCHRI TITULUM VOLUIT
A PRISONER OF HOPE.

GULIELM: GORE FIL: PIETATIS PATERNÆ MEMOR MONUMENTUM
HOC QUALECUNQ: FACIEND. CURAVIT, MAGNIFICENTIUS
CURATUS SI EI SUAM IPSIUS PIETATEM MAGIS
QUAM PATERNUM TESTAMENTUM EXEQUI LICUISSET.

[k] [De Puy was barber and groom of the robes to James, duke of York, and was indicted together with the earl of Danby, on the information of Fitz-Harris, as accessary to the murder of sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and a true bill found against both by the grand jury. But the trial did not take place.—Echard, iii. 630. Luttrell, i. 85, 91.]

[l] [By Dr. Bates, physician to Charles II. Compare vol. vi. p. 87.]

when the king asked him what he thought of it, he told him, If ever there was treason in any thing it was in this; and desired he might proceed against him. Which his majesty ordered him to do, and again repeated how bad he had been, but not so bad as this fellow had made him. Within a week after he was found dead in prison. Some thought he died with grief, others that he poisoned himself, others that he was poisoned. One should have thought this should have deeply affected the king. For this man was every day at court, and kindly entertained by the king, and had his ear as much as any man there.

In the summer, 1681, several ministers at London met together and combined to make a short commentary on the Bible; and every one had his part assigned him. I told them I was engaged in paraphrasing upon some books, which might excuse me. But entering then upon Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs, I promised to make short notes upon these two books, which I did. But that design came to nothing, by the fears of popery, which shortly ensued; when all our labours were engaged to keep our people firm in their religion, and discover the errors of the Romish church.

This year also[m] the archbishop required that according to the rubric we should have a communion every Sunday in cathedral churches; which I began about Whitsuntide, and preached several sermons concerning it, persuading to frequent communion. Which, blessed be God, had such good effect, that we had for several Sundays larger communions than I expected.

[m] [In the spring of the year 1683 a legal controversy arose, as to their respective boundaries, between the parish of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, and that of St. Martin's in the Fields. The first had originally formed part of the latter, but was constituted a separate parish by act of parliament in 1660. To put an end to litigation, Patrick was, by mutual consent of both parishes, nominated arbiter in the quarrel, as the annexed entries in the churchwardens' accounts at St. Paul's evince.

"Ap. 26, 1683, expended in coach hire in going and coming from Doctor Patrick's, to desire him to meet concerning ye difference between ye 2 parishes, being a raney day, 00, 02, 00."

"Nov. 6, expended in goeing by water from Doctors Commons to Westminster, to speak with Dr. Patrick, 00, 00, 06."

"Nov. 12, paid Mr. Darnell ye counseller, a fee concerning the award wh. Dr. Patrick was to make, 00, 10, 00."]

In the month of June[a] this year my wife miscarried at Peterborough, where I then kept my residence. When I returned to London in the month of August, I began to transcribe the sermons I had made at Peterborough, and turned them into a treatise concerning the frequent receiving of the communion[b], answering the common objections against it, which I directed to the people of that place.

I finished also this month my "Paraphrase and Notes upon the Book of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs," in which I found many difficulties, and I had not a few hinderances, but by God's help I went cheerfully through all.

I was desired also this year to look over an "History of the Church of Peterborough," left in a MS. by a prebendary of that church, Mr. Simon Gunton, which his friends desired might be published. I gratified them so far as to put it into the press: but found it so imperfect, that I made many additions to it, as large as the book itself, and corrected several mistakes in it.

In the latter end of the same year[c], upon March the 11th,

[a] [Before the middle of May Patrick addressed two letters of condolence to the widowed lady Rachel Russell, the "sweet saint who sate by Russell's side" during her husband's trial. One only of these has been preserved, and will be found among the author's letters in the sequel.

Lady Rachel had long maintained terms of confidential intercourse with Patrick, both as minister and friend. In her interesting letter to her children, written on the eighth anniversary of her husband's execution, July 21, 1691, she alludes with feeling to the comfort she had derived from Patrick's devotional writings, particularly his Devout Christian, which she earnestly recommends to their use.]

[b] [Vol. ii. pp. 1–91.]

[c] [Towards the close of this year the peace of Patrick's parish was disturbed by most unseemly brawls relating to the right to sittings in St. Paul's church. The record extant in the churchwardens' books gives no very favourable picture of the habits of the time, as regards decorum in Divine service.

"At a meeting at the vestry the 16th Jan. 1684.

"Whereas Sr. Richard Temple and his servants hath severall Saboth daies made greate disturbances in the church, by breaking open the lord bishop of Durham's pew, and makeing a forceable entry therein, to the great dissatisfaction of the parishioners; he pretending a right or title to the said pew, (his name being formerly used in trust for the late lord Savill). Now to prevent further disturbances, It is ordered and required that the present churchwardens doe take care by all legall waies and meanes to maintayne and defend the parish right and title to the said pew against the said Sr. Richard Temple

I began a little book, entitled, "Search the Scriptures [d]," which was the first that was written against popery. Mr. L'Estrange stopped it in the press. But he came to my house, very civilly, and assured me he had no design to hinder any thing of that nature to be published; but only to stop any answer that should be made to Mr. Barnes, who had written something against reading the Scriptures. I told him I had nothing to do with him, nor had said a word against him; so it was permitted to come forth[e].

Just before this, on February the 6th, 1684, (1685,) king Charles died, not without great suspicion of being poisoned. The best account of which that I could ever meet with[f] was

or any pretenders under him to the same. And whatsoever charges they shal be at concerning the same shal be allowed them in their accompts." Further entries prove that proceedings were taken against the offending parties, both at Westminster sessions and in the Arches Court.]

[d] [Vol. vi. pp. 513–605.]

[e] ["In the year 1684 many of the most able and learned divines of the Church of England in and about London, being too sensible of the sad tendency of our unhappy divisions amongst ourselves, set themselves to compose several Cases and discourses, in order to recover dissenters to the communion of the Church of England. Amongst those Dr. Patrick was one, who published 'A Discourse of profiting by sermons, and of going to hear wherever they think they can profit most.' This he thought seasonable, because he found too many did all they could to depreciate and run down the preaching of the conformist ministers, and that a better edification would be reason sufficient for quitting the public assemblies. In his tract he shows the insufficiency of this argument, and shows the prejudice against the persons of the public ministers did lay a wrong bias upon their judgments in this matter, yet the fault was more in themselves than in their teachers; and yet would they judge freely and candidly, they must acknowledge, that in no respect they came behind, in many they far exceeded those whom they fondly preferred before them. As to the doctor himself, he had no reason to complain of their auditory, for he had always a vast concourse of hearers who continually attended his ministrations, whom he did not entertain with the words of man's wisdom, with studied periods, or affected eloquence; but with wholesome truths he made his sincerity for God and religion manifest to every man's conscience in all his public performances; but it grieved him to see that too many worthy and deserving persons met with so little encouragement upon so frivolous a pretence."—Dr. Knight.

The discourse was also published separately in quarto, and reprinted in the second edition of the Cases to recover dissenters, fol. Lond. 1694. pp. 445–457.]

[f] [All the available information on the subject of the king's last moments is comprised in the graphic narrative and voluminous authorities of Mr. Macaulay, chap. iv.]

from sir Thomas Millington [g]; who told me some time after, as I sat with him in his study, that upon the king's sickness he was sent for by order of the council; and attended there three days, and never went to bed in three nights. On the Wednesday morning there was great hopes he might do well, and they intended to give him the Jesuits' powder, for he had a great intermission, and talked pleasantly as he used to do, and made his repartees very quick. The duchess of Portsmouth coming asked him "how he did?" and he answered, "Very well, only his head was a little dozed." They went to dinner, and when they had dined, one came to sir Thomas and whispered in his ear that they had given the king something to drink since the doctors went away. He asked him "if it was by their prescription," and he said, "No, but was given him by sir Thomas Williams." After which he altered much, and in the evening of that day there was no hope of him. When they opened him, Dr. Needham [h] asked "if they would not open his stomach," (which Dr. Needham himself had told me

[g] [Thomas Millington of All Souls college, Oxford, was a fellow pupil with Anthony Wood, sir Christopher Wren, Locke, Crewe, and others, in attending the lectures of Peter Sthael of Strasburg, a professor of chemistry in combination with the Rosicrucian mysteries, who had been introduced to the university by the hon. Robert Boyle.—Wood, Athen. Oxon. iii. 842. Millington took the degree of M. D. at Oxford in 1659, rose to eminence in practice in London, became physician in ordinary to the court, and was knighted March 6, 1679–80. He married Anne, daughter of sir William Russell, bart., of Strensham, Worcestershire, and widow of John King, esq., son of Dr. King, bishop of Chichester; was president of the college of physicians from 1696 to 1704, dying Jan. 5, 170$\frac{3}{4}$, aged 75 years.]

[h] [Walter Needham, M. D. of Queen's college, Cambridge, of July 5, 1664, was admitted an honorary fellow of the college of physicians in December of the same year, was created fellow by the charter of James II., and was admitted April 12, 1687. In 1659 he was invited to practise in Shrewsbury, but shortly after was attracted to Oxford by the fame of the anatomical school. He there attended the dissections of Willis, Lower, and Millington, and then removed to London, was admitted a fellow of the Royal Society, and appointed physician to the Charter-house. Dr. Needham lived in Great Queen St., and not in the Charter-house; as by the rules of the foundation he ought to have done. He died on the 16th of April, 1691, and was buried at St. Giles' in the Fields; executions, as Wood tells us, being out against him, to seize both body and goods. He was the author of a standard work, "Disquisitio anatomica de formato fœtu," Lond. 8vo. 1667, reprinted shortly afterwards at Amsterdam, and again by

before, saying, "that it looked as black as his hat[i].") Sir Thomas bade him speak to Dr. Short, who stood by. But Dr. Needham prayed him to do it, being better acquainted with him; which at last he did. And his answer was, "Ask Dr. Needham if he would have his throat cut?" He believed Dr. Short had talked something freely about these things among some companions he had at a club. For he was not long after taken desperately ill himself, being unable to go with sir Thomas, as he had appointed, to see a patient at Kensington, whither he prayed sir Thomas to go, and call on him as he came home, and meet sir Thomas Weatherly[k], Dr. Brown[l], and Dr. Hobbs

Mangetus in his "Bibliotheca Anatomica." A paper of his is to be seen in the Philosophical Transactions; and Birch, in his History of the Royal Society, gives a dissertation from his pen on the blood, bile, lymph, and other animal fluids.]

[i] [Thomas, son of William Short, rector of Easton, Suffolk, was educated at Bury St. Edmunds, admitted sizer at St. John's college, Cambridge, Feb. 25, 1649, aged 14 years, graduated B.A. in 1653, and M. D. June 26, 1668, was admitted a candidate Dec. 22, 1668, and a fellow of the college of physicians, July 29, 1675. He was a Roman Catholic, and, as Wood relates, (Athen. Oxon. iv. 297) obtained a very large practice after Dr. Lower espoused the Whig cause. Lower, it seems, had succeeded to extensive business on the death of Dr. Willis, so that in 1675, he was esteemed (to use the words of Wood) the most noted physician in Westminster and London, and no man's name was more cried up than his; but lost practice by joining the Whigs. Short was no zealous Romanist, having written against transubstantiation and the infallibility of the pope. He died Sept. 28, 1685. On his death, most of his practice devolved on Dr. Ratcliffe.]

[k] [Sir Thomas Witherley, knight, was M. D. of Cambridge, 1655, and elected honorary fellow of the College of Physicians in Dec. 1664, being then physician in ordinary to the king. He was, on the 9th of April 1677, admitted an ordinary fellow, and was named elect, Jan. 21, $167\frac{8}{9}$, in place of Dr. Paget, deceased. He was censor in 1683, president 1684–5, 6–7, and *Consiliarius* 1688–9. He died, March 23, $169\frac{3}{4}$.]

[l] [Edward, son of the celebrated sir Thomas Browne, was born about 1642, educated at Norwich grammar school, and proceeded to Trinity college, Cambridge, where he took the degree of M. B. in 1663. Removing thence to Oxford, he was incorporated at Merton college, and graduated M. D., July 4, 1667.

Dr. Browne devoted many years to foreign travel, and published some interesting descriptions of Austria, Hungary, Northern Greece, and the adjacent provinces, their mineral products &c., which reappeared in the Philosophical Transactions. On his return, he practised with success in London, became physician in ordinary to Charles II, and to St. Bartholomew's hospital in 1682. About the same time he took part with Dryden and others in a translation of Plutarch's lives. He was in 1683 censor, then elect, and treasurer of the College of Physicians, of which he was at length elected president in the year 1704, and held that office till his death, which occurred August 28, 1708, at his seat

at his house[m]. He did so, and was there a little before them, finding him extremely ill in bed. He asked him when he was first seized with this illness, and how it came upon him. He said he was sent for to the Tower, to visit one there, sir Thomas thought one of the lords there, and drank his morning draught[n]. As he came home he was taken with such a horror or rigour all over, that it made his coach, he thought, shake under him in Cheapside. So he bade his coachman drive home, and not go to another place he intended to visit; and took his bed, out of which he had never come since. Sir Thomas bade him be of good cheer, they would do all in their power to preserve him. "No, sir Thomas," said he again, "my business is done." He prayed him not to say so. But still he said, "Mark what I tell you! My business is done; you can do nothing for me." So he continued vomiting all that he took till the third day, as I remember, when he died. He was a moderate papist, being the first man in the College of Physicians that took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, when they were enjoined. Sir Thomas asked him, "How he came to do it?" To which he answered, "That he abhorred as much as we that the pope should have any superiority over kings, and would fight to keep it out."

There was great lamentation every where upon the king's death; but about ten o'clock at night, our dean (bishop of Rochester) summoned all the prebendaries to come to his lodgings, that he might comfort them with the declaration king James had made at the council table; which was, that he would maintain the protestant religion by law established, &c.[o]; on

at Northfleet, on the Thames. "He was acquainted with Hebrew, was a critic in Greek, and no man of his age wrote better Latin. German, Italian, French, &c., he spoke and wrote with as much ease as his mother tongue. Physic was his business, and to the promotion thereof all his other acquisitions were referred. Botany, pharmacy, and chemistry, he knew and published. King Charles said of him, that he was as learned as any of the college, and as well bred as any at court."—Wood, Fast. Oxon. ii. 299. Biogr. Brit. Hutchinson, Biogr. Med. Johnson's Life of sir T. Browne.]

[m] [Little seems ascertainable respecting this physician. The roll of the College of Physicians simply bears record that Dr. Thomas Hobbs was admitted a licentiate Dec. 22, 1684. The surgeon who attended Thomas Thynne on his death-bed bore the surname of Hobbs.]

[n] [Of wormwood wine, as Burnet subjoins, or créme d'absinthe, a popular beverage in those days.—See Pepys' Diary, Nov. 24, 1660.]

[o] [London Gazette, 2006; Kennet, iii. 420; Echard, iii. 729; Ralph, i. 845; Burnet, iii. 6; Clarke's Life of James II. ii. 3; Welwood, 158; Macaulay, i. 443.]

which he was confident we might depend. The next morning the lord chief justice declared this from the king's bench, with tears of joy. But this joy was no more than a flash; for when the declaration was printed, there was no such word as protestant in it. And I remember that when the bishop and clergy of—— went not long after to attend his majesty with a loyal address, his answer was, "My lord, I heartily thank you; and what assurance I gave my privy council, and my lords the bishops, who waited on me, I now renew to you, that I will preserve the church and the government as it is established; and I depend very much upon your loyalty, which is an honour to you," &c. And in the entrance of his majesty's reign, all things went on very smoothly, without any disturbance. On Ash Wednesday, the king was pleased to touch[p], and the chaplains of our religion attended, read the Gospels, and the prayer[q], as usually had

[p] [The practice of touching for the evil, as practised by the sovereigns of England, dates as far back as Edward the Confessor. It was never perhaps in such frequent use as in the reign of Charles II. and his successor. The former is said to have touched, between 1660 and 1682, 92,107 persons. The number touched by James in the first four years of his reign, amounted to nearly 24,000. On Nov. 5, 1688, Evelyn saw him perform the ceremony at Whitehall, Pitan the Jesuit, and Warner officiating, probably the last time that he practised it in England. William III, Mr. Macaulay says, "had too much sense to be duped, and too much honesty to bear a part in what he knew to be an imposture. 'It is a silly superstition,' he exclaimed, when at the close of Lent, his palace was besieged by a crowd of the sick: 'Give the poor creatures some money and send them away.' On one single occasion he was importuned into laying his hand upon a patient. 'God give you better health,' he said, 'and more sense.'" It is uncertain at what particular time the ceremony was discontinued, but as late as Lent 1712, Dr. Johnson was touched, as he himself relates, by Queen Anne.—Life, by Boswell, i. 16. Compare the authorities cited by lord Braybrooke in his note on Pepys, June 23, 1660; and Notes and Queries, 2 S. vol. iii. p. 189.]

[q] [The latest form of prayer "At the Healing" is as follows, in the folio edition of the Common Prayer, Oxford, 1715:

The collect, "Prevent us," &c. (Communion Service.)

The Gospel, St. Mark xvi. 14.—The suffrages, and Lord's Prayer, as in Morning Prayer.

"Then shall the infirm persons, one by one, be presented to the king upon their knees, and as every one is presented, and while the king is laying his hands upon them, and putting the gold about their necks, the chaplain that officiates, turning himself to his majesty, shall say these words following.

"God give a blessing to this work; and grant that these sick persons, on whom the king lays his hands, may recover, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

The suffrages, as in the Communion service.

been done. But at the coronation[r] I observed a vast difference between the king's behaviour and the queen's. At the reading of the Litany, they both came to kneel before the altar, and she answered at all the responses, but he never moved his lips. She expressed great devotion, but he little or none; often looking about as unconcerned. When she was anointed and crowned I never saw greater devotion in any countenance. The motion of her body and hands were very becoming, and she answered, Amen, to every prayer, with much humility. There was not the least sign of pleasure or transport, but all seriousness and composure of spirit.

How things were managed afterwards, everybody remembers[s]; which moved the ministers of London often to meet together and consult by what lawful means they might establish our people in their religion; and they resolved to write several little treatises, (for instance, about the Notes of a true church[t],) in which I had my share assigned me. I cannot but admire the great goodness of God, who enabled me to go through such great labours at that time. For besides all parochial duties, I find I had so many cases of conscience to resolve, such a number of people to discourse withal, who were dissatisfied about religion, so large a correspondence by letters into the country, &c., that I cannot but acknowledge an extraordinary hand of God, which kept me from being oppressed with so much business.

"Let us pray.

"O Almighty God, who art the giver of all health, and the aid of all them that seek to thee for succour, we call upon thee for thy help and goodness, mercifully to be showed upon these thy servants, that they being healed of their infirmities, may give thanks unto thee in thy holy church, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

"Then the chaplain standing with his face towards them that came to be healed, shall say,

"The Almighty Lord," &c. (Office for the Visitation of the sick.)

"The grace of our Lord" &c.

The earlier form comprised a second gospel from John i. 1–14.]

[r] [St. George's day, April 23, 1685.—See Kennet, iii. 424, and the authorities quoted by Macaulay, i. 476.]

[s] ["Nov. 13, 1685, Dr. Patrick, dean of Peterborough, preached at Whitehall before the princess of Denmark, who since his majesty came to the crown always sat in the king's closet, and had the same bowings and ceremonies applied to the place where she was, as his majesty had when there in person." —Evelyn's Diary.]

[t] ["The Notes of the Church as laid down by Cardinal Bellarmin, examined and confuted," 4to, 1688. Dr. Patrick's share is an answer to Bellarmin's second note, "Antiquity," vol. vii. pp. 63–68.]

In November, 1686[u], a very heavy load fell upon me; for the earl of Rochester (lord treasurer) sent for me and Dr. Jane, dean of Gloucester[x], (then in waiting at court,) to let us know that the king pressed him very much to change his religion, and in order to it, hear what his priests could say to persuade him to it[y]. He was so urgent that he had at last consented to hear them, provided he might have some priests of our church to answer what they said; that being satisfied what could be said on both sides, he might be the better able to judge what

[u] ["Oct. 17, 1686, Dr. Patrick, dean of Peterborough, preached at Covent Garden church, on Ephes. v. 18, 19, showing the custom of the primitive saints in serving God with hymns, and their frequent use of them upon all occasions; per-stringing the profane way of mirth and intemperance of this ungodly age."—Evelyn's Diary.]

[x] ["William Jane, son of Joseph Jane, of Liskard in Cornwall, gent., was born there, elected student of Ch. Ch. from Westm. school, in 1660, aged 16 or thereabouts, took the degrees in arts, holy orders, became a lecturer at Carfax, chaplain to Dr. Compton, bishop of Oxon., preb. of St. Paul's, and being bach. of div. was made canon of Ch. Ch. on the death of Dr. George Croydon, in which dignity he was installed on the 11th of July, an. 1678. In the year following he proceeded in his faculty as a compounder, and on the 19th of May, 1680, was admitted regius professor of divinity in the place of Dr. Richard Allestry, resigning. About the latter end of April, 1685, he was nominated by king James II. dean of Gloucester, in the place of Dr. Thomas Marshall, deceased; and on the 21st of Nov., 1689, (king William III, to whom he was chaplain, being then in the throne,) he was elected prolocutor for the lower house of the convocation for the clergy, in order to make some alterations in the liturgy, to please the dissenters; which election was approved by the upper house of convocation, the 25th of the same month, at which time Dr. Hen. Aldrich, dean of Ch. Ch., presented him to them."—Wood, Athen. Oxon. iv. 643.

Jane had been conspicuous in the earlier part of his career for high tory principles, and at Oxford had the chief share in drawing up the famous censure passed by the university on the doctrines of Milton &c. He was, notwithstanding, one of the four deputed to meet the prince of Orange at Hungerford; by which occasion he profited, if Birch is to be believed, to prefer a request for the vacant bishopric of Exeter; and took the refusal so bitterly to heart, as to become a secret enemy to king William and his government. He was nominated by him one of the commission for the revision of the liturgy, but attended no more than three meetings. He never advanced higher in the church, dying at his deanery, Feb. 6. 170$\frac{8}{9}$.—Birch's life of Tillotson, p. 173.]

[y] [Mr. Macaulay has in a clear and forcible manner laid bare the intrigues by which the lord treasurer, Laurence Hyde, was supplanted; the chief instigator being the earl of Sunderland, and his artifice the proposal to Rochester of a change of religion.—See vol. ii. pp. 148—157, and Kennet, iii. 451; Echard, iii. 808.]

he should join withal. The king liked his motion well, and bade him choose two, and he would bring two other to confer with them[z]. He named several; but the king liked Dr. Jane and me best, and appointed a time when we should meet. We told my lord treasurer that we thought it would be most serviceable to him if this conference was managed by writing. But he told us the king was resolved to have it otherwise, by discourse before himself. To which we submitted, and on the 29th of November were ordered to be at Whitehall precisely at four o'clock in the evening. Accordingly we went then to the place where we were appointed to go, which was Mr. Chiffin's lodgings[a]. There we sat in the hinder room till three quarters past four; and then his majesty came to us, and told us, "he hoped we did not wonder he had desired this conference to which he had called us; for it was out of his great kindness to the lord treasurer, whose salvation he could not but wish. For we knew that every one that loved his religion could not but desire others should be of it, as St. Paul wished *all that heard him might be such as he was, except his bonds.* And he was glad," he said, "that my lord treasurer had pitched upon us two to manage this conference: for Dr. Jane's father was with them abroad; and he had known me long, from whom he had received some papers, which I thought he had forgot." Then he bade Mr. Chiffins make a fire in the king's room, next to that where we were. About five o'clock we were carried in; where we found a table set, with a great chair near the middle of the room; and at the end of it next the door, another table with candles upon it, where we stood. After a little while the lord treasurer came in, and then the king, with two priests,

[z] [The king specially excluded Tillotson and Stillingfleet, and desired that the two chaplains then in waiting should be chosen. They were Patrick and Jane.]

[a] [William Chiffinch, whose name his friend Pepys spells variously, Cheffins, or Cheffinch, succeeded his brother Thomas, who died April 6, 1666, as page of the bedchamber and keeper of the king's private closet. He became a great favourite with his majesty, and his confidential agent in the management of his illicit pleasures.

Chiffinch's lodgings, by which a private entrance led to the royal apartments, abutted on the river, in the angle formed by the water-front of the palace and the privy stairs.—See Fisher's plan of Whitehall, taken in 1680, and engraved in Smith's Antiquities of Westminster.]

father Giffard[b] and father Godwin[c]; and none else were ad-

[b] [Bonaventure Giffard, a son of Andrew Giffard of Wolverhampton, of an old Staffordshire family, was educated at Douay, left that seminary Oct. 23, 1667, and proceeded to Paris, where he graduated after ten years as doctor of the Sorbonne. Returning to England, he attracted the notice of James II., who conferred upon him the appointment of royal chaplain and preacher. On the death of Parker Giffard was installed by proxy president of Magdalene college, Oxford, by royal mandate, Mar. 31, 1688, and took possession of his seat in chapel and president's lodgings on the 15th of June following, having in the interim been consecrated titular bishop of Madura, April 22. The revolution impending, James was induced to issue a mandate for the ejection of Giffard, and reinstatement of Hough, Oct. 25. For some time he lived in concealment, but was at length apprehended and committed to Newgate for a twelvemonth. On his release he lived privately and inoffensively in the metropolis, and died at Hammersmith March 12, 173$\frac{3}{4}$, at the age of 89.

Dod claims for Giffard the character of a primitive Christian prelate, and eulogises his charity towards the poor and distressed. He also states that a narrative of the disputations with Patrick and Jane was published by him in 1722.—Ch. Hist. iii. 419, 469. Wood, iv. 898.]

[c] [The early history of this Romish divine is disputed. Dod, whose authority is generally to be trusted, asserts that his family name was Tylden; while Stillingfleet, his antagonist, who styles him "the most considerable adversary that had appeared against him," declares that "he was born in London of the same family with sir Adam Browne of Surrey, his right surname being Browne."—(In the preface to his discourse against him, cited by Wood, iv. 674.) Wood himself coincides elsewhere with the former view, which is no doubt correct.

Richard Tylden was a member of St. John's college, Cambridge, where he graduated B. A. in 1655; shortly afterwards left the church of England, proceeded to Lisbon, and spent some years in the English college in that city. After the restoration he accompanied the Romish mission to England, under the name of Thomas Godden, and became chaplain and almoner to Catharine, Charles the Second's consort, having lodgings in Somerset house. During the panic consequent upon Oates' plot he was forced to live in retirement for a while, but soon resumed his duties at court, and shared in the intrigues for the restoration of popery. He did not survive his master's overthrow. By letters dated Dec. 4, 1688, Stillingfleet relates: "the nation being then in a hurry, upon the coming to London of the prince of Orange to take possession of the throne, and the papists shifting for themselves, I was informed that Dr. Thomas Godden, the famous Roman catholic writer, was buried on the first day of the said month, being then Saturday; but where, the said letters told me not. He died in or near Somerset house in the Strand, within the city of Westminster, and therefore I suppose he was buried in the vault under the chapel belonging to the said house."

Father Godden's literary productions were:

1. "Catholics no idolaters, a refutation of Dr. Stillingfleet's unjust charge of Idolatry against the church of Rome." 8vo. 1672.

mitted. Immediately the king began to tell us the great desire he had of the lord treasurer's salvation, which proceeded from his kindness to him, and was the occasion of this meeting. For he could not but entreat him to receive instruction. And then he related how he had sent father Giffard to him, and what passed between them; which the lord treasurer presently declared more fully, reading the letter and Dr. Jane's answer to it. And so we were ready to begin a debate upon two points, had not father Giffard diverted us by a long speech which he made, to show what regard was to be had to the church, and to its definitions; and that it having determined the doctrine of transubstantiation, against which we made our greatest objections, we must show which fathers had contradicted it, not by speeches, but in their sermons, homilies, catechisms, &c. For they could show where in such discourses they did assert it: and particularly Justin Martyr, in his "Apology," where he declares what the faith of Christians was. And so he imperfectly related his words; and then some of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and of Gregory Nyssen. We told him we must find what the right faith was, before we could tell which church it was safe to live and die in, because we could not tell whether a society of men were a church or no, till we knew what they believed. Now we were ready to show that the doctrine of transubstantiation was no part of the Christian faith, but contrary to it; and we desired to be tried by those very testimonies which they had produced. And so we began to show what Justin Martyr's opinion was; and from him passed by Irenæus, and then cleared that of Cyril, and that of Gregory Nyssen, and so proceeded to urge them with that of St. Austin, in his book *De Doctrina Christiana*, and another of his sermons of persons newly baptized, mentioned in Bede. Unto which they gave very poor solutions; but made such long harangues, that we could not come to allege the testimonies of Eusebius, Theodoret, Facundus, Gelasius, &c.

2. "A Just Discharge" &c., with special reference to Stillingfleet's Answer to the former work, a Dialogue between Eunomius and Catharinus. Par. 8vo. 1677.

3. "A sermon at Somerset-house, on St. Peter's day, before the queen dowager, June 29, 1686."

4. "A Treatise concerning the Oath of Supremacy:" in MS.—Dod, iii. 470. Wood, iv. 93, 671.]

I should have noted that the king, in the beginning, desired to know of us, what the faith of our church was about the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. We answered him both out of our catechism, and out of the articles of our religion, which he said contradicted each other. But we plainly showed they did not. So the fathers began again to press us to show how the body of Christ was present in the sacrament; and we told them after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And we quoted for this Irenæus, who speaks of a *terrena pars*, and a *cœlestis*[d]; and then Origen; unto which they knew not what to say: for I believe they understood not the Greek words.

After a great deal of wrangling, we were desired to show when their doctrine came into the church. And we produced the history of it from Paschasius down to the council of Trent; showing that several great men all along declared that this doctrine of transubstantiation was not the faith of the church. And at last I instanced in two ancient customs which continued a long time, that show as much. One was that of burying the sacrament with the dead[e]; the other was, signing solemn instruments with ink mixed with the sacramental blood. At last we produced Bertram's book, which the king took into his hand, and read in it a while. Here they shuffled miserably, and affirmed confidently things that were false; and we desired the lord treasurer to satisfy himself at his leisure by reading the book, which was short.

Then the king interposed, and said he perceived there would always be a great deal to be said on both sides, and therefore we must be determined by the church. To which we replied, that we humbly thought we had shown this was not the faith of the church till of late, and that it could not make a new faith.

Hereupon he began to discourse of an infallible guide; which not being the business we came about, the lord treasurer

[d] [Ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἔκκλησιν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία, ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα, ἐπιγείου τε καὶ οὐρανίου· οὕτως καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μηκέτι ἔστι φθαρτὰ, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς αἰῶνας ἀναστάσεως ἔχοντα.—Iren. contr. Hær. lib. iv. cap. 18. p. 251.]

[e] [Bingham, xv. 4. § 20.]

broke off the conference, by thanking his majesty for giving him the opportunity of hearing so much as he had done for his instruction; which indeed was more than he knew before. But it was impossible for him to determine himself presently, because he could not remember all things; and he thought both sides had said some things which needed further explication. Then father Giffard earnestly beseeched him to declare that it appeared the church did not teach our doctrine: which he told him he could not do; but before he resolved, must deliberate upon what he had heard.

Then the father made another long harangue, wherein he repeated a great deal of what had been said; urging this very much, that we had not shown what council condemned this doctrine of transubstantiation, when it began to be taught. To which Dr. Jane made a short reply, and it being about nine o'clock, we broke up, with commendations of our learning and fair carriage on both sides from the king; who went himself to the door, and opened it for us to let us out, giving us a strict charge not to say a word to anybody of this conference.

I should have added that towards the conclusion his majesty said he saw the truth of what his brother had said in his papers[e], that it was best not to enter into the vast ocean of particular disputes; but inquire only after the church. Which papers, and the defence of them, the lord treasurer told us, when he first sent for us, the king had given him, and obliged him to read them; which occasioned afterwards, as I shall relate, a conference about the infallibility of the church.

On the next day but one, December the 1st, I began my waiting at Whitehall; where I met Dr. Hickman[f], the lord treasurer's chaplain, who told me with what joy his lord had

[e] [Compare vol. vii. p. 76.]

[f] ["Charles Hickman, son of Will. Hickman, of Barnack in Northamptonshire, gent., was born in that county, became student of Ch. Ch. in 1667, aged 18 years or thereabouts, took the degrees in arts, holy orders, was rector of St. Ebbe's church, in Oxon. for a time, afterwards chaplain to Charles, duke of Southampton, and in 1680, to James, lord Chandois, then going ambassador to Constantinople. In 1684 he became chaplain to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, proceeded in divinity the year following, and after king William and queen Mary came to the crown, he became one of their chaplains in ordinary, and in July 1692 lecturer of St. James' church, within the liberty of Westminster. He succeeded Dr. Th. Spark in the rectory or ministry of Hoggsnorton in Leicest."—Wood, iv. 655.]

declared to him the satisfaction he had in our religion; blessing God that his parents had bred him up in it. Adding, that we had done it much service, and that the king himself, when he came out from the conference, commended us, and said he did not think there had been two such learned men in our church, and that he never heard any thing managed with more learning or temper[g].

When we were in the closet, ready to read prayers, he came and told us the lord treasurer desired to speak with us, that he might give us his thanks for the service we had done him. As soon as prayers were done, we went both into the treasury chamber, where his lordship received us very kindly, and told us not only himself, but the king also was pleased with our management. And now he hopes we would not repent our undertaking this conference, which had much confirmed him in his religion; and he would express his thankfulness to us for the pains we had taken as long as he lived, both in his words and in his actions. One thing more he desired of us, that we would put down in writing, as near as we could remember, what we had said, that he might be the better able to answer, if he should be further pressed by them[h]. I had so many interrup-

[g] [His majesty going off abruptly and discontented, was heard to say, "He never saw a bad cause so well, or a good one so ill maintained. I have been further assured by a private hand, that in the latter end of the dispute, the Romish priests being nonplus'd by a particular hard question, put by the contrary side, desired first an hour's and then a week's time to consider for an answer: upon which the king in a passion should bid them go home, and consider their whole lives."—Echard, iii. 808.]

[h] [The earl's own report of the discussion deserves insertion here. It is endorsed, "Minutes of Conversation between the king and the earl of Rochester, on the subject of religion, wrote by his lordship's own hand, Dec. 4, 1686." "On Saturday, Dec. 4, I told the king that I thought it was fit for me to give him an account once in three or four days, that the business he recommended to me did not sleep; that I had had one meeting since with Dr. Patrick and Dr. Jane, and one other with Dr. Gifford, which last desired that I would send Dr. Jane to him, that they might together look on some books he had in his house, and afterwards that these two together might speak with me. This account I gave, as I said, that the king might see that I was going on to give him all the satisfaction I could: but while I was doing this, I must needs acquaint his majesty that the thing was not kept secret, that there was a rumour of it spread about, that there was I know not what whispering of it, that one could not tell what to make of; and more, that it was gotten amongst very considerable people, whom I would not name yet; and which was more, if it were to be be-

tions by my waiting at court, that it was a week before we could finish that report, which was presented him on the 8th of December.

On the 11th I met with Dr. Jane in Whitehall, who told me father Giffard had desired him to meet him at the lord treasurer's in the evening, and the next day came to my house, and acquainted me their discourse was upon the old subject; in which he cavilled at many things, but proved nothing, and absolutely refused to do any thing in writing.

The lord treasurer desired we would give a particular account of those passages which they quoted out of *Nubes testium*[i]

lieved, which I would never do, that it was whispered, if I did not what his majesty would have me in this point, that I was not to continue about him in the station I was. The king answered me as near as I can remember to this effect, and this method: 'I cannot imagine how any thing of this sort can be talked of: you heard how I recommended it to be a secret; but it may be, the other day, when people saw you so long within in my closet, and might find Dr. Jane and Dr. Patrick had gone in at Mr. Chiffinch's, that it might give some occasion for these rumours. But do not alarm yourself, my lord; you see I have spoken very freely to you, and that I have a great deal of kindness for you, and you shall always see that I will have as much kindness for you, and as much reliance upon you, as I have for anybody; and let nothing alarm you.' I answered, 'Sir, indeed I think nothing should. I seem extremely to undervalue it; but I assure you it is gotten amongst very considerable people, and they are catholics. It is from amongst them that this spreads.' 'I believe it,' says the king, 'and I know there are some very indiscreet amongst them; but pray, my lord, do not be alarmed.' I answered then, with some emotion in my spirits, and trouble, that 'Your majesty, I hope, sees that I do all that I can to obey you in every thing: I will do every thing that you command, and serve you your own way. I will do what I can to believe too as you will have me; but while I am doing this, if I am to apprehend that the consequence of all must be, that if I do not as you would have me in that point, I must lose all, I must needs tell you I have quite other considerations to attend me in this matter.' The king answered, 'Oh! Lord! oh you must needs!' I added, 'Sir, I hope it does not offend you, for certainly you must think as I do of any man that deserves your esteem, that is, that he ought to do as I say.' The king replied, 'I am not at all offended, and you say very well: and pray, my lord, be alarmed with nothing that anybody says to you. You see I have always spoken very freely to you, and will do always in every thing that concerns you; and when you, and Dr. Gifford, and Dr. Jane have met together, pray let me speak with you again.'"—Correspondence of Clarendon and Rochester, ii. 90.]

[i] ["Nubes Testium, or a collection of the primitive fathers, giving testimony of the faith once delivered to the saints; being a full discovery of the sentiments of the ancient fathers in the chief points of controversie at present under debate; with an Ap-

about transubstantiation. Accordingly, Dr. Jane and I met the next morning at my house, and we considered the greatest part of them before dinner, and the rest in the afternoon; which being fairly transcribed, we presented them to him the next day. But we were not yet quiet; for Dr. Jane being gone to Oxford, the lord treasurer sent to me on the 23rd of December, in the morning, to meet Dr. Giffard at his house, about seven o'clock that night, he having something to say about infallibility, which he desired my lord to hear. I went thither at the time appointed, and was sent for into my lord's closet, where I found three men, (which much surprised me,) sitting by my lord.

A chair being set for me over against them, he that sat next to my lord began a long discourse to demonstrate, as he called it, that the Christian faith was revealed and received before the Scriptures were extant; and therefore he did not depend on the Scriptures, but on the fidelity of the church, which infallibly delivered it, and can do it without the Scriptures. I told him this seemed to me to overthrow the Christian faith, which would soon be lost if the Scriptures were laid aside. For while the apostles lived, they taught men without the Scriptures of the New Testament (which was not presently written) what the Christian faith was. Yet when they were gone, and left no such men as they were behind them, innumerable impostors would have started up, if they had not left in writing what they had preached. Besides, the apostles and Christ himself appealed to the Scriptures; and declared they said nothing but what the prophets had delivered. Then he affirmed that the religion of Moses was before it was written, about which it would be too long to relate what I replied. But after long discourse Dr. Giffard took up the matters, and laboured to show

pendix, containing the testimonies of many eminent protestants, confessing the fathers to have taught, profess'd, and maintain'd their doctrins, of which they are here produc'd abettors: — publish'd with allowance, and printed by H. Hills, printer to the king's most excellent majesty for his household and chappel, 1686." It came forth anonymously with all the authority of the royal press, and gave rise to numerous rejoinders by Edward Gee, Edward Pelling, John Patrick, and others.

It is attributed to the infamous Edward Sclater, for whose career and character see Macaulay, ii. 86; though Wood does not include it among his writings. iv. 699. Compare Gee's Catalogue of works against popery, pp. 13, 18.]

that this way of conveying truth, by word of mouth, was more certain than by writing. At which the lord treasurer lift up his hands, and said, "It was the strangest proposition that ever he heard." I will not relate all that I replied to this; but only mention one thing, which was, What moved men to be at the trouble to make deeds and conveyances of their estates, if they might be as well settled to all posterity by word of mouth? This touched the first gentleman that disputed with me, who I understood afterward was a lawyer, no less man than judge Allabon[k].

We came at last to discourse of the infallibility of the church, but they could not tell me where it was placed; only asserting there must be such a thing in the church, otherwise all was uncertain. Which I showed was false, for God had given us all the certainty that human nature and fallible creatures could have; and they could tell us of no means of certainty which we had not. About these things we wrangled till nine o'clock, and then broke up. After which Dr. Giffard came privately to me, and talked a great deal of the report that was abroad about the conference we had before the king, in which it was said they had the disadvantage. I protested solemnly that I had never said a word of it to any person whatsoever; much less boasted of a victory. The lord treasurer also came to have discoursed me upon the same subject, to whom I gave the same assurance, that though I had been often asked about it, I never said any thing to make them believe it[l].

But some way or other it did take air. For some time

[k] [Richard, son of Job Allibone, of Wardenton, near Banbury, (who, through adopting the Romish religion, had been advanced to a lucrative place in the post office,) entered at the age of sixteen the English college at Douay, March 24, 1652. His education completed, he returned to England, and applied himself to the study of the law in Gray's Inn. Destitute as he was of legal ability, Allibone was raised by James II. to the dignity of king's counsel, and knighted, Oct. 22, 1686. On April 28, 1687, he was created puisne justice of the king's bench, and repaid the royal favour by shameless subserviency to the court on the trial of the seven bishops. He died at his chambers in Gray's Inn, at the early age of 47, Aug. 22, 1688, and was buried at Dagenham, Essex.—Dod's Ch. Hist. iii. 458. Wood, Athen. Oxon. ii. 441.]

[l] [The lord treasurer is reported to have openly declared at the close of the controversy, "that the victory that the protestant divines had gained made no alterations in his mind, being beforehand convinced of the truth of his religion, and firmly resolved never to forsake it." —Echard, iii. 808.]

after the earl of Clarendon and the bishop of Ely (my predecessor) came to my house, and gave me thanks for the pains I had taken to preserve the lord treasurer in our religion.

Among others whom I voluntarily attempted, I must not forget the lady Lindsay [m], who was wavering, as a lady informed me, in her religion. I went immediately to her, having had a long acquaintance with her. She received me with her wonted civility. When I told her what fears I had of the danger she was in to lose that which would be dearer than life, she desired me to entertain no such thoughts, but after she had confessed some foolish words she had spoken, which she perceived I heard of, she acknowledged that living at court, she could not but sometimes converse with the Romish priests, who had put some scruples into her head. Having desired to know them, I endeavoured to satisfy her about them. And lest she mgiht not remember what I had said, I promised to write it down and send it her. And if she pleased to show it the priests, I should be glad to see what they had to say to it. I did so; and when I came to her next, she made some objections to what I had written, but told me the king had forbidden his priests to dispute either in word or writing, and therefore they would not answer my paper. Thus I did five times, writing answers to her objections; but without any answer from them, but what they put into her mouth. At last she came to my house, and told me that though priests were forbidden to dispute with me, yet she had a neighbouring gentleman, a layman, who was willing to come and argue with me. I presently

[m] [Robert, third earl of Lindsey, married first Mary, daughter and coheir of John Massingberd of London, merchant, descended from an ancient family in Lincolnshire, and widow of George, only son of lord Berkeley; by whom he had an only daughter, Arabella, married to Thomas Savage, earl Rivers. Taking a second wife, Elizabeth, daughter to Philip, lord Wharton, he had by her five sons. His third wife, the lady most probably here referred to, was Elizabeth, sole daughter and heiress of Thomas Pope, earl of Down in Ireland, and widow of sir Francis Henry Lee of Ditchley, Oxon. By her he had one son, Charles, and a daughter, Elizabeth, though Lipscomb (Bucks, iii. 371) denies that she had any offspring by this marriage; who both died in youth, unmarried. The countess died July 1, 1719, surviving her husband eighteen years, and living at her manor of Weedon, a hamlet of Hardwick, her dower by her first marriage, where she exercised a generous hospitality, and was highly esteemed by the whole neighbourhood. — Lipscomb, ibid., Collins' Peerage, ii. 20.]

suspected that she intended to go off with a greater triumph over me, by saying a layman was too hard for me; and so I told her I would bring a layman to discourse with her layman, and let her judge who had the strongest reason: but I did not think fit to do it myself. I added he would be in town next week, and then she said her neighbour was to leave the town in a day or two. The next news I heard of her was that she was reconciled to the church of Rome on St. Paul's day. And a little while after I was certainly informed that the earl of Lindsay her husband was mightily dissatisfied to hear that no man of the church of England had taken any care to serve her; which gave me a new trouble of writing a long account to his lordship, who was in the country, of what had passed; for which he gave me many thanks, and my lady professed a great sense of my kindness, and acknowledged I had written many papers for her satisfaction; adding, that she had often said I was a true Israelite, in whom was no guile.

And here I must not forget that while I was thus busied about her, the archbishop of Canterbury sent to me to come over to Lambeth, he having something to acquaint me with which concerned me. When I came there he told me the king had made a complaint to him of the ministers of London, who preached too much against popery, and named me in particular, who he said was a good man, but leaned too much to the two deans[n] (meaning those of St. Paul and Canterbury). To which his grace replied that his priests were so busy in troubling our people with questions, that we could do no less than instruct them in the established religion, &c. But he would know what had been preached, and whether it might give just offence. This was upon the 19th of January, 1685[o], (1686.) I told his grace that on Christmas I preached on these words, *The Word was made flesh*, and took occasion from thence to show how happy we were who had a Mediator with God who was

[n] [Stillingfleet and Tillotson.]

[o] ["It seems that in the preceding month the king had made Dr. Patrick one of his chaplains; for though he feared him as Herod did John the Baptist, yet at the same time he courted him as one whom he knew considerable for both piety and learning, and knew too well that neither hopes nor fears could bring him to his lure, or move him from his integrity; yet he could not but value him, thinking at least it would not be impolitic to countenance such men as he." — Dr. Knight.]

more than a man, superior to all creatures, no less than the eternal Son of God, and to whom we ought to apply ourselves, and not to angels or saints, who could not know our thoughts, or search our hearts as he did. On this subject I said a great deal, but had not treated on such things a good while before, nor had ever used any undecent reflections.

He told me, "I do no less," and he would tell the king as much, and desire him to speak with me. On St. Paul's day he sent one to tell me the king would speak with me, and that I might get our dean [p], or the bishop of Durham [q], to introduce me. After I had read prayers at Covent Garden, and ex-

[p] [Thomas Sprat, born in 1636 at Tallaton, Devon, became commoner of Wadham college, Oxford, in 1651, M.A. and fellow of that college in 1657. He was made prebendary of Westminster Feb. 22, 1668, canon of Windsor Jan. 14, 1680, dean of Westminster Sept. 21, 1683, consecrated bishop of Rochester Nov. 2, 1684, and held the two latter dignities together till his death, May 20, 1713. Sprat's writings, chiefly on political and historical subjects, evince shrewdness, industry, and scholarship; and his poetical talents gained him some repute in his day: but his moral character was deficient in principle, courage, and consistency.—Biogr. Brit. Salmon's Lives. Wood, iv. 727. Macaulay, ii. 96, 355.]

[q] [Nathaniel Crewe, third son of John, lord Crewe, of Stean, Northampton, was born Jan. 31, 1633; in 1652 admitted commoner of Lincoln college, Oxford, took the degree of B.A. Feb. 1, 165$\frac{4}{5}$, shortly after which he became fellow of his college, and M.A. June 29, 1658. On the death of Dr. Paul Hood he was elected rector of Lincoln college, Aug. 12, 1668, and installed dean of Chichester April 29, 1669. In 1671 he was elected bishop of Oxford, on the translation of Dr. Blandford to Worcester, and consecrated July 2. Through the interest of James duke of York he was translated, Oct. 22, 1674, to the see of Durham. On the accession of James to the throne his submission to the court secured him the royal favour. He sat on the ecclesiastical commission in 1686, and when bishop Compton was suspended by it, Crewe was one of the commissioners appointed to administer the diocese of London. He was no less active in the suspension of Samuel Johnson, in the prosecution of Dr. Peachell, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, in May 1687, and in the illegal proceedings against Magdalene college, Oxford. At the revolution he abandoned his master's failing cause, and joined in the vote declarative of his abdication. Yet his past conduct could not be forgotten, and he was excepted by name out of the pardon granted by William and Mary May 23, 1690; but on taking the oaths obtained leave to retain his bishopric. By the death of his elder brothers he became in 1691 baron Crewe of Stean. The latter years of his life were chiefly devoted to works of charity and munificence, in which King's college and the university of Oxford largely participated. He died Sept. 18, 1721, and with him the title became extinct.—Wood, Athen. Oxon. iv. 885. Biogr. Brit. Chalmers, &c.]

pounded either the Epistle or the Gospel for the day, (as my custom was on all holydays,) I went to see our dean, who was just taking coach to go to Bromley for a few days. So I went to the bishop of Durham, who made so many difficulties, and seemed so backward to introduce me, asking me often what I intended to say to the king[r], that I would not press him. But the lord mayor of London being come in, I took that opportunity to withdraw, and went home. The next day I went to Lambeth, and told his grace how I had been used by the bishop of Durham, who thereupon resolved to go over with me himself to Whitehall, and present me to his majesty. But I beseeched him to take care of his health, and not to venture on the water in such misty weather as it then was, and I would wait for our dean's return; who very readily and with great kindness told me he would do me all the service he was able, and on the 28th went to the king, to know when we might wait on him, and he appointed the next morning; when we went to Whitehall, but found the king gone to St. James's, there being an high mass that day. But he appointed us to come in the afternoon, when he happened to be so busy, that he ordered us to come the next day; which being the 30th of January, we could not attend him till between four or five of the clock, when our dean was called in to him, and was with him about half an hour, and then I was called in to his majesty, who received me with a kind countenance. I told him I was much troubled that he should be dissatisfied with any thing in my sermons, which rarely meddled with controversies: and when such things came in my way, as I rather asserted the truth of our belief than condemned the contrary, so I never let fall any word tending to stir up fears and jealousies and apprehensions of danger; but on fitting occasions exhorted the people to be thankful for his majesty's favour, and to rely upon his royal justice and goodness. Whereupon he bade me not to be troubled, for he complained to my lord of Canterbury only because he would be well informed, and not rashly believe any ill of a church of England man; especially of me, who was his old acquaintance:

[r] [Birch makes similar allusion to the servility displayed by Crewe, bishop of Durham, towards the court, and declares that he distinctively "refused to introduce Patrick, dean of Peterborough, to kiss the king's hand, on account of his zeal against popery."—p. 138.]

and he knew I always preached loyalty: and for such persons he had always, and would always have, a kindness. He desired only that fears and jealousies might not be stirred up in people's minds, for they were the beginning of troubles[s]. He said also that he had commanded his own priests not to meddle with controversies, and in a familiar manner related what his preacher had said that day concerning his father, and at last told me the information he had against me was not from one of his communion, but from a protestant, one of my religion.

This year[t] I was desired to print a sermon I made on St. Mark's day[u]; and I published a book about prayer[x].

This year, 1687, I wrote a book called, "The Pillar and Ground of the Truth[y]," and printed a sermon (which I enlarged into a treatise) preached on St. Peter's day, about the pope's supremacy[z]; and made a prayer to be used in this time of danger[a], which was spread into many distant places. I writ several other things, having one thing to remember this year, which I can never forget; and posterity will have the benefit of it. I was desired by a friend to attend upon the lady Coventry, who had lately lost her only son, as she had not long before her daughter, and was come to London in a most melancholy

[s] [The king at this time determined to restrain the liberty of the pulpit, and ordered the directions concerning preachers, published in 1662, to be reprinted, and reinforced by a letter of the king in council to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, given at Whitehall March 5, 1686, to prohibit preaching upon controversial points. —See Kennet, iii. 452.]

[t] ["In the latter end of the year 1686 (Feb. 1687 NS.) the fears of the nation were heightened by an insult made on the privileges of the university of Cambridge. Dr. Peachell, master of Magdalen college, then vice-chancellor, being in great perplexity of mind how to act in this his difficult province, by a letter to Dr. Patrick importunes his advice and direction; seeming wholly willing to depend upon it. So that it is probable that, as Dr. Peachell is said by bp. Burnet to be an honest, but a weak man, his decent and laudable behaviour, in relation to father Francis infringing the statutes of the university of Cambridge by being admitted M. A. without the usual oaths required, was in a good measure owing to Dr. Patrick. I wish I could have added his letters to the others."—Dr. Knight.

For the history of James's unconstitutional attempt to force the Benedictine monk Alban Francis upon the university, without taking the statutable oaths, see Echard, iii. 821. Ralph, i. 958. State Trials, xi. 1315–1340. Macaulay, ii. 281.]

[u] [Serm. xiii, vol. viii. pp. 173-197.]

[x] [Vol. iv. pp. 639–770.]

[y] [Vol. vii. pp. 69–180.]

[z] [Vol. vi. pp. 607–658.]

[a] [Above, pp. 317–319.]

condition [b]. I did so, and waited on her so diligently, and with such affection, that by the blessing of God I brought her to some cheerfulness in submission to his will. There were few days wherein I did not see her, though she lodged a good way from me, in St. James's Square; which wrought so much upon her, that it endeared me unto her, and she did not know, she said, what to do for me, who had done so much for her. She would make me many presents, for which I have a grateful remembrance. But above all, she would make me and Dr. Tenison (who also was often with her) trustees for her personal estate, which she resolved to settle for such charitable uses as we thought best. Accordingly a conveyance was drawn up, signed, and sealed; and about two thousand pounds put into our hands, which we considered how to dispose of. The Romish priests were then so busy that they set up a school to teach youths for nothing [c]; which we thought might draw many into their snare, and therefore we agreed to do the same; which we did in St. Martin's churchyard, adjoining to the library [d]; which proved a flourishing school, under the care of an excellent master, Mr. Postlethwait, now master of St. Paul's school, in London [e]. Thus it continued to the end

[b] [Margaret, daughter of John, fourth earl of Thanet, married July 18, 1653, to George, third baron Coventry. Their eldest son John, born Sept. 2, 1654, succeeded his father as fourth lord Dec. 15, 1680. His death, here alluded to, occurred July 25, 1687. He was buried in the family vault in the south aisle of the parish church of Croome d'Abitot, where a monument, erected by his mother, testifies in a long and elegant Latin epitaph to his virtues and her grief. (Collins' Peerage, iii. 754.) The titles and estate devolved upon his uncle Thomas Coventry, esq., the other children being previously deceased. These were Thomas, born Aug. 27, 1650, who died Jan. 17, 1660; and William, born July 6, 1661, dec. July 14, 1664; Anne, born July 28, 1656, who died young; and Margaret, born at Hothfield house, Kent, Sept. 14, 1657, married to Charles, second earl of Wiltshire, afterwards duke of Bolton. She died childless in the fourth year of her marriage, and twenty-fifth of her age, 1683.]

[c] [A college had been opened at the Savoy at Whitsuntide, 1687, of which the Jesuit Andrew Pulton was one of the masters. He was a man of abilities, and met Tenison in a conference at a house in Longacre, Sept. 29, 1687, a narrative of which was published by both parties, and some pamphlets interchanged on the subject of their discrepancies.—Dod, iii. 493. Oliver, 174.]

[d] [St. Martin's Library, popularly known by the name of its founder, Tenison, was established by him in the year 1684.—See Evelyn's Diary, Feb. 15, 23.]

[e] ["April 23, 1688. The two

of king James's reign, and some time after: but then we thought the money might be better employed, to the relief of poor vicars; and thereupon we settled two thousand pounds in a select number of the corporation, for ministers' widows and children, for the payment of five pound per annum to ten poor vicars in the diocese of Canterbury, and as many in the diocese of Ely, for ever; which hath now been paid for several years; but without naming her as their benefactor, which she will by no means have made known[f]. But it is fit, I think, that future generations should be acquainted with it, and therefore I here make mention of it.

I should have remembered before this how good God was to me in bestowing upon me, in the year 1685, another child, a daughter of very great beauty[g]. She was very lovely in our eyes, and grew every day more delightful. But this year, in August 1687, God was pleased to visit my little boy with the small pox, through which God carried him with so much safety, though he was very full, that we did not think of removing our little girl out of the house, who continued very well till he was perfectly recovered. But that very day month, when he fell ill, she was seized with vomiting, and all other symptoms of the same disease. On the 6th of September the doctor that attended her carefully gave us hope all along that

protestant free schools in St. Martin's parish and St. James's in Westminster were opened: they are at the charge of Dr. Patrick and Dr. Tenison, for youth, to instruct them in the Christian religion, as also to fitt them for trades; those that are like to prove schollars, to fitt them for the university; and what given by the better sort to be putt in a stock, to putt the other out apprentices."—Luttrell, i. 437.]

[f] ["The whole family," writes Dr. Knight, "had great obligations to bp. Patrick, and by his prudence and persuasion he made matters easy between the lady Coventry and the young lord, who had a great desire for a picture in her possession, of k. Charles I., which was given to his lordship's father, the lord keeper Coventry, by the king. It was set in diamonds, and very valuable; which by his persuasion was parted with, and is now his."

The particulars of this bequest, with the omission of lady Coventry's name, were detailed by bishop Kennet in his "Case of Impropriations, and Augmentation of Vicarages," p. 310. 8vo, Lond. 1704.]

[g] ["Penelope Patrick, daughter of Dr. Simon Patrick by Penelope his wife, December ye 21st, 1685. Born Dec. 1, 1685."—Register of Baptisms, St. Peter's Abbey, Westminster.]

she would do well. But on the 20th she died[h], at three o'clock in the morning, which made it the saddest day my wife and I ever saw. It was no small difficulty to keep my wife from being overcome with grief. But I upheld and comforted her, as she did me, as well as we were able. And the Psalms for the day suited us admirably, the first being very mournful, and the next exceeding joyful: teaching us to say, *Bless the Lord, O my soul; and all that is within me bless his holy name. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits.* This we endeavoured to do, and particularly blessed him for sparing our son; and made repeated acts of resignation to him, which I hope were acceptable to the Divine Majesty.

In the year 1688, on April the 9th, Dr. Allix[i] came to me about an important business, concerning young Mr. Hampden, who had been long in a great melancholy, which he imputed to the great outward troubles which had befallen him. But now he had opened his mind to Dr. Allix, and told him it was because he had been privy to the design of father Simon to weaken the authority of the Holy Scriptures[k]; and had given

[h] [The register of burials at the abbey exhibits the date and place of sepulture:—

"Penelope Patrick, a child, by Gabriel Goodman, September ye 20th, 1687."

The monument of Dr. Gabriel Goodman, dean of Westminster, who died June 17, 1601, is situated on the south side of St. Benedict's chapel, at the eastern intersection of the nave and south transept.]

[i] [A native of Alençon, born in 1641, Peter Allix had been one of the ornaments of the reformed church in France, and conspicuous, while a minister at Charenton, for his discourses and controversial writings against Bossuet. On the revocation of the edict of Nantes he took refuge in England in 1685, where his reputation for piety and learning secured him a flattering reception. He soon made himself a perfect master of the English language. In 1690 he was complimented with the degree of D.D. by the university of Cambridge, and was made treasurer to the chapter of Salisbury. His numerous writings evince a clear understanding, wide erudition, and humour combined with logical power. He lived on terms of friendship with the most influential members of the church of England, and died in London Feb. 21, 1717. — Biogr. Brit. Chalmers &c.]

[k] [The eminent critic and divine, Richard Simon, was born at Dieppe, May 13, 1638, and acquired his education under the fathers of the oratory, distinguishing himself highly in divinity and Oriental learning. For some years he taught philosophy at the college of Juilly in the

him encouragement and assistance in that work; and more than that, had infused those opinions into some persons, which he much lamented. My advice about his case was desired by his own consent; and on the 25th the doctor came to me again, and brought me a paper, written and signed by Mr. John Hampden's own hand, wherein he confessed his guilt in promoting the opinions of father Simon; and desired that I would keep it, and seal it up with a superscription, that if I died it should be delivered to him, or his father if alive, or to his nearest and best relations or friends [1].

The next month we were in great perplexity about reading

diocese of Meaux, with the exception of a short time spent in Paris in arranging the Oriental collection in the library of the oratory. The boldness and originality of his early writings soon brought him into controversy, and subjected him to the repute of being a free and dangerous thinker. The work which rendered him most famous, L'Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament, appeared in 1678, and was immediately suppressed by the Benedictines of Port Royal, who alleged that it contained doctrines dangerous to religion and the church. It was reprinted the year after, and was so much admired for its learning and critical acumen as to attract the attention of Europe, and was published in Latin at Amsterdam in 1681, and in English at London the year following, at the expense of John Hampden, the translator. On the suppression of the Histoire Critique at Paris it was reprinted by the Elzevirs at Amsterdam in 1685 with a General Apology; and involved the author in a controversy with many eminent protestant divines, Le Clerc, Jurieu, Isaac Voss and others. Several other works on biblical criticism and ecclesiastical history maintained his literary repute, while developing the singularity of his views and asperity of his style. His recklessness in controversy caused him to be almost equally obnoxious to protestants and papists, while his studious designs to disparage the authority of Scripture in order to exalt that of the church tended to undermine the ultimate foundations of all belief in a revealed system of religion. Simon died at Dieppe in April 1712. —Moreri, Chalmers, &c.]

[1] [Hampden's Confession, or Remonstrance against the errors of father Simon, has been repeatedly printed; — in Calamy's Life and Times, i. 387; in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1739, and again in 1756; in the London Chronicle for Feb. 1759, and in Lipscomb's History of Buckinghamshire, ii. 264. MS. copies of it are extant in the British Museum; Sloane MSS. 3299. fol. 189; Baker's MSS. 6399. fol. 41.

This unhappy man, son of Richard Hampden, and grandson to the patriot John Hampden, was a strenuous partizan of the liberal policy which became traditional in that family. He had been arraigned for his share in the Rye house plot, and fined 40,000*l.*; and joined in the desperate enterprise of Monmouth two years later, for which he was put upon his trial, but pleading guilty had the royal clemency extended to him. On the revolution

the Declaration for liberty of conscience[a], which all my acquaintance seemed to abhor. We had many meetings about it: twice at Ely house with the bishop, and on the 11th of May at the Temple, where at the master's house we came to this resolution, that the bishops should be desired to address to the king, but not upon any address of ours to them. For we judged it best that they should lead the way, and we follow them. And on the 13th we went there again, every one resolving, for some reason or other, not to read the Declaration. There were near twenty of us, as I remember, who were desired to feel the pulse of all the ministers in London, how they stood affected; and if they were generally so resolved as we were, his grace of Canterbury promised to petition the king not to exact it of us. Accordingly, Dr. Tenison and myself were appointed to go to all the ministers at one end of the town, and know their minds; and others undertook to go into other parts of the city. And on Thursday, May 17th, we met at a house in St. Paul's Churchyard, and an account was given of near seventy, who promised not to read it. Some could not be found, and a few spoke dubiously. I wrote a list of those who promised not to read it fairly, with my own hand, and carried it to the bishop of Peterborough, who lodged hard by, at Mr. Clavel's[b], to be delivered to my lord of Canterbury. He was not within, so I sealed it up, and desired it might be given him as soon as he came in, and he carried it to Lambeth that night[c].

he warmly espoused the policy of king William, and is said to have had the offer of a peerage. The trials to which his political career had exposed him, particularly the humiliation of accepting his life from king James, are said to have preyed upon Hampden's constitution and spirits. The despondency thus occasioned ended in suicide in December 1696. Bishop Burnet speaks of him as "a young man of great parts, one of the most learned gentlemen I have ever known: for he was a critic both in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He was a man of great heat and vivacity, but too unequal in his temper. He had once great principles of religion, but he was much corrupted by P. Simon's conversation at Paris." — ii. 343. Lipscomb's Bucks, ii. 261.]

[a] [The Declaration may be read at length in Kennet, iii. 508, Rapin, ii. 762. For the history of the important results which followed it see Echard, iii. 816; Ralph, i. 982; D'Oyley's Sancroft, i. 253; Macaulay, ii. 212, &c.]

[b] [Probably Robert Clavel, the bookseller, and master of the Stationers' Company, mentioned in Dunton's Life, 207, and by Luttrell, i. 434.]

[c] ["May 17, Thursday, the bishops of St. Asaph and Ely, Dr. Tennison and Dr. Patrick, dined with us. In

Upon this, the archbishop sent to all the bishops in town or near, to come to Lambeth on Friday morning, and gave notice to Dr. Tenison and me that it was fit we should keep it as a day of fasting and prayer, to beg God's direction, and his blessing on what was intended. I gave notice of it to some others, and between ten or eleven Dr. Tenison, Dr. Grove, and I went over to Lambeth, where we found five bishops with Dr. Stillingfleet and Dr. Tillotson. After morning prayer we entered into consultation about an address to the king, and at last it was agreed it should be by way of petition from his grace, the bishops present with him, and in behalf of their brethren, and of the clergy of their dioceses. About two o'clock came another bishop; so there were St. Asaph, Ely, Chichester, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, and Bristol, and also the bishop of London.

The matter of the petition, after some debate, was agreed, and all but the bishop of London set their hands to it. Then it was considered how it should be delivered, and at last resolved they should all go in a body. So when even prayer was done, we went to dinner, and after that they went over to Whitehall, a little after six o'clock. Dr. Tenison, Dr. Grove, and I stayed with the archbishop till eight o'clock, to hear what the success would be. But then we came away, hearing nothing till the next morning. For it was nine o'clock before they could have audience, the king being abroad, and not returning till that time; when he carried them into his closet, and received them very kindly at the first. When the petition was presented, "O!" says the king, "I know this hand, it is my lord of Canterbury's." But when they came to that part of it against his dispensing power, his countenance altered, and when it was read over, he said, "What! The church of England against my dispensing power! The church of England! They that always preached it!" which he spake in a great fury. When they told him they never preached any such things, but only obedience, and suffering when they could not obey; "It surprises me," said he, "I did not expect an address of this nature from you;" and looking upon the bishop of Ely, added, "Here

the afternoon they went to Lambeth."—Clarendon's Diary, ii. 172; D'Oyley's Sancroft, i. 257.]

are some I did not expect to see on such an occasion. Have not I supported you? This is a step to rebellion." (Which he repeated more than once.) To which they answered, that "they were ready to lay down their lives at his feet;" and the bishop of Bristol, kneeling down, said, "Did not I go down to suppress a rebellion? Hath not my family been always loyal; and can I be guilty of such a crime?" "Well," said the king, "I will keep this in memory; I will never forget it." And at last told them, "If I alter my mind, you shall hear from me; but I expect to be obeyed."

The next Sunday, it was not read by any considerable person[c]; but our dean sent it to one of the petty canons to read it in the Abbey. But at St. Margaret's and the New Chapel it was refused. The middle of that week I went to keep my residence at Peterborough, where I did what I was able to prevent the reading of it; which was not difficult to persuade them unto, they being generally every where inclined to follow the example of the London clergy. And I look upon it as a great providence that the clergy were not enjoined all to read it on the same day; but those of London on the 20th of May, and those in the country on the Sunday fortnight after; whereby they had opportunity to hear what those in London had generally done, and their reasons for their refusal, which were every where published.

In the latter end of the month I heard the archbishop and the other petitioners were summoned to appear before the council, to answer such misdemeanours as should be objected against them, on the 8th of June. I beseeched God to give them wisdom, counsel, courage, and such a spirit as their enemies could not resist. I cannot but here remember with what joy the news of their being cleared was received at Peter-

[c] [It was only read, Clarendon understood, "in three or four churches in the city or liberties. Neither Stillingfleet nor Tenison were at their churches, but as I am told, went yesterday to their country houses. So overwise are some sort of men."—Diary, May 20, Sunday.

The names of four complying clergymen only are preserved,—Elliot, Martin, Thomson, and Hall; who were induced, it would seem, by the tempting bait of the bishopric of Oxford, then vacant. It fell to Timothy Hall, then rector of All-Hallows, Steyning, through the influence of the duchess of Portsmouth. —Mackintosh, p. 252. Wood, Athen. Oxon. iv. 876.]

borough. The bells rung from three o'clock in the morning till night; when several bonfires were made, with tabor and pipe and drum, and a great part of the night was spent in rejoicing, and all of their own accord; whereas the day before, which was a thanksgiving for the birth of the prince of Wales, the bells did not stir till twelve o'clock. So great a difference there is between that which is constrained, and that which is done voluntarily.

After I had left Peterborough, and returned to London, I remember very well Dr. Tenison upon a certain occasion entertained me and my brother with a few other friends at dinner in the city; and about four o'clock desired to have some private conversation with me, and so we came to my house at Westminster, where he communicated an important secret to me[d]; that the prince of Orange intended to come over with an army to our relief from the danger in which we were. And therefore desired me to carry all my money, and what I had valuable, out of London: for none could foresee what confusions we might fall into. This he told me on the 7th of August, 1688, and gave me such assurance of it, that I followed his advice. This gave me occasion to reflect upon what the earl of Bedford had told me in May before, that duchess de la Force[e], (who continued a protestant, though the duke[f] had changed his religion,)

[d] [Tenison took Evelyn also into his confidence not long after.—"Aug. 10, Dr. Tenison now told me there would suddenly be some great thing discovered. This was the prince of Orange intending to come over."]

[e] [The duchess de la Force, having suffered fourteen years' persecution, and been thrown on her husband's death into a nunnery at Evreux, obtained her liberty in 1699 through the earl of Jersey's influence, and accompanied his countess to England, where she lived to a very great age.—Tindal, i. 392.]

[f] [It appears that the duke's recantation of protestantism did not protect him from suspicion, or that his outward profession did not induce him to abandon all intercourse with his former co-religionists.

"The French letters bring, that the duke de la Force is clapt up in the Bastille, and several others secured, upon suspicion of holding correspondence with the new converts."—Luttrell, July 1689, i. 557, 665.

The duke de la Force was the grandson of Jacques Nompar de Caumont, who was saved when a boy by his own presence of mind in feigning death at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, while his father and eldest brother fell victims. Caumont rose to distinction in the service of Henry IV, and was in the coach by his side at the time of his assassination. He obtained the title of duc de la Force, marshal of France, from Louis XIII, in 1622. He died, May 10, 1652, aged 93. His son

had writ to her brother a letter wherein were these words; "The wind is turned; pray to God, for you shall see extraordinary things in a short time." No doubt several great persons in England expected a sudden turn, as these two certain stories plainly prove. The bishop of Peterborough, visiting Mr. Austin, (one of the jury which acquitted the bishops,) and finding him very melancholy, asked him the reason. He told him things looked so dark, that he feared we should be undone. "What," said the bishop, "do you think the prince of Orange will sit still, and do nothing to help us?" Some time after, sir Nathan Wright (late lord keeper of the great seal[f]) told me, that he being at Ely that summer the bishops were cleared, and brought out of the Tower, went to wait upon the bishop, (my predecessor, Dr. Turner,) and congratulated his deliverance out of the Tower; to whom the bishop replied; "Wait patiently a while, and we shall all be delivered."

Which God vouchsafed before Christmas, by the arrival of the prince of Orange in the beginning of November[g]; and many obstacles being removed, he came to St. James' on the 17th of December. It was a very rainy night, when Dr. Tenison and I being together, and discoursing in my parlour, in the little cloisters in Westminster, one knocked hard at the door. It being opened, in came the bishop of St. Asaph; to whom I said, "What makes your lordship come abroad in such

Armand likewise rose to be marshal of France, and died Dec. 16, 1675, aged nearly 90.

Evelyn mentions a visit he had received from "M. le Coque, a French refugee, who left great riches for his religion; a very learned civil person; he married the sister of the duchess de la Force."—Oct. 2, 1689.]

[f] [Nathan Wright, the son of the Rev. Ezekiel Wright, B. D., rector of Thurcaston, Leicestershire, was born Feb. 11, 1653; entered at Emanuel college, Cambridge, in 1668, studied law at the Inner Temple, and was in 1680 elected recorder of Leicester. He was called by writ, April 11, 1692, to the degree of sergeant at law, and was made king's sergeant and knighted Dec. 30, 1696. The great seal, which had been taken from lord Somers, was delivered to sir Nathan Wright, by king William, May 21, 1700. It was transferred from him to lord Cowper, in May 1705. He died in possession of a large fortune, at his seat, Chaldecott Hall in Warwickshire, Aug. 4, 1721. Wright's qualifications as a lawyer were contemptible. He owed his unlooked for elevation to his support of the tory ministry of the time.—Lord Campbell's Chancellors, iv. 241—256.]

[g] ["Nov. 21, Wednesday...The bishops of St. Asaph and Ely dined with us. In the afternoon I visited the new archbishop of York, and Dr. Patrick."—Clarendon's Diary.]

weather, when the rain pours down as if heaven and earth would come together?" To which he answered, "He had been at Lambeth, and was sent by the bishops to wait upon the prince, and know when they might all come and pay their duty to him." I asked if my lord of Canterbury had agreed to it together with the rest. He said, "Yea, he made some difficulty at the first, but consented at the last, and ordered him to go with that message."

The next morning Dr. Paman[h] (a domestic of his grace's) came to me about twelve o'clock, and told me with great joy what the bishops had done, and that the prince had appointed them to wait on him at three o'clock that afternoon. I asked if my lord of Canterbury went with them, to which he replied. "Yes, yes." But hearing afterwards he was not there, I was much confounded; and when I saw the bishop of St. Asaph, inquired of him whether I did not mistake him, the archbishop not accompanying them, as I thought he told me he would. He said, "I took him right, but the Lord only knew why he did not go along with them." For he had often since asked him why he did not, and he never would give him any reason. Not long after Dr. Tenison told me the earl of Clarendon desired him to go over with him to Lambeth[i]; when he fell into expostulations with his grace about his going to the prince, and urged him with many reasons. To which the archbishop replied, "Would you have me kill myself? Do you not see what a cold I have?" (as indeed he had then a sore one.) "No," said the earl, "but it would do well if you would excuse your not waiting on the prince, by letting him know what a cold you have, and that you will wait on him when it is gone." To which all the reply he could get was, "I will consider of it[k]."

[h] [Henry Paman, fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge, was proctor of that university in 1656, graduated M.D. in 1658, became public orator, and professor of physic in Gresham college, London. He was at the time here specified, master of the faculties to the archbishop of Canterbury.—Wood, iv. 271; Birch, p. 145.]

[i] ["Dec. 24, Monday, In the morning, the lords met and sat till past twelve at night; a good preparation for Christians. My lord of Canterbury came not; the bishop of Ely and I sent for him; but the king's being gone had cast such a damp upon him, that he would not come; which many of us were sorry for. His declaring himself at this time would have had weight among us."—Clarendon's Diary.]

[k] [On a later occasion lord Clarendon records a similar attempt.

On the 14th of January I went in the afternoon to the dean of St. Paul's house, where I met the bishop of St. Asaph, the dean of Canterbury, the dean of Norwich, and Dr. Tenison, to consult about such concessions as might bring in dissenters to our communion[1]. For which the bishop of St. Asaph told us he had the archbishop of Canterbury's leave. We agreed that

equally futile, to engage the archbishop in favour of a recognition of the prince's authority and government.

"Jan. 3, Thursday, I went to dinner to Lambeth, Dr. Tennison with me. We went over the bridge, by reason the river was so full of ice, that boats could not pass. After dinner I spoke to the archbishop (as I had done several times before) of going to the prince of Orange, or sending some message to him by some of the bishops; for he had yet taken no notice at all of him; but he was positive not to do it, for the reasons he previously gave me. We then spoke to him of the approaching coronation, and whether he would not think of preparing something against that time in behalf of the dissenters. Dr. Tennison added, it would be expected something should be offered in pursuance of the petition which the seven bishops had given to the king; for which they had been put into the Tower. The archbishop said he knew well what was in the petition, and he believed every bishop in England intended to make it good, when there was an opportunity of debating those matters in convocation; but till then, or without a commission from the king, it was highly penal to enter upon church matters. But, however, he would have it in his mind, and would be willing to discourse any of the bishops or other clergy thereupon, if they came to him; though he believed the dissenters would never agree among themselves with what concessions they would be satisfied. To which Dr. Tennison replied, he believed so too; that he had not discoursed with any of them upon this subject, and the way to do good was not to discourse with them, but for the bishops to endeavour to get such concessions settled in parliament, the granting whereof (whether accepted or not by the dissenters) should be good for the church. The archbishop answered, that when there was a convocation, those matters would be considered of; and in the mean time he knew not what to say, but that he would think of what had been offered by us."]

[1] [The growing aggressions of the Romish party during the reign of king James had produced their natural effect, in drawing together the church of England, and the more moderate of the non-conformists, in defence of their common protestantism. The project of a comprehension, which had been promulgated without effect in the preceding reign by Bridgman and Wilkins, (see vol. v. p. 257,) began now to be revived, and in the hour of the church's danger gained the support of many, who while she was in the ascendant had been cold or even hostile towards it. Among these were Sancroft and Patrick. While the court was openly bidding for the suffrages of the dissenters, the leaders of the church were disposed to bring about an union on the basis of mutual concession in matters not of vital importance; to which end the prince of Orange was solicited to employ his known influence with the separatists.

In the articles recommended by Sancroft to the bishops within his

a bill should be prepared to be offered by the bishops, and we drew up the matter of it in ten or eleven heads[m].

metropolitical jurisdiction, July 16, 1688, certain points tending to peace and union were laid down, to be inculcated on their non-conforming brethren. A systematic scheme was prepared by him with the same object, and referred to a committee of divines, among whom were Sharp, afterwards archbishop of York, and Moore, Patrick's successor in the see of Ely. His idea embraced also a revision of the liturgy, of which he undertook the half himself, and entrusted another to Patrick.—See the speech of archbishop Wake on the impeachment of Sacheverell; Birch, p. 133; D'Oyley, i. 320 sqq.; Cardwell, Doc. Ann. ii. 320; Hist. of Conf. p. 403.]

[m] [From this statement it appears that the prime authorship of the last comprehension bill is not to be attributed, as it has generally been, to the earl of Nottingham. The original draft prepared by the bishop and divines here enumerated was committed to him for preparation, and presentation to the house. This bill, of which Mr. Macaulay by an apparent inadvertence considered himself to have discovered an unique copy, was previously printed by Dr. Cardwell in his History of Conferences, p. 455, from a transcript among the Burnet papers in the Bodleian library. The last clause only in the latter copy varies from that preserved in the archives of the house of lords, the original draft having been modified for presentation to parliament in the following year. Its provisions were framed in close accordance with those of the abortive measure of 1668.

The first clause dispensed all ministers of the established church from the necessity of subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles, substituting this declaration: "I do approve of the doctrine, and worship, and government, of the church of England, by law established, as containing all things necessary to salvation, and I promise in the exercise of my ministry to preach and practise according thereunto."

The hypothetical form of ordination was adopted from the former bill, in the case of those who had been presbyterian ministers: "If thou art not already ordained," &c.

Clauses concerning ceremonies and the cross were introduced, identical with those of the former measure.

The concluding clause took the form of a petition, that the king and queen would issue a commission, empowering thirty divines of the established church to revise the liturgy, the canons, and the constitution of the ecclesiastical courts, and to recommend such alterations as they might deem advisable.

The bill was introduced into the house of peers by the earl of Nottingham, and read a first time, March 11, $168\frac{8}{9}$, under the title of "A bill for uniting their majesties' protestant subjects." It was read a second time, March 14, and referred to the same committee as the toleration bill. After much debate on the report, it was read a third time and passed, April 8; an amendment, providing for the addition of lay members to the contemplated commission of divines, being lost through an equality of the votes on either side.

The bill was sent down to the house of commons. Amidst much division of feeling, a proposition was there unanimously adopted, that the house should petition the king to refer the whole subject to the houses of convocation. The lords concurring in this resolution, the bill was dropped. It was again mooted in the following year, but fell to the ground for want of support.—See

On the 20th of that month I preached before the prince in St. James's chapel[n]; and after dinner was brought to him, who told me, "He had heard of me before, and now was glad to hear me," and thanked me for my sermon. I prayed God to bless him, and prosper his undertaking till he had a happy issue. To which he replied, "that the prayers of such good men would contribute much unto it."

On the last day of this month was a thanksgiving for our deliverance by the prince of Orange; when I preached. But a reviling letter was left in a pew against me for my sermon the day before, on the 30th of January; which I could easily discover was written by a papist. I was desired by many in my parish to print the thanksgiving sermon, which I did[o]; and it met with such obloquy from sundry people, (how acceptable

Lords' Journals March 11, April 5 and 8; Commons' Journals, April 8, 9; Calamy's Life of Baxter, 622; Parl. Hist. v. 212; Burnet, iii. 17; Macaulay, iii. 89—113.

The principal result which followed the agitation of the question of comprehension was the appointment of the ecclesiastical commission in the autumn of the same year, consisting of thirty divines, in exact accordance with the measure agreed to by the house of lords.

Tillotson is said by Dr. Nicholls (Apparat. &c., p. 93; Birch, p. 165,) to have dissuaded the king from encouraging the bill of union, on the ground that the church was too often reproached already with being based upon the authority of parliament, and to have prevailed upon him to refer the measure to convocation, issuing the royal commission in the first instance in order to prepare matters for their consideration.

Calamy thinks that Tillotson repented of his advice to William. "This unhappy step of this great and good man had such consequence as we have reason to lament to this day; I doubt not, however, that he afterwards saw occasion to lament of this advice." He also remarks that William missed his aim by following Tillotson's counsel, and considers that the scheme would have brought in two thirds of the dissenters.—Life and Times, i. 452; Cardwell, Hist. of Conf. 404; Lathbury, Hist. of Convocation, 325; Birch, 159.

Desirous as he was that the church should legislate for herself, Tillotson was still an earnest advocate for moderate reform. Among his papers was found a document written in shorthand, enumerating the heads of topics to be submitted to the commission. It is entitled, "Concessions which will probably be made by the church of England, for the union of protestants, which I sent to the earl of Portland by Dr. Stillingfleet, Sept. 13, 1689."—See Birch, p. 168; Cardwell, p. 411.

He also conceived the design of a new book of homilies, sixty-two in number, for every Sunday and chief festival. A share in this work was entrusted to Patrick, who made some progress towards its execution. Burnet actually drew up seven homilies as an experiment, which were published some years later.—See his Essay towards a new book of homilies, &c., 8vo, Lond. 1713; and Birch, p. 365.]

[n] [Serm. xvii. vol. viii. p. 287.]

[o] [Serm. xix. vol. viii. p. 343.]

soever to my parish,) that Dr. Tillotson was much troubled at it, and it moved him, as he told me, to bear me company, and to print his sermon on that occasion at Lincoln's Inn[p], that I might not stand single, but they might have somebody else to rail at as well as me. For our two sermons were the only ones that appeared in print, except one of Dr. Burnet's, which I think also was printed[q]. After which I resolved to commit to the press the sermon I preached before the prince, with another part of it I preached at Covent Garden[r].

On the 20th of January the bishop of London went to wait upon the king, to congratulate his coming to the crown, to assure him of our duty and service, and to beg his protection. His answer was, "I have always had a great esteem for the clergy of London, and a value for the service they have done religion; and will take care they shall live at ease, and ever give testimonies of my affection to the Church of England, depend upon it." This he spake with great earnestness. Then we went to the queen, (who arrived safe at Whitehall the 12th,) and made her a short compliment. To which she replied, that "she desired nothing more than the prayers of the clergy for her."

On the 1st of March I preached before the queen at Whitehall, who ordered me to print the sermon[s]; and in the beginning of the year 1689 I preached and printed two sermons, one about murmuring[t], the other about censuring and judging others[u].

We had abundance of trouble this year in endeavouring to satisfy men's scruples about our present settlement, both by discourse and writing letters. And after all, many old acquaintance and friends continued so unsatisfied about taking the oaths, that they broke off all familiarity with me, and I never saw them since. There was a deal of painstaking also in making collections for the Irish protestants, who were fled hither for their safety. I had two hundred pounds sent me by the good lady Coventry, to distribute among the gentlemen and ministry of that nation. I made a thanksgiving for our deliverance, and printed it[x], as I had before done a prayer for our preservation[y].

[p] [Serm. xxxii. Tillotson's works, tom. i. pp. 291–303.]

[q] [A French version was also published.]

[r] [Vol. viii. pp. 311–342.]

[s] [Serm. xx. pp. 373–394.]

[t] [Serm. xxi. pp. 395–417.]

[u] [Serm. xvi. pp. 263–286.]

[x] [Vol. ix. p. 320.]

[y] [P. 317.]

On the second of September the bishop of St. Asaph sent to speak with me. Who told me when I came to him, that the bishop of Chichester [t] having died, he had spoken to the king and queen to make me bishop in his room; with which motion they were both well pleased, and he had also spoken to the earl of Nottingham to second it. I heard no more of it till the eighth day, which was the day of my birth; when I fell into a meditation of the goodness of God, who had brought me into the world, and let me live sixty-three years in much wealth, ease, and pleasure. But above all, had given me an early sense of religion, and disposed me into such places where it was increased and practised; and afterwards gave me right notions in religion; made me a minister of the holy gospel, and placed me in an advantageous station. Blessed be the Lord, who at length bestowed a sweet wife upon me, and a dear child; and directed me to the use of such means, as have preserved me in vigour and strength. Particularly I ought to acknowledge, (as it is in the Psalm for this day,) that *He hath put a new song into my mouth* for our wonderful deliverance of these kingdoms from popish tyranny, by an unexpected hand, and in a peaceable manner. For this I lately composed a hymn of praise, together with a prayer for perfecting our deliverance [u]. And, blessed be God, I have published six sermons this year, and wrote an answer to the popish "Touchstone," which had been published, if our enemies had not on a sudden vanished [x]. I hope I shall never be unmindful of the goodness of the Lord, but have his praise continually in my mouth. And, blessed Lord, if I still live longer, enable me to do more good. I have set down my thoughts as I find them written in a little book where I have recorded some things.

In the evening my wife's brother, Mr. Jephson, secretary to the treasury, came to acquaint me that their majesties intended to bestow the bishopric of Chichester upon me, and would have

[t] [Dr. John Lake had been rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, archdeacon of Cleveland Oct. 13, 1680, and consecrated bishop of Sodor and Man Dec. 1682, translated to Bristol Aug. 12, 1684, and to Chichester Oct. 19, 1685. He died at the latter end of August 1689.—Wood, iv. 867. Le Neve, &c.]

[u] [The editor has failed to obtain a copy of this prayer.]

[x] [It was published in 1692. Vol. vii. pp. 181–337.]

me come to Hampton Court the next morning. This I took as a more remarkable blessing, being what I should have desired, rather than any other preferment; and, being bestowed on my birthday, when I was thinking of God's goodness.

The next morning I went to Hampton Court, where the earl of Shrewsbury presented me to the king, who told me he heard so good a character of me that he bestowed the bishopric of Chichester upon me. After dinner I went to the queen, who told me, "She was sure it was the king's great affection to the Church of England, which moved him to choose such good men as I was to be bishops in it." Shortly after I could not but think of the providence of God, in sending me thither rather than any other see. Because, first it is so near my child; and then so small a diocese that I might hope to take due care of it without so much toil; and it was the more valuable in many men's thoughts, because it became void by the natural, not civil, death of the last bishop; and my old dear friend, Dr. Cradock, was a residentiary there, in whose company and conversation I should often be delighted. It was no small pleasure to me also, that I was declared bishop on my birthday, (as I said before,) when I had brought myself to desire nothing more than I had [y].

Not long after I had a letter from the lord Gorges [z], who

[y] [By Patrick's elevation to the episcopal bench the right of presentation to St. Paul's, Covent Garden, reverted to the crown. The king however signified to the earl of Bedford that his wishes should be consulted in the nomination. The names of Kidder and Moore were suggested to the earl by Tenison, and some interest was made on behalf of Dr. Antony Horneck. Patrick's recommendation was in favour of Dr. John Williams, who afterwards succeeded him in the bishopric of Chichester, and Dr. Samuel Freeman, then rector of St. Anne's, Aldersgate.

The weight of Tillotson's influence was thrown subsequently on the side of Freeman, and determined the earl's choice in his favour, which was ratified by the king. He was instituted Dec. 28.—Birch's Life of Tillotson, pp. 198–212.]

[z] [Sir Richard Gorges, bart., second lord Gorges of Dundalk, in the peerage of Ireland, married Bridget, daughter of Richard Kingsmill, esq., of Sidmanton, Hants, and died without surviving issue, in 1712, when all his honours became extinct.—Burke's Extinct Peerage.

The view of Covent Garden engraved in Smith's Antiquities of Westminster, from a picture taken in 1690, contains the name of "Lady Gorgess" as tenanting at that time a house on the north side of King St., in Patrick's parish.]

showed me a letter from Dr. Gorges [a] of the 2nd of this month, from Ireland, wherein he related what discouragements he had from his friends, who persuaded him not to embark with the general for that country, he having no particular employment, and the wind for many months continuing against them, which looked as if Heaven did not favour them; nor were the ships all ready. But it pleased God, the wind changed on a sudden, and the duke Schomberg would sail, against the advice of all the seamen; who told him he should stay till the wind were settled, and all the company was ready. But he was resolved to sail with those five thousand men he had on board, and stay at the Isle of Man, till the rest of the fleet came to him. It pleased God that the wind continued so fair that he would not stay at that isle, but only left word that the rest when they came should follow him, and come straight to Carickfergus. Where they were no sooner come, but the wind turned south, and carried the ships back again, to help bring over the rest of their men; and when they arrived at High Lake, it turned into the opposite quarter and brought them to Ireland; and then it turned once more to carry them over to England again; and when they came thither, the wind came about again, and brought more forces to Ireland; which they looked upon as a wonderful providence of God. For if they had had the disposal of it themselves, they could not have ordered it better.

On the third of October the commission about ecclesiastical affairs [b] was to be opened in Jerusalem Chamber. I came about ten o'clock, and there were near twenty of the thirty commissioners present [c]. It gave them power to consider what

[a] [Robert Gorges, LL. D. of Kilbrew, in the county of Meath, sprung from another branch of the same family, which is still represented by his descendants. He married Jane, daughter of sir Arthur Loftus, knight, and sister of Adam, viscount Lisburne.]

[b] [The alterations and amendments projected in the book of Common Prayer, together with a copy of the original commission, and the diary of the commissioners' proceedings kept by Dr. John Williams, one of their body, subsequently bishop of Chichester, were printed by order of the house of commons in the year 1854, from the MS. in the library of Lambeth palace, deposited by Edmund Gibson, bishop of London.]

[c] ["There was an appointment made by direction from the lord bishop of London, for their meeting

alterations were fit to be made in the liturgy and canons; and what regulations in the ecclesiastical courts; and how to reform the manners of the clergy; to be offered to the convocation, and to the parliament, and to the king. We sat till about one o'clock, and debated several things about the mending of the old translation of the reading Psalms and Apocrypha[d]; and ordered another meeting the next Wednesday.

On the twelfth of October I was confirmed, together with Dr. Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester, and Dr. Ironside, bishop of Bristol. And the next day we were all consecrated at Fulham; when I was much affected with every part of that holy office, and heartily answered to the questions proposed, and beseeched our blessed Lord to endue me with that spirit

at Jerusalem chamber at 9 o'clock, Oct. 3, 1689.

"The first thing done was the opening of the commission, Dr. Sharp, dean of Norwich, being desired to read it."

Of the commissioners "there met at that time 17, viz. 5 bishops, whereof 2 elect, 5 deans, and 7 others."—Williams, p. 94.]

[d] [After the reading of the commission the first point proposed to be debated was the reading of the Apocrypha in the church.

"For it there were 3 things offered,

"1. That leaving it out would give great offence to the people—thus B.(Beveridge).

"2. That if not the whole allowed to be read, yet some parts of the most usefull should be retained.—by Dr. Jane.

"3. It was desired that we should not proceed in these matters till we had a greater number, and without more time to consider. — Dn. of Winton. (Meggott.)

"To the two former it was answered, That besides the objections against particular parts of it, the whole was of no authority. That it gave too great a countenance to the pretensions of the church of Rome, and showed too great a respect to the books themselves. To the last it was said, That the time was short and the matter would not admit long delays. 2. That what was done here was no determination, and that the whole was to be left to the convocation. It was carried against the Apocrypha.

"The next point in debate was the version of the Psalms in the Common Prayer. It was debated whether keep the old translation, or have that altered, or wholly take in the new.

"Here Mr. Kidder was desired to give some account of what he (at the desire of some of the bps.) had observed. He showed that the first half was faulty, the latter much better, (and from thence he collected that the translator by that time he had gone through the first half grew weary of his work, and rather chose to translate it anew, than patch it up as before,) and that it differed from the LXX. as well as from the Hebrew.

"Mr. K. and Mr. W. then withdrew (about 12 o'clock) going out of town.

"It seems they gave several their parts, and adjourned till Monday, Oct. 14."—p. 95.]

of love and of power, and of a sound mind, which we prayed for after the laying on of hands. That I may have ardent zeal for his service and the salvation of souls; and courage and resolution to do my duty on all occasions; together with prudence and discretion to judge what is fit to be done in every case.

On the 16th the commissioners sat again, and had a long dispute with the bishop of Rochester[e]; who argued both against the commission itself, and against our preparing any thing before the convocation met. We stayed there till one; and the bishop of London, of Worcester, and several others came to my house, and dined with me, and we went over a good part of the amendments we proposed to make in the liturgy, till it was night[f]. And the next morning they came

[e] [Sprat, bishop of Rochester, spoke to this effect, "That he questioned the authority of this commission; and whether it was not premunire to meet according to it; that a burnt child dreads the fire, and that he should not think himself safe unless he had it under the hands of the twelve judges, having in his former case had judges on his side; that if it was legal, yet however he questioned whether this was not dissolved, and that there needed a new commission, and that, 1. Because the quality of some of the persons therein concerned was altered; such as he a few days ago had the honour to lay his hands upon; and, 2. because there were but seven at the last meeting that adjourned the court; and that the commission made nine at least of the quorum. He urged further that he could not see how we could enter upon such matters, having given assent and consent to them; that it was to accuse the church, and condemn it as if it needed; that this was to prevent the convocation, and that it could not be taken well by them to be called together to confirm that which they had no hand in: that this would provoke the parliament.

"This ended, the dean of Gloucester, Dr. Jane, stood up and said, that what the bishop of Rochester said had convinced him, and he was of the same mind.

"To this was replied especially by Dr. Patrick, bishop of Chichester, 1. That sure there was no comparison between the late ecclesiastical commission and this: for here was nothing to be determined, and they were only called together to advise and give their opinion; not to determine concerning right and wrong (The bishop of Rochester said he would not compare them). 2. Nor betwixt the judges then that were corrupted and gave verdict against law, and these that acted according to law; and that they had consulted some of them, (as well as the king had,) and they said it was lawful; for there was no law to hinder the king from calling any persons together for their advice, and this the words of the commission showed was no more."—ibid.]

[f] ["Oct. 16 the bishops of London and Worcester, Dr. Alston and Williams, dined at Dr. Patrick's, the bi-

hither again, to consider the rest of the liturgy at my house, and stayed till almost twelve.

The next day we met in the Jerusalem Chamber, where we had appointed a general meeting of the commissioners. The bishop of Rochester absented himself[g]. When we had read over all that we had to offer about the several offices, we proceeded to consider of the three ceremonies[h], and came to a conclusion that the sign of the cross in baptism should be left indifferent, which was expressed in such words as we hoped would satisfy our own people[i]. None dissented but the bishop of Winchester; and the dean of Christ Church and the dean of Gloucester went out as soon as we began that debate.

On the 21st we met again in the Jerusalem Chamber, and though several absented themselves, we proceeded, and sat there till past six o'clock. The next day we met again at ten o'clock, and sat till between four and five. And so they did several days after. I was desired[k] in the end of the month to

shop of Chichester, whither after dinner came Dr. Tenison and Dr. Grove, and they together went over most of the questions upon the service."—p. 97.]

[g] ["Bishop of Rochester came only twice, and not after sess. 2. Oct. 16."—p. 95.]

[h] ["Sess. 3. Oct. 18. The first thing taken into debate was the ceremonies; but they had not gone far, before the deans of Christ Church and Gloucester went out; who came no more.

"They considered the case of godfathers, and it was proposed that parents (comprehending therein grandfathers &c.) might upon occasion be admitted.

"As for the posture of the sacrament, it was first moved that it might be kneeling or standing at liberty; but at last it was agreed, for those that scrupled kneeling, that it should be in some posture of reverence, and in some convenient pew or place in the church, so that none but those that kneeled should come up to the rails or table, and that the persons scrupling should some week day before come to the minister, and declare that they could not kneel with a good conscience. This was agreed to, and drawn up. Only the bishop of Winchester moved that the names of such persons might be written down, but that was not approved, and after all he dissented from the whole."—ibid.]

[i] ["They proceeded to the cross. Dr. Bev. said they might as well object against holding the child in arms, and that there was no end if we would take away all scruples. It was argued this was a distinct thing from the other ceremonies: for there must be some time, place, posture, habit; but this depended wholly upon human institution; and after a full debate it was agreed, 1. That the persons indulged were to declare in their conscience they thought it sinful to have it used. 2. That the children should be baptized last, that were to be baptized without the cross. This was drawn up and assented to."—ibid.]

[k] [The duty of revising the collects, with a view to bringing them into closer unison with the epistles

join with the bishops of London and Rochester in making some new prayers for the 5th of November, when, together with the Gunpowder Treason, we commemorate the king's landing to give us a new deliverance.

On the 26th the bishop of Rochester came to me, and told me he could not be at leisure to make the prayer which the bishop of London had committed to his care, but desired me to do it; which I did the next day[l]. On the 27th the commissioners sat from three till between six and seven[m]. On the 30th I revised all the service for the 5th of November, and we sat again as long as before in the Jerusalem Chamber; and so we did the next day, when we considered the Offices of Visitation of the Sick, and Commination[n].

The bishops went to wait on the king on the 4th of November, to wish him many happy years. The bishop of London spake in the name of the rest; and the king's answer was, "I desire to live for no other end but to serve this nation and this church." In the afternoon we met again to consider the

and gospels throughout the year, was specially entrusted to Patrick, who was considered to have evinced in his devotional writings such talents as peculiarly qualified him for the task. The first draft of the new or amended collects was composed by him. Additional force and expressiveness were imparted to them by Burnet. Stillingfleet next subjected their language to a critical verbal revision, and the last touches of style were impressed upon them by Tillotson. To Tenison is said to have fallen the office of collecting the various words and expressions throughout the liturgy against which exception had been most generally taken, and substituting others in their room. The official record furnishes no clue towards assigning to each contributor his distinctive handiwork in every instance; but Patrick's authorship is evinced by the signature "B. Patr." appended to certain emendations in the third collect for evening service, "Lighten our darkness," &c.; "B. P." to another in the litany; and a marginal note on the Order for the Lord's Supper, "A shorter form for warning to be made, seeing in many parishes the returns of monethly communions are commonly known.—Ys referred to ye dean of Pet., Dr. Patrick."—p. 48.]

[l] [A letter was addressed to the bishop of London by Sprat, bishop of Rochester, conveying his excuses for not fulfilling his undertaking, and appending certain suggestions of his own, supplementary to the service composed by Patrick. It will be seen in the Appendix.]

[m] [Probably a mistake for the 28th. The 27th was Sunday, on which day there was no meeting.]

[n] ["Sess. 10. Oct. 31, 3 a clock, present 9. Considered the Office of Visitation of the Sick."—p. 101.

"Sess. 11. Nov. 1. Friday, about 2 o'clock, present 12. Reviewed the Commination — Considered the alterations to be made in it."—ibid.]

business of reordination [o]; and sat till six o'clock. On the sixth of November we met again in the Jerusalem Chamber, to consider the same subject of reordination, which held us a long time; and then we went over some of the collects, till almost seven o'clock. Many more meetings we had [p], which I shall not mention [q].

On the 14th I hired a coach, and went with Dr. Craddock to Chichester, where we stayed all that week at his house, and were kindly received by all the neighbours. I preached and gave the communion, and came away on Monday morning, and, blessed be God, very safely, though the horses tired, and could not perform their journey.

On the 4th of December, the convocation being met [r], we received his majesty's commission to act, together with a message from him by the earl of Nottingham [s]; which being read, we went to the Jerusalem Chamber, and left the clergy in Henry the Seventh's chapel. We voted an address to his majesty, which we sent down to them; but after a long debate they sent us word, that they would give him thanks in an

[o] [It was finally decided that the hypothetical form should be employed, in analogy with that used in uncertain baptism, or in the early church in the instance of those who had been ordained by heretics: "If thou art not already ordained, I ordain thee," &c.]

[p] [Bp. Patrick's name occurs for the last time as present, Sess. 16. Nov. 13.—"Went over the rest of the collects for the holy days."—Williams, p. 107. The commission held their final meeting Nov. 18, and adjourned *sine die*.—p. 108. The number of sessions was eighteen in all, during a period of six weeks, besides about six sub-committees.]

[q] [The articles finally adopted by the commission, to be submitted to convocation, were embodied under twenty general heads, each being signed, as it passed, by the bishop of London. They are given by Birch, 178, Calamy, Life of Baxter, 453; Cardwell, Hist. of Conf. 429, and Lathbury, 323. It is strange that they contain no mention of the important point of reordination, which was decided in the twelfth session, according to Williams' report of the commissioners' proceedings.]

[r] [The convocation assembled on the 21st of November. A struggle took place in the lower house, for the election of a prolocutor, between the advocates of change and those who wished to preserve the litany in its existing state; Tillotson being proposed by the former, and supported by the government, while the conservative section nominated Jane. The latter was elected by a majority of two to one.—Lathbury, p. 328.]

[s] [The royal commission, together with the message communicated by the earl of Nottingham, the address drawn up by the upper house, and the king's reply, may be read at length in Kennet, iii. 393; Wilkins, iv. 621; Cardwell's Synodalia, ii. 692–1700; Hist. of Conf. 439–445.]

address of their own[t]; which they were told they could not do without us. Besides, that was not an answer to our message. But we expected they should answer that they agreed to the whole or not, or agreed what amendments. All this ended in a motion for a conference, for which they desired time, and it held us till four o'clock. On the sixth they sent us an address of their own, which we rejected, and desired them to make amendments to ours against the next day in the morning; when we met at nine, and sat till between ten and eleven: but heard nothing from the lower house, and so we adjourned till Monday morning. Their speaker, they said, was not come; which afterward we found to be false. When we met on Monday, we gave our reasons why the lower house should mention the protestant religion in general, and then adjourned at twelve o'clock, till the next day; when we agreed upon an address, by leaving out several things we had pro-

[t] [The bishops in their address proposed to thank the king for his "zeal for the protestant religion in general, and the church of England in particular." Objection was taken by the lower house to the words "protestant religion," but the bishops, through the bishop of Salisbury, contended for the expression: 1. Because it was the known denomination of the common doctrine of the western part of Christendom, in opposition to the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome. 2. Because the omission would be liable to strange constructions among protestants as well as papists. 3. Because it agreed with the general reasons offered by the clergy for their amendments.

The lower house resolved to substitute "protestant churches" for "protestant religion," and to the bishops' request for a reason returned, "We being the representatives of a formed established church, do not think fit to mention the word 'religion' any further than it is the religion of some formed established church." Burnet argued that the church of England was only distinguished from other protestant churches by its hierarchy and revenues: and that if popery could prevail, it would be called the church of England, so that the expression was equivocal. Jane replied that the church of England was distinguished by its doctrines, as contained in the articles, liturgy, and homilies, and that the term "protestant churches" was much more equivocal, since Socinians, Anabaptists, and Quakers assumed the title.

The amendments were returned by the bishops with this alteration, "We doubt not the interest of the protestant religion in this and all other protestant churches." The lower house requested the omission of the words "this and," lest the church of England should suffer diminution by being joined with foreign protestant churches. These words, together with other passages relative to the "deliverance from popish tyranny," and the thanks of the house for the commission, were ultimately omitted, and the amended address presented to his majesty at Whitehall, Dec. 12.]

posed, which we thought better than to contend longer one with another. Which being presented to his majesty on the 12th[u], the convocation was prorogued till the 24th of January.

I should have noted before this, that not long after I was consecrated bishop of Chichester, I went to wait on the archbishop of Canterbury, who received me with his wonted kindness, and wished I might long enjoy the preferment bestowed upon me, and do much good in it. And discoursing about some news, and mention being made of the French king, I well remember he lift up his hands, and said, "The Lord deliver us from that grand oppressor."

In the latter end of May 1690, I went to settle my family at Chichester, and, blessed be God, had a safe journey thither, and a comfortable habitation there[x]. Thirtieth of June, being Monday, I began my visitation at Arundel; and went the next day to Lewis, where I visited on Wednesday; and on Thursday went towards Hastings, and heard by the way that the French were burning that town[y]. But we resolved to go on, being

[u] [His reply was, "My lords, I take this address very kindly from the convocation. You may depend upon it, that all I have promised and all I can do for the service of the church of England I will do. And I give you this new assurance that I will improve all occasions and opportunities for its service."—Kennet, iii. 594. Calamy, i. 463. Birch, 188. Lathbury, 330.]

[x] [The bishop, no doubt, considered it beneath him to perpetuate an incident which is recorded by archdeacon Knight. On his arrival at Chichester with his family, "he met for a welcome with a most grievous insult, from a Custom-house officer, who, moved by I know not what spirit, did violently assault his palace, at one o'clock on a Sunday morning, threatening to force his way in under a pretence of run goods, or of seamen being harboured there. This put his family in a great consternation; and he was obliged for his future security to make his complaint above to the commissioners, but with so much good temper and lenity towards the delinquent, that it deserves a place; and though the offence was of a very provoking nature, yet he not only forgave this rude aggressor, but also kept him from being turned out of his place, and afterwards met with no further molestation."]

[y] [The inglorious conflict off Beachey Head, on the 30th of June, for which lord Torrington, lord high admiral, was afterwards brought to trial, had so disabled the combined English and Dutch fleets, as to leave the French in temporary command of the channel.

On the 26th of July, a French squadron landed about a thousand men at Torbay, who burned the small village of Teignmouth, and some fishing boats, and then retired to their ships, with the conviction that the people in the West of England were not at all disposed to rise for king James.—Ralph, ii. 229;

invited to lie at sir Nicholas Pelham's, whose house was not many miles from it[z]. He was gone thither with other country gentlemen; the French having attempted to burn some ships that were run on ground there. He sent us word the town was safe, but he could not come home that night. At six in the morning he came and said there was no danger, but the town in such confusion that it would be to no purpose to go thither. For the churches were full of soldiers, who lay there all night, and the streets full of country people, and all the women frighted away and fled, so that there were none left to dress any victuals. He invited us therefore to stay with him, and entertained us most kindly. But my chancellor, Dr. Briggs[a], all on a sudden started up, and would go to Hastings: and about noon word was brought us some of the clergy were there; which made me condemn myself for not going with him, though I followed the best advice I could get. And afterward it appeared to be the best; for though some of the clergy appeared, there was no place wherein to visit them: and besides, it might have proved dangerous; for two men were killed with a cannon bullet in the very next house to that where my chancellor sat; which made him run away in haste before he had done his

Pict. History of England, iv. 27; Burnet, iv. 25. Luttrell is the only contemporary writer who records this earlier descent to the eastward.

"The French fleet continue on the Sussex coast. They now and then landmen to fetch fresh provisions, who carry off sheep sometimes."—July 4.

"We hear that the French fleet continue plying about the Sussex coast, sounding it in several places, as if they had a design to land some men."—July 11, 1690.]

[z] [Sir Nicholas Pelham was the eldest surviving son of sir Thomas Pelham, bart., M. P. for Sussex, by his third wife, Margaret, daughter of sir Henry Fane or Vane, of Fairlawn, in Kent. He had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him by king Charles II. at the restoration, took the degree of M. A. in the university of Oxford, Sept. 8, 1665, and was elected M. P. for the county, together with his brother, sir John Pelham, in the parliament that met at Westminster, March 6, 167$\frac{8}{9}$. He sat for several towns in the same county, almost until the time of his decease, in Nov. 1739, being ninety years of age. Extensive estates at Pevensey, Crowhurst, &c., had been granted to the family by Henry IV. Sir Nicholas' family residence was Catsfield Place. By Jane, daughter and coheiress of James Huxley, esq., of Dornford, Oxon., he became the ancestor of the family of Cresset Pelham, of Crowhurst. — Collins' Peerage, v. 514; Berry's Sussex Pedigrees, 315.]

[a] [Dr. Briggs was probably acting for the chancellor, since the register of the diocese, quoted by Le Neve, records that William Saywell, M. A., was installed into that office, Dec. 5, 1672, and succeeded Aug. 4, 1701, by John Wright, M. A.]

business, and (as I remember) left some of his books behind him.

Sir Nicholas went early the next morning to Hastings; and we heard the French continued before the town. So I went to Battle, and confirmed some young people, and in the afternoon went back to Lewis; where on Sunday I preached at St. Michael's church. The next day I went to Brighthelmston, and confirmed such as I found fit for it there. In the afternoon I went to Stennyng, where I heard next day great complaints against the minister, which I found too true, and ordered him to appear at Chichester the next court day. I visited the school also in that town, and ordered the master to leave it at Lady day, he being unable many ways to instruct the children[a]. That evening I returned home, and was entertained with the joyful news of his majesty's great victory at the Boyne in Ireland, and of God's wonderful providence in his preservation. The next day but one I visited at Chichester, and preached myself to the clergy; and, blessed be God, held out well to the end of these labours.

Not long after, the minister of Stennyng appeared as he was ordered, to answer the charge against him of several crimes; which he confessed, and submitted himself to my judgment without any appeal[b]. I decreed he should be suspended for a year from his office and benefice; the profit of the living to be sequestered into the hands of the churchwardens and others; a curate to be provided; and the minister himself to be allowed thirty pounds a year, and the rest to be laid out upon the repair of the vicarage house[c].

[a] [The free grammar school of Steyning was founded by William Holland, alderman of Chichester, in the year 1614, and endowed with a house called Brotherhood Hall, with a garden and school yard, and thirty acres of land, to which additions were made by subsequent benefactors.—Dallaway's West Sussex, ii. 170.]

[b] [Richard Vaughan, LL.D., was presented to the vicarage of Steyning, by Francis Monday, esq., patron, in the year 1677. In 1683, he was succeeded by Joseph Prowd, who was thus suspended by his diocesan. He was buried July 18, 1701, after which the register contains an entry that "he enjoyed the vicarage by usurpation." The right of presentation was then disputed, but the rev. John Matthews at length presented by James St. Amand, esq., and inducted July 6, 1702.]

[c] [A private bill was introduced and read a first time in the House of Lords, Nov. 14, 1670, "for uniting the parsonage of Petworth unto the bishopric of Chichester," read the second time on the following day,

I went up to London against the meeting of parliament, and on the twelfth of December was desired to come to the bishop of London's lodgings in Whitehall; where a letter from the king was opened, directed to six bishops, and the deans of Canterbury and St. Paul's, and Dr. Tenison, to consult the best way of settling the church of Ireland, and promoting piety there, and particularly to consider what persons were fit to be made bishops there[c]. We resolved upon one thing immediately, which was to desire his majesty to send home the clergy of Ireland, who were here, to their respective cures, if they lay in such places as were under his majesty's protection. On the 15th we met again, and agreed upon such persons as we thought fit to recommend to his majesty for bishops in Ireland[d].

reported by the earl of Rochester on the 17th, read a third time and passed on the 18th.—Journals of the House of Lords. It was sent down the same day to the lower house, but lost on the second reading, Nov. 24. — Journals of the House of Commons.

From Wharton's manuscript notes, preserved by Kennet, (Lansdowne MSS. 987, fol. 294, in Brit. Mus.) it appears that the bishop's conduct in this transaction did not pass without some animadversion.]

[c] [Among the various designs by which James II. hoped to remove all obstacles from the path of Romish revival was that of gradually subverting the constitution and influence of the Irish church, by suffering her episcopal sees to remain in abeyance as they successively lapsed. This danger aroused the interest of the English bishops, who in their petition to the king, Oct. 3, 1688, humbly expressed their desire that his majesty would be graciously pleased to fill the vacant bishoprics with men of learning and piety. Sancroft personally reverted to the same solicitation in a personal interview with the king, Oct. 16. But the infatuated sovereign took no steps to rectify the defect.

The presbyterians of Ireland hastened to take advantage of the depressed state of the church, and on the accession of William III. presented to his majesty two petitions, the one for the abolition of episcopacy in the northern part of Ireland, the other for permission to collect the income of those benefices whose incumbents had been driven from the country by the recent persecutions.—Mant, History of the Church of Ireland, ii. 1—6.]

[d] [The archbishopric of Cashel, which had been left vacant since the death of archbishop Price in 1684, was filled by the elevation of Narcissus Marsh from the see of Leighlin and Ferns. Dr. William Fitzgerald, dean of Cloyne, was made bishop of Clonfert. Dr. Symon Digby was translated from the see of Limerick to that of Elphin, and Dr. Richard Tennison from Killala to Clogher. The three sees thus vacated were bestowed on Bartholomew Vigors, Nathaniel Wilson and William Loyd, respectively deans of Armagh, Raphoe, and Achonry. That of Derry, which had recently become void through the death of bishop Hopkins, June 29, 1690, had been designed for Dr. Walker, the well-known hero

Several other times we met, but I do not remember what was further done.

A little after Christmas I went to Chichester again, and the steward or bailiff of the bishopric informing me that there was some wood fit to be cut down, I sent my secretary and others to examine it; who gave the same advice. But I would not consent to cut down more than was sold to the tenants for two hundred pounds. Upon which a malicious minister, who was not gratified in the sale, went to London, and spread a report that I had cut down all the wood belonging to the bishopric, and made such waste as would be a great prejudice to my successor. Being informed of this, I gave out that I would bring an action of *Scandalum magnatum*[e] against him. Whereupon he came and humbled himself before me, begged pardon, begging that I would forgive him, and confessing the wrong he had done me in the scandalous report he had raised of me. This he did before the mayor of the city, my chancellor, and others; before whom he read an instrument and signed it, containing his submission.

In the end of April the city of Chichester was filled with a report that I was to be translated to the see of Ely: the king being resolved no longer to let the sees of the deprived bishops be void. But I had not the least notice of any such intentions myself, from any hand whatsoever. And therefore, though I saw my name for that place in the Gazette, and other both public and private papers, I did not believe it. But after more than a fortnight's uncertainty, I thought fit (lest I should be thought to neglect the king's favour) to write to my wife's brother, Mr. Jephson, secretary to the Treasury, to know if there was any truth in it; who sent me word there was, and

of the siege of Londonderry, and actually conferred upon him in anticipation of Hopkins' death: but that martial divine falling in the meantime at the battle of the Boyne, another choice became necessary. It fell on Dr. William King, dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. The remaining bishopric of Waterford was conferred on Nathaniel Foy, who, with King, had undergone imprisonment and persecution for his faithfulness to the established church.]

[e] [White Kennet, whose sentiments were generally biassed by his predilection for the non-jurors, repeats this scandal, on the authority of Henry Wharton's MS. notes; "Between his nomination (to Ely) and confirmation, he cut down the woods belonging to the see of Chichester to the value of 500l. altho' the season of cutting wood was then past."—Lansdowne MSS. in Brit. Mus. 987. fol. 294.]

that I should hasten to London, and testify my acceptance of it. So I went up as soon as I could conveniently, and the king being gone into Holland, waited upon the queen, and kissed her hand for it.

This preferment I was far from seeking, or so much as thinking of it, as I told some of my clergy; but it was put upon me without my knowledge, and in that condition wherein affairs were, could not be refused by me without their majesties' displeasure, which I would by no means incur. After this I went down to Chichester, and it was the 12th of June before the archbishop of Canterbury sent me word, that upon the *congé d'élire* going down to Ely, I was chosen into that see by five of the eight prebendaries of that church. Upon which I went up to London again, and was confirmed in Bow church upon the second of July[f]. Then I went down to Chichester again to dispose of my goods and books. And it being my custom to acknowledge God's great goodness to me, for many blessings, in a solemn manner on my birthday, I find this meditation this year on September 8th: "Blessed be God, who brought me into this world on this day, and hath preserved me in much health and vigour unto such an age as few persons attain unto. Blessed be God that my life is not waxen old with heaviness, and my years with mourning. That my strength doth not fail me because of mine iniquities, and my bones are not consumed, as the Psalmist complains. But, blessed be God, I have the use of all my senses, and of my reason and memory; and have been preserved this year from many dangers, in my journeys to and fro; and had the addition of a new and great preferment without my seeking. What shall I do for the Lord, who hath done so much for me? It is some satisfaction to me that I have found my heart carried out in earnest desires to do much good with what I have; and to be assisted from above, both to know what to do, and to do it faithfully, for the good of the souls and bodies of men. And God I hope will hear the voice of my humble desires, and fulfil my petitions, and grant me these desires of my heart."

I read this morning part of the 10th chapter of St. Matthew, and was much affected with what Grotius observes upon these words, ver. 9, *Freely you have received, freely give.* Which

[f] [Patrick took the oaths and his seat in the house of lords, Oct. 27, 1691. —Lords' Journals.]

mightily excited me to resolve to do what good I could with the good things which I enjoy by God's bounty. Accordingly, taking notice there was but one sermon in the afternoon in all the churches in Cambridge, I settled a stipend upon two lectures of thirty pounds a-piece, to preach every Sunday in two churches at each end of the town; which was one of the first things I did, to the benefit, I hope, of the people, upon many accounts[g].

Being settled in Ely House in Holborn in the end of that month, the earl of Nottingham let me know that his son-in-law, the lord Hatton[h], was very desirous to have an end of the long suit that had been between him and my predecessors about Hatton Garden; and would compound with me for more than he had offered any of them. I told him I understood nothing of it, but would make inquiry into the ground of the suit, which I found to be this[i]. In the 20th of queen Elizabeth, the bishop of Ely[k] let a lease of Ely House, which was very large, (this being but the back part of it,) with the garden, (being 400 feet long, and almost as many broad,) and fourteen acres of pasture at the end thereof, unto sir Christopher (afterwards lord) Hatton, for the term of twenty-one years[l]. Not long after, sir Christopher complaining to the queen that he had laid out great sums of money upon repairing the house, and purchasing some little tenements near unto it, which he feared he should lose if he had not a better estate in the house, (otherwise the lease would not bind the bishop's successors,) she ordered an inquisition to

[g] [These churches, as archdeacon Knight records, were St. Clement's and St. Botolph's; the former in the presentation of Jesus college, the latter in that of Queen's.]

[h] [The relationship here indicated should be reversed. Daniel Finch, second earl of Nottingham, and sixth earl of Winchelsea, (to which latter title he succeeded Sept. 9, 1729,) married, I, lady Essex Rich, second daughter and co-heiress of Robert, earl of Warwick, and, 2, Anne, only daughter of Christopher, second viscount Hatton.]

[i] [The Harleian MSS. in the British Museum contain (3789, fol. 15–24,) a historical statement of the origin and successive stages of the dispute relative to the Hatton Garden property, with the terms of its final settlement. It accords closely with the bishop's own narrative, but there is no evidence to establish its authorship.]

[k] [Richard Cox, D. D., the first dean of Oxford, was consecrated to the see of Ely, Dec. 21, 1559. He died July 22, 1581, after which the see remained vacant eighteen years.]

[l] [Further particulars relating to the concession made by Cox are given by Strype.—Annals, II. i. 502, 533; ii. 564. See also Lord Campbell's Chancellor's, ii. 163, and the Rev. T. B. Murray's Notice of Ely Chapel, &c., 4to Lond. 1840.]

be made what money he had laid out; and lord chief justice Wray, and the bishop of London, and other great persons being appointed to make it, they returned that he had laid out 1995*l.* Whereon the queen wrote to the bishop to make a demise of the premises to her, till he or his successors should pay that sum to sir Christopher, and whatsoever he should lay out hereafter. This stuck a great while before the bishop would consent to it, but at last he yielded, and the queen gave it to sir Christopher to hold of the crown, as of the manor of East Greenwich. I cannot find that any of the succeeding bishops attempted a redemption of the house and ground, till bishop Wren[l] came to the see, who, in 1638, (as I remember,) brought a bill into the court of requests (which then was a kind of chancery) before the lord privy seal; where the cause was heard, and the lady Elizabeth Hatton, (daughter of the earl of Exeter,) then in possession of the estate, swore that the lord Hatton when he died being found debtor to the queen forty thousand pounds, (he being receiver of fee farm rents,) she seized upon all his estate, and this amongst the rest. Whereupon she purchased it of the queen, and gave her seven thousand pounds for it; knowing nothing, as she sware, that the bishop of Ely had any title to it.

The lord keeper decreed that the bishop had a right of redemption, but proceeded no further till the dreadful storm fell on the church and kingdom; when the lady appealed to the House of Commons, who commanded the lord keeper of the privy seal to revoke that decree. So things stood till the happy restoration of the king; when the bishop (who had been twenty years in the Tower) brought his bill in the proper place, the chancery, before the earl of Clarendon. By that time, Hatton house (as they called the bishop of Ely's house) was pulled down, and the ground laid out for the building of those streets which are now called Hatton Garden. And there were so many purchasers of leases, mortgages, jointures, &c. that it was two years before all their answers could be got in to the bill. Then it was argued a long time, and a demurrer (I think they called it) was put in, and after that other proceedings, till bishop Wren died. The bishop (Dr. Lany[m]) who succeeded him put in his bill of revivour, and

[l] [Matthew Wren was translated to the see from that of Norwich, in 638, and confirmed April 24, in that year.—Compare p. 431, above.]

[m] [Benjamin Laney, bishop of Lincoln, was elected to the see of

there were the same methods of slow proceedings before the lord keeper Bridgman, till bishop Lany died also. To whom bishop Gunning[n] succeeded, who began again, and went on till he was weary, and then was advised to compound the business with the lord Hatton, who offered him a rent charge of 50*l.* per annum, out of Hatton Garden, for ever. This would not be accepted, and then he offered an hundred marks, which the bishop seemed to accept, and I have seen an act of parliament drawn up by sir William Jones to be offered for this settlement. But sir Charles Whealer persuaded the bishop (as I have it from good hands) not to take less than an hundred pound a year. There were sixteen of the greatest persons in England, the earl of Danby, (since duke of Leeds,) and others of highest quality, who were desired to advise the bishop in this matter, and they agreed to what I have above mentioned. But the bishop thought it too little, and so the suit continued to his death. When bishop Turner[o] succeeded he renewed it very briskly; but soon found the king (as I have been told) would not concern himself in the business, as he had reason to hope, being much in his favour, and so let it fall.

Having understood all this, I let my lord Nottingham know that I thought it would not be prudent in me to make a composition with the lord Hatton, unless it were on such terms as I should be advised unto by the like great and wise persons as advised bishop Gunning. He readily consented, and bade me choose whom and as many as I pleased, for he would not nominate so much as one. I did not think to name the same persons with whom bishop Gunning consulted; but the present archbishop of Canterbury, (Dr. Tillotson,) the marquis of Halifax, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Nottingham himself, (in whose justice I had a great confidence,) the bishop of Worcester, (Dr. Stillingfleet,) and the lord chief justice Holt; to which six persons I referred myself, as persons of great

Ely, May 24, 1667, and confirmed June 12. He died Jan 24, 167$\frac{4}{5}$, at the age of 84.—Le Neve, i. 344.]

[n] [Peter Gunning was elected Feb. 13, 167$\frac{4}{5}$, from the diocese of Chichester, and confirmed May 4. He died aged 71, July 6, 1684.—Le Neve, ibid.]

[o] [Francis Turner, translated from the see of Rochester, was confirmed Aug. 23, 1684. Refusing to take the oaths of allegiance to William III. and Mary, he was deprived Feb. 1, 169$\frac{9}{0}$. He died intestate, Nov. 2, 1700.]

judgment and integrity, who could not be inclined to any partiality on either side. They met at my house on the 2nd of November, and sat from five to eight o'clock, when we could not make an end for want of some witnesses. The lord Halifax then moved that the whole might be opened and argued by counsel learned in the law, one on either side, which was agreed. And Mr. Finch[o] and Mr. Conyers came at the next meeting on the 13th of the same month[p], and at my house argued for and against me a long while. The original deed wherein queen Elizabeth granted that estate to the Hatton family was laid before them; and about eight o'clock the lords desired all to withdraw, and argued the matter among themselves, whether I should go to law, or take a composition. At last the archbishop desired the lord chief justice to answer this plain question, whether if he were bishop of Ely, and knew as much of the law and of this case as he did, he would compound with the lord Hatton or no?

To which he answered, he would compound. And whispering me in the ear, (who sat by him,) said it must be brought into parliament, (for it would never be determined below,) and God alone knew how they would deal with me.

Whereupon they all consented to my lord chief justice his opinion, and the only question was what he should give me; and my lord Nottingham said 100*l.* per annum rent charge, which my predecessor insisted upon; and accordingly they agreed, though the lord Halifax struggled a good deal for more. Upon this a bill was prepared to be offered to the parliament, and passed into an act, (as it easily did[q],) and some few other things were restored to the bishop; and a new building, and ground belonging to it, intended for a church or chapel, settled upon him. This I thought good to record, that posterity

[o] [Daniel Finch, second son of the earl of Nottingham, had been appointed solicitor general Jan. 13, 167$\frac{8}{9}$, but displaced in 1686, not being sufficiently subservient to the crown. On the trial of the seven bishops he was one of the counsel for the accused. He sat for the university of Oxford in the convention parliament, and gave his vote against accepting James' abdication. On the 15th of March, 170$\frac{2}{3}$, he was raised to the peerage, by the title of baron Guernsey, and created earl of Aylesford, Oct. 19, 1714. He died June 22, 1719.]

[p] [Tristram Conyers, called to be serjeant at law, April 21, 1675.—Haydn, Book of Dignities, p. 247.]

[q] [It passed the lords, Dec. 4, and the commons, Dec. 14, 1691.—Private acts, 3 Gul. and Mar.]

may understand I proceeded with due deliberation and caution in this business.

On the 26th of November I preached a thanksgiving sermon at the abbey, which the lords ordered to be printed, 1691 [r]. In the following year I was ordered to preach a fast sermon before the queen in the month of April, which was also printed [s]: and the next month I took a house and went to live at Abington, within six miles of Cambridge; my house at Ely not being for the present habitable. There I settled in May, and visited my diocese in June; and in the end of July began to think of a commentary on Hosea, which I finished that summer, but have not published it. I wrote also two little letters to my clergy this year, one before, the other after my visitation, and printed them [t].

The parish where I was having no minister residing amongst them, and being poorly provided for from Cambridge, I commonly preached there myself in the morning, and after evening prayer ordered my chaplain [u] to catechize the youth, in order to their confirmation: which he did so acceptably, that many of the ancient people would stay and hear him, and after they were confirmed, most of them came to the holy communion.

I began this summer [x] also to attempt a commentary on the

[r] [See vol. viii. pp. 443–464.]

[s] [Serm. xxiv. pp. 465–491.]

[t] [The former of these will be found in vol. viii. p. 545. The latter only came into the editor's hands too late to be inserted in its proper place. It has been printed in the present volume, p. 542.]

[u] [James Smith, S. T. B. collated to a prebendal stall in Ely cathedral, June 22, 1702, afterwards rector of Cottenham, and D. D. He died June 8, 1715, aged 58.—Le Neve, i. 362. Dr. Knight's MS. note.]

[x] [On April 11, 1692, a meeting was convened by the archbishop of Canterbury, in which Patrick took part, with the object of recommending to the clergy Burnet's Treatise on the Pastoral Care:

"Yesterday morning I obtained a meeting here of eight bishops, York, London, Worcester, Ely, Gloucester, Chichester, Norwich and Lincoln. I proposed to them the heads of a circular letter; upon which we discoursed very calmly, and without the least clashing: and in conclusion they were all unanimously agreed to, and two or three heads more suggested, which were likewise consented to; none more cheerfully concurring in every thing than the bishop of London. We dined together with great kindness."
—Tillotson to Burnet, in Birch, 267.

Patrick's signature is attached to an episcopal circular issued some time later on behalf of Dr. Bray's scheme for parochial libraries, preserved at Lambeth, (1123).—See Anderson's Colonial Church, ii. 405. Life of Bray, 53.]

book of Genesis, of which I finished the three first chapters; and the next year I finished it, so that it was printed and published in the year 1694.

But in October this year, 1692, we were afflicted with the frightful news of my son's falling down senseless on a sudden. But, blessed be God, a vomit being immediately given, he was, as they thought, perfectly well again. But fearing the worst, sir Thomas Millington went down to Eton, (where he was then at school,) and took such care of him, that he hoped he would have no more such fits: but desired he might be removed to London, that he might the oftener see him. And accordingly he came on the first of November in good health; and after some little illness was so perfectly recovered, that after Christmas he returned to school again, and hath been healthful ever since. This was some hinderance to me in what I was about; but, by God's goodness, I attended the house of lords, and preached constantly[y], and went through a great deal of other business in health and cheerfulness[z]. For I was mightily affected, as if I had heard them spoken unto me, with that passage in the Psalms for the last day of the month, *The Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon him; that call upon him faithfully. He will fulfil the desire of them that fear him, he will hear their cry, and will help them.* And indeed he wonderfully assisted me in the labours I undertook; for in the midst of this various business I entered, in the year 1695, upon the book of Exodus, upon which I made a large commentary, which was published the next year, 1696. These commentaries were so acceptable, that I was encouraged to go on; and began to consider the book of Leviticus, which was finished so as to be printed and published in the year 1698. And in the year 1696, I fell into a meditation on the 27th of July, how many excellent friends I had lately lost. First Mr. Tate, a gentle-

[y] [Patrick's name is frequently gazetted as preacher before the court at Whitehall. For instance, on the fifth Sunday in Lent, 1690, on the third in Lent, 1695, and on the second, March 8, in $169\frac{5}{6}$.]

[z] [Early in the year 1693 a dispute arose between the master and certain of the fellows respecting the legality of the election which had taken place at St. Peter's college, Cambridge. An appeal was addressed by the dissatisfied fellows to the bishop, as *ex officio* visitor of the college. Patrick's own narrative of this case, and his award, will be found in the appendix.]

man who had great affection to me[a]. Then that great man Dr. Cradock, provost of Eton[b], who died October 16th, 1694, who can never be forgotten by me. Then my most dear and only brother in December following[c]; and more lately Dr. Bright, dean of St. Asaph[d]. All most worthy persons, especially the three last, who were most useful persons in their places. The thoughts of this could not but mightily excite me to diligence and industry, not knowing how short my time is.

I cannot also but here remember that Dr. Cradock left me the Byzantine History in nineteen volumes, as a legacy in remembrance of him, and the friendship that had been between us near forty years[e]. My brother left me a noble library,

[a] [John Tate, esq., had been appointed king's serjeant Apr. 21, 1686, and recorder of London in May, 1687, on the 12th of which month he was knighted. He was removed from that office in March, 168$\frac{7}{8}$. It was perhaps owing to long established familiarity with him under the plainer appellation that the bishop omits to designate his friend by the title which he held during the last few years of his life.]

[b] [Zachary Cradock, a younger contemporary with Patrick at Queen's college, had been one of the most forward of the fellows in promoting his election, and braving the royal displeasure which followed it. For some years before the restoration he had officiated as chaplain to the English factory at Lisbon, for which post he had been strenuously recommended to the protector by Dr. Cudworth, the master of the college, in 1656. On his return in 1660 he was appointed preacher at Gray's Inn, and rector of Pett in Sussex; D. D. in 1666, in 1669 canon residentary of Chichester, after which, by license of archbishop Sheldon and the lord chamberlain, he devoted three years to foreign travel for the benefit of his health. In 1672 he was elected fellow of Eton, and provost of that college Feb. 26, 1680, in opposition to the poet Waller. There he spent the residue of his life, and was interred in the college chapel. His sole literary remains are two sermons, one on Providence, preached before Charles II., and published by his command, the other on the great end and design of Christianity, published after the author's death.]

[c] [John Patrick's decease occurred Dec. 19, 1695. For some notice of his life the reader is referred to the preface.]

[d] [George Bright, D. D., had been formerly fellow of Emanuel college, Cambridge, by which society he was presented to the rectory of Loughborough in Leicestershire. He was subsequently appointed chaplain to Mary, princess of Orange, who on her accession to the throne nominated him dean of St. Asaph, Sept. 10, 1689. He was an intimate friend of Lightfoot, the distinguished orientalist, on whose death the care of publishing the first volume of his works, with his life, devolved on Dr. Bright. He died July 2, 1696.]

[e] [The inscription penned by the bishop, and prefixed to the series of volumes, testifies to the value in which he held the donor's memory. It has been preserved by archdeacon Knight:

which cost him above 1000*l.*, and all that he was worth, except some legacies to some particular friends.

In the year 1697, I settled my only son in the university, after he had learned as much at Eton school as his master desired. And that he might not forget his Latin and Greek, by the advice of his master, Mr. Newborough, I made a particular allowance to a young man, who had been of that school, to keep him to the study of such authors, besides the common tutor who read philosophy to him.

In the foregoing year, 1696[d], I went over the water in October to his grace of Canterbury; who showed me two papers of king Charles the First[e]. One of which was a vow made at Oxford, 1646, that if God restored him to his throne, he would restore all impropriations to the church; and whatsoever had been taken from any episcopal see, or cathedral church, and had been annexed to the crown, he would hold them of the church, under such rents and fines as some wise and conscientious persons should think fit. This paper archbishop Sheldon saw, and as he himself hath subscribed at the bottom of a copy he took of it, hid it eleven years underground till 1660. The original of it was in the king's own hand. The other paper was written from Newcastle; wherein he propounded the letting things continue in the church for three years, as they then were; in which time he would call an assembly of the ablest divines, (twenty chosen by himself, twenty

" Historiam hanc Byzantinam xix. voluminibus compactam mihi moriens legavit vir summus, mihique longe charissimus, Zach. Cradock, S. T. P., collegii Etonensis præpositus; qui mecum per xl. annos non minus suavem quam firmam stabilem constantemque amicitiam coluit; quæ usque ad extremam vitæ diem (quod Scipio putabat difficillimum) permansit. Quem ego admiratione quadam virtutis ejus, ille vicissim opinione fortasse nonnulla quam de meis moribus habebat, me dilexit. Auxit benevolentiam consuetudo."]

[d] [Patrick's signature is appended to the address presented to the king by the bishops, April 10, 1696, expressing their detestation of the recent plot of the Jacobite party for his assassination; and denouncing the act of the three non-juring clergymen, Collier, Cooke and Snatt, who had impiously pronounced over the conspirators, Parkyns and Friend, on the scaffold, the form of absolution from the office for the Visitation of the Sick. Sir William Parkyns had previously made confession of his guilt to bishop Patrick. —Burnet, iv. 290–308; Kennet, iii. 711–713; State Trials, vol. xiii; State Tracts, iii. 692; Cardwell, Doc. Ann. ii. 342; Macaulay, iv. 648–682.]

[e] [These important papers are printed in the appendix.]

by the presbyterians, and twenty by the independents,) who should consult what government should be settled at the three years' end; which he doubted not would be the episcopal.

This thought came wholly from himself, which he sent to the bishop of London in 1647, to give him his opinion of it; charging him to deal sincerely and impartially with him, whether he might lawfully propound and agree to such a thing. Nobody knew of it but the messenger who brought it, Mr. Murray: but he gave him leave to advise with Dr. Sheldon, or any other divine that he could trust.

In the year 1698[f], blessed be God, I prepared the book of Numbers for the press, and published it in the next year, 1699. Thus God blessed my labours, and renewed my strength beyond my expectation, so that I published the book of Deuteronomy, with a large commentary, in the year 1700. In which year, upon the 24th of December, Mr. Hill[g] came to visit me, and told me the earl of Jersey's lady[h], who was of the Romish

[f] [On the fifth of January, 169⅞, a private bill was brought into the house of lords, and read a first time, "for enabling Symon, lord bishop of Ely, and his successors, to lease the manor house and demesne lands of Downham, in the Isle of Ely, and for confirming a lease lately thereof made by the said bishop, and for the clearing of the said bishop and others from dilapidations there." The bill was read a second time, Jan. 7, brought up with one amendment from the committee, by the earl of Stamford, Jan. 10, read a third time and passed, Jan. 12.—Journals of the House of Lords.

In the House of Commons, the bill was read a second time, Jan. 13., sent into committee on the 17th, and passed with one amendment, to which the lords assented, on the 24th.—Journals of the house. Private acts 9 Gul. III. Statutes of the Realm, vol. vii. p. 449.]

[g] [Richard Hill, esq., appointed commissioner of the treasury, Nov. 15, 1699. He had previously held the post of envoy to the court of Turin, then at the Hague. On the 20th of May, 1702, he was nominated one of the commissioners of the Admiralty, and in July 1703 was once more despatched as ambassador to Savoy.—Haydn, Luttrell, &c.]

[h] [Edward, eldest son of sir Edward Villiers, knight marshal of the household to Charles II, and James II, was constituted master of the horse to queen Mary, in Feb. 168⅝, and knighted. Raised to the peerage by the title of baron Villiers of Hoo, and viscount Villiers of Dartford, March 20, 169⅝, he was on his appointment as ambassador extraordinary to the states general, created earl of Jersey, Oct. 13, 1697. In April of the latter year, he had been nominated one of the lords justices for Ireland, and one of the plenipotentiaries for the treaty of Ryswick. In the following year he succeeded the duke of Portland as ambassador extraordinary to the court of France, and on his return was created secretary of state May 26, 1699. Towards the end of that year, he was employed as one of the plenipoten-

church, was desirous to discourse with some divine of our church[i]. He made mention of me to her, which she accepted, and she appointed Saturday, the 28th of that month, for the time of my waiting on her. I went to the cock-pit[k], and discoursed with her (Mr. Hill only being present) from four o'clock till towards seven. Many things I represented to her, but especially discoursed about the worship of the host, and seemed to convince her that it was idolatrous. Insomuch that she desired me to write down what I had said, and come again to her. I wrote a whole sheet of paper, in such clear demonstration, that when the canon of the mass was made, the church of Rome itself believed no such thing as they do now. This I sent to Mr. Hill on the 31st, who promised to deliver it to her, which he did, but she never desired me to come to her again, but continued in her old religion.

Mr. Hill told me, her priests had made a shift to say something to that, which he thought to be unanswerable. But the true reason, I fancy, was, that her lord, fearing to be impeached with those lords, against whom impeachments were brought up in April following, thought it would be objected against him that his wife was a papist; and so persuaded her to change her religion[l]. But having got over that danger, there was

tiaries for the second treaty for the partition of Spain, and on June 24th, 1701, made lord chamberlain of his majesty's household. His lady, Barbara, was the daughter of Charles' well known closet keeper, and ministrant to the royal pleasures, William Chiffinch.]

[i] [Luttrell reports that a rumour to the same effect had been current half a year before. "The countesse of Jersey, who was a Roman catholic, is said to be reconciled to the church of England."—July 2, 1700.]

[k] [The cock-pit, erected by Henry VIII. in the precincts of Whitehall, gave its name to the buildings subsequently erected on its site, as offices for the treasury, and official residences. Its situation is accurately defined in Fisher's ground plan of the palace of Whitehall, taken in 1680, a reduced copy of which is contained in Smith's Antiquities of Westminster. The cock-pit stood nearly at the back of the tennis court, in the rear of the present treasury chambers, a little to the south of a line drawn due west from the banqueting hall. The apartments of which it formed a part were then tenanted by Christopher Monk, duke of Albermarle.]

[l] [The feeling against mixed marriages between protestants and Romanists was aggravated by suspicions of intercourse being thus facilitated with the exiled royal family abroad. It had lately reached its highest pitch in the sister kingdom. Among other statutes of a highly penal character, passed two years before by the Irish legislature, such intermarriages had been wholly forbidden; the protestant husband being considered a "popish recusant," and as such dis-

no need of the change, for I never heard more of it to this day.

And now I mention the impeachments[n], I cannot but remember that I was more broken by attending the issue of them than by all my studies. For we sat so late, (sometimes till ten o'clock at night,) and the weather proved so hot, and I was so sweltered by sitting so long in furs, that I got such a cold, that it brought me into many distempers, which held me to the end of that

abled from holding any place of public trust or emolument, unless his wife were converted within a year. —Irish Stat. 9 Gul. III. c. 3.

In the spring of the year 1700, an equally severe act had been passed by the English parliament for restraining popery, (11 Gul. III. c. 4.) decreeing the deportation of all Romish ecclesiastics, and forbidding, under severe penalties, the education of children in that religion. But it remained inoperative.]

[m] [The earl secured his immunity from the penal proceedings about to be instituted against his late colleagues in the government, by opportunely joining the new administration. The impeachments were organized, says Burnet, with such visible partiality, "that though the earl of Jersey had signed the treaty, had been plenipotentiary at Ryswick, ambassador in France, and secretary of state; yet he having joined himself to the new ministry, was not questioned about it; the party said he had been too easily drawn into it, but that he was not in the secret, and had no share in the councils that projected it."—iv. 475.]

[n] [The impeachment of the earl of Portland, lord Somers, the earl of Orford, and the earl of Halifax, was resolved on by the House of Commons in April, 1701, and articles exhibited against them at the bar of the House of Lords. They were mainly censured for their policy in the two treaties with France for the partition of Spain, as being prejudicial to the interests of the protestant religion; but heavy accusations regarding other alleged high crimes and misdemeanours were also brought forward. Somers was accused of passing unreasonable grants, particularly of the Irish estates, to his personal benefit, making illegal orders and causing ruinous delays in Chancery, and granting an illegal commission to William Kidd, to equip a letter of marque to America and the West Indies. Portland was chiefly charged with taking extravagant grants, but the accusation against him was not prosecuted; Orford, with encouraging Kidd in piracy, with embezzlement of the public funds, and other acts of corruption and breaches of trust; Halifax, with appropriating the public money, with being in debt to the Irish exchequer, delapidating the royal forests, and procuring his brother Christopher Montagu to be appointed auditor, who had passed his fraudulent accounts.

The trial of Somers commenced June 17, when, the commons refusing to appear against him, he was acquitted by 56 peers to 31. The earl of Orford was also acquitted on the 23rd of June, and further proceedings were arrested by the prorogation of parliament on the following day. Burnet remarks that most of the bishops adhered to the impeached lords. — See Howell's State Trials, xiv. 233–250. Lord Campbell's Life of Lord Chancellor Somers, iv. 156–165. Ralph, i. 942–972. Burnet, iv. 476–506.]

summer, and have never had a firm health since. But I could not (but) look upon it as a singular providence of God, that Dr. Harris[p], whom I had sent for to London, to Ely, should come in at that nick of time, when I was suddenly taken with a fit of an ague, which held me all day. He gave me a bolus at night, which was repeated next morning at four o'clock, and again the next morning, which prevented its return, and I have not had the least grudging of it since that time. After some other medicines I got so much strength, that in the end of August I began to resume my former labours again[q], and proceeded in my commentaries[r].

[p] [Walter Harris, M. D., was in great esteem about the year 1700, and was physician to William III. He published a treatise in much repute, on the acute diseases of children, at the earnest entreaty of Sydenham. — Hutchinson, Biogr. Med. i. 401.]

[q] ["Those labours did not prevent what he thought was likewise his duty, the care of his diocese; and we have in this year a very memorable instance of it, which I cannot think will be unacceptable to the reader, since it affords a good proof of his prudence, as well as of his severity, and which did as effectually answer the good design he had in view, the reformation of the offending person. I shall spare his name, who underwent the punishment, though he took shame to himself while living; his memory ought not to suffer when dead: no man ought to be upbraided with the faults and sins he hath been once guilty of, when repented of and forsaken. One Mr. S. F. V. of G. E. (Great Eversden,) in his diocese, had, by long and shameful courses of intemperance, drowned his reason, scandalized his profession, and *caused men to abhor the offering of the Lord.* Bp. Patrick, grieved with the report, and moved by the complaints of some sober, good persons, resolved to take cognizance on so notorious an offender. He was unwilling to deprive him of his living, till he found other means ineffectual. He therefore, after a very warm and pathetic speech to him, aggravating his complicated guilt as a Christian, much more as a minister, and letting him know that so public a scandal as he had given did require as public a satisfaction, that he would reform and amend; enjoined him thereupon to make an acknowledgment, and to preach a sermon at the two churches in which he usually officiated, on those words of Solomon, Prov. xxviii. 13, *He that covereth his sins shall not prosper: but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them shall have mercy:* from which he was to testify to the two respective auditories his sorrow for his fault, and resolutions to become a new man, &c. This piece of discipline was performed; and sure the greatest enemy he had in the world could not more aggravate any of his vices than he did himself. He that a little before was the people's detestation became now their pity; and whom before they abominated, now they embraced; and were so moved with concern at his unravelling his actions, especially his adding drunkenness to thirst, and his affecting public houses more than the public worship of God, that tears mutually flowed from each other. Thus he ends: 'You see, beloved, what a black indictment I have here drawn

I should have noted, that on the 8th of June, in the year before [s], the delegates met to hear the appeal of the bishop of St. David's [t]. There were fourteen of twenty of them present;

up against myself, wherein I have not been favourable or partial to my fatal miscarriages, but have dissected and ripped up my many enormous crimes, and exposed them to public view. I beseech you not to be too censorious and uncharitable, since I have passed so severe a censure upon myself.'"—Dr. Knight. The offending clergyman was Sylvanus Finch, instituted in 1676, and buried Feb. 19, $170\frac{7}{8}$.]

[r] [The close of the seventeenth century was marked by the institution of an association, which, subsequently divided, has exercised the most beneficial and lasting influence on the development of the church of England, at home and abroad.

The society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was originally projected by Dr. Thomas Bray, whose first manuscript sketch of the scheme is still extant in the library of Sion college. This great work was inaugurated at a meeting held by Bray and four coadjutors, March 8, $169\frac{8}{9}$, who were speedily joined by the leading prelates, clergy, and lay supporters of the church. He had failed in the preceding year to obtain the sanction of parliament to the appropriation of certain lands which had been recovered from Romish uses, towards extending the Gospel in the plantations. After two years, the institution being now in effectual operation at home, he was enabled to solicit and obtain from king William III. a charter for the incorporation of a separate society, under the title of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This charter bears date June 16, 1701.

Bishop Patrick, who does not appear to have taken any active share in the former branch of enterprise, beyond signing its first manifesto, became from the first one of the most zealous and diligent supporters of the latter. His name occurs as one of the trustees in the charter. In his own diocese, he laboured to diffuse the parchment rolls which had been prepared for the collection of subscriptions; and in the register of the society, his name is recorded as present at a meeting held on the 16th of January, $170\frac{1}{2}$, and promising the sum of twenty pounds annual subscription. To his valuable personal cooperation it is considered to be due, that the bishops of Ely are constituted by charter members *ex officio;* a privilege enjoyed by no other prelates, save the two archbishops, and the bishop of London.—Anderson's History of the Colonial Church, ii. 534; iii. 30.]

[s] [In the year 1699 Burnet published his Exposition of the XXXIX Articles. This work had been undertaken by the desire of queen Mary and archbishop Tillotson, the latter of whom perused and approved the MS. of it when completed; as did also bishops Hall, Williams, and Patrick.—Life of Burnet, appended to his History, vi. 311.]

[t] [Thomas Watson, a native of Kingston-upon-Hull, proceeded to St. John's college, Cambridge, in 1655, was elected fellow in 1660, graduated M.A. in 1662, and D.D. in 1675, before which he became rector of Burrow Green. His Romish bias recommended him to James II. for the bishopric of St. David's, to which he was consecrated June 26, 1687. In return he was strenuous in urging his clergy to read the royal declaration for liberty of conscience. He is represented as profligate in principle, violent and coarse in language, and wearing the mask of Romanism over a heart utterly destitute of re-

four temporal lords, two bishops, four judges, and four civilians; every one of which gave their opinion that his grace the archbishop of Canterbury had proceeded right in his judgment; so that the bishop of St. David's was condemned in sixty pound costs. After which we met often to hear exceptions, and on the 24th of February sat till between eleven and twelve at night to hear counsel both for and against the bishop of St. David's. And the next day the delegates met at Sergeant's Inn, in Fleet-street, to give sentence; where seventeen were present, four lords temporal, five bishops, as many judges, and three civilians; who all confirmed the sentence of the archbishop, except one, the bishop of Lincoln, who said he wanted time to consider, and therefore suspended his judg-

ligion. At his living, his scandalous conduct and overbearing manners exposed him, at the revolution, to violence at the hands of the populace. His name was one of those exempted at the same time from the act of indemnity. In the month of October, 1695, proceedings were instituted against him by one Lucy in the Court of Arches, before the archbishop of Canterbury and six bishops assessors, charging him with simony, taking excessive fees for conferring orders, institutions, visitations &c.; imposing orders without administering the oaths required by 1 Will. and Mary, yet certifying under his episcopal seal that the oaths had been made; ordaining a man under age; abuse of a charity, putting out a schoolmaster, and detaining a deed of exemplification. On these charges he was found guilty, and sentenced to be deprived, and, if contumacious, excommunicated. Watson appealed from the archbishop's sentence to the commissioners delegates, and pending the appeal moved the court of king's bench for a prohibition in Easter term, 1699, which was refused. His appeal was also overruled by the delegates, as stated in Patrick's narrative, and sentence of deprivation pronounced by the archbishop, Aug. 3, 1699. Watson made one more appeal for a prohibition, and meeting with a refusal, petitioned lord Somers for a writ of error, who by the advice of the attorney general brought the case into the house of lords. There after much discussion it was determined that the petition would not lie, Mar. 2, 1699, (1700.) Watson had tried to plead his right of peerage, which he had waived in the first instance, but was on that ground overruled, Dec. 6, 1699, and sentence accordingly executed. But the see was not filled up till 1705, when it was bestowed on Dr. George Bull. Watson died June 3, 1713, at the age of 80.—See lord Raymond's Reports, i. 447, 539. Lords' Journals, and Howell's State Trials, xiv. 447–472. The original deed of deprivation is in the Lambeth library, (951. 6.)

Watson's case gave birth to numerous pamphlets, among others, The bishop of St. David's case, 1699; Letter from a person of quality, concerning the archbishop's sentence of deprivation; The extraordinary case of the bishop of St. David's further cleared; A summary view of the bishop of St. David's case by sir John Coke, LL. D., 1701, and a Large Review of the same work by Ferguson.]

ment. The judges and civilians spake very largely to the several facts, which, they said, amounted unto simony, &c.

Before the end of this year I had transcribed the books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth for the press. And in the end of it, March 13, 1700[t], a bill was brought into the house of lords for separating the lady Anglesea from her husband, and a great many witnesses were produced to prove his cruel usage of her[u]. Another day was appointed to hear witnesses for the earl. On the 11th of April the bill was read the second time, and the house went through a part of it, till they came to these words, "that she was afraid of her life." Of this some made a doubt, though she affirmed it in her petition for a divorce, and in her examination by four lords, who were sent to her by the house. So at last it was proposed, that she

[t] [A royal commission was issued during the year 1700, authorizing Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury, Sharp, archbishop of York, and four other prelates, of whom Patrick was one, the others being Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, Lloyd of Worcester, and Moore of Norwich, to recommend to king William proper persons for bishoprics, and all other ecclesiastical preferments in his gift above the value of 20*l. per annum* in the book of first-fruits and tenths, and during his majesty's absence abroad to nominate to them without waiting for his approval. These important functions could hardly be exercised by them in the excited state of theological and political parties then existing without attracting obloquy from one side or the other. But it was generally conceded by men of moderate views that their election was directed by marked impartiality, and a regard to the advantages of the church.]

[u] [The countess of Anglesey had originally borne the name of the lady Catharine Darnley. She was the fruit of James' illicit amour with sir Charles Sedley's plain but talented daughter Catharine, whom the infatuated monarch had raised to the peerage by the title of countess of Dorchester in her own right. The daughter, born in 1683, espoused, Oct. 28, 1699, James Annesley, third earl of Anglesey, who left by her a sole daughter and heiress, Catharine, married to William Phipps, esq., ancestor of the marquis of Normanby. The marriage was followed by much unhappiness. Lady Anglesey in the year 170$\frac{0}{1}$ petitioned the house of lords for leave to bring in a bill of separation from her husband, Feb. 25. The peers on the following day deputed lords Rochester, Ferrers, Haversham and Somers as a committee to endeavour to effect a reconciliation. On the third they reported her absolute refusal. Leave was then given to bring in the bill, lord Haversham protesting on the ground that there was no precedent for such a bill without an absolute divorce. The bill was accordingly introduced, and read a second time on the first of April, as reported in the journals of the house of lords, after which counsel and witnesses were heard on behalf of both parties, the house repeatedly sitting in committee upon the case.]

should be sent for to appear in the house herself. I was nominated to go and conduct her thither, though they did not command me; and therefore I took no notice of it[x]. But my lord Anglesea himself standing up, and desiring I would go to her, I went near to the place where she lay concealed, and one brought her to me, I know not whence, and I brought her to the house. Where she declared his cruelty was such, that she was afraid of her life if she should return to him. Whereupon I was ordered to carry her back again to her lodging. But she fearing, as she told me, he would send some servant to dog her (as we spake) and discover the place where she lay, was in a great distress what to do. So I bid my coachman drive to Ely house, where she and her mother stayed a good while, and refreshed herself; and then went in an hackney coach out of my back gate, into her lodgings. This I was the more glad to

[x] [The journals here corroborate the author's narrative almost verbatim: "The lord viscount Longueville reported that the committee had made some progress in the bill, and that it was the opinion of the committee that the countess of Anglesey should be sent for, and heard to some matters suggested in the preamble; then it being moved 'that the earl of Anglesey would declare that he will not seize his lady in her passage to or from the house,'

"His lordship declared upon his honour that he would not molest or seize her, so long as she was in an honourable place, nor upon the occasion of sending for her.

"Then it was ordered that the countess of Anglesey do forthwith attend the house, and that the lord bishop of Ely be, and he is hereby, desired to go for her.

"Which he accordingly did.

"After some time the house being informed that the countess of Anglesey was at the door, it was proposed and agreed that when she comes in the earl may speak to her as he shall think fit; and afterwards the lord keeper do ask her, Whether she thinks herself in danger of her life, if she returns to her husband?

"Then the countess of Anglesey being called in, and a chair set for her at the table, the earl of Anglesey spoke to her to this effect: (*videlicet*)

"That if she feared any danger in coming home to him and her child, he would give all imaginable security that she should not in the least be hurt; and also assured her of all civility and kindness imaginable.

"Then her ladyship said to this purpose, That she had been used barbarously, and could never consent to return to his lordship again; that she had been in danger of her life, and bore as long as she could, and hoped their lordships would redress her.

"Thereupon the lord keeper told her, he was directed by the house to ask her, Whether she thought herself in danger of her life, if she should return to her husband?

"She answered, 'Yes, positively I do.'

"The countess then withdrew."]

be employed in, because the late blessed queen sent to me on purpose to speak with me about the countess of Dorchester, and gave me a charge to take a particular care of this her daughter. To whom I was not a stranger, for the countess, her mother, had desired me, in the time of king James, to wait upon her, and instruct her in religion; which I did frequently, and I found her very towardly. On the 14th the bill passed, in a day appointed for the report of it, after which it passed[y].

On the 12th of May, 1702, I adventured to take a great journey to a friend in Yorkshire, at Melton, near Doncaster. As I was going down stairs this morning very early, I happened to look about me at some thing in an opposite chamber, and I trod wrong with my heels, so that I fell down from the top to the middle of the stairs, and yet stood upright, and did not sprain or wrench any part. I could not but look upon myself as preserved by some of the angelical powers, (of whom I had been meditating,) to whose care our blessed Lord had committed me, and then sent to uphold me. And, blessed be God, we finished that journey with safety and ease; only I was troubled with sharpness of urine, which continued a long time upon me. We stayed there at Mr. Fountain's house[z] six

[y] [On the 29th of April the bill was read a third time and passed.

On the 2nd of May it was sent down to the commons, read a second time that day week, then referred to a committee, and passed on the 23rd.—Private act, 12 and 13 Gul. III. Commons' Journals. Statutes of the Realm, vii. 730.

It called forth (from lord Haversham) "A Letter from a peer to a member of the house of commons, about the countess of Anglesey," in which the writer defends his vote against it, and reflects with much severity upon her and her witnesses.

The earl died Jan. 18, 170½, and his widow married on the 20th of March, 170⅝, John Sheffield, duke of Buckingham.–Burke's Extinct Peerage. Lodge, iv. 127. Luttrell, vi. 28.]

[z] [The family of Fountaine were originally of Salle or Saul in Norfolk, and assumed the surname of De Fonte or De Fontibus from the 'springs' or 'fountains' by which they dwelt. The first who is known to have taken this name was John De Fonte, or De Fontibus de Salle, who lived in the latter end of the reign of Henry III. The Melton estate came into the family by the marriage of John Fountayne, esq., of Lincoln's Inn, eldest son and heir of John Fountayne, serjeant-at-law, with Elizabeth, only daughter and heiress of major John Monckton; whose uncle, Dr. Berrie, a physician, had purchased it in the reign of Charles the First. On the death of John Fountayne, junior, in Sept. 1680, it passed into the hands of his brother Thomas, who was its possessor at the time here spoken of. He had married Ann, eldest daughter of Edward Chester, esq., of Cockenhatch, Herts, by whom he had two sons, John and Thomas,

weeks, and on the 14th of June married my son (which was my business there) to his eldest daughter, very happily; for they live in great love together. Being within thirty miles of York, I went to see the archbishop at Bishopthorp, with whom I stayed three days, and was most kindly entertained [a].

Being at Mr. Gore's at Tewen, in Hertfordshire [b], as I returned to London in the autumn, I took up some old notes which I had brought along with me, made fifty-five years ago. I could not but give thanks to God, who had so early inclined me to be studious and industrious, and bless him, who hath prospered my labours ever since, and continued me in good health. Blessed be his goodness. I can never sufficiently bless him for it. Thus I was then apt to speak, and I hope I shall never cease to do the like. For this year, blessed be

and two daughters; Ann, who married Symon Patrick, the bishop's son; and Judith, afterwards married to Thomas Sherlock, D.D., master of the Temple. Thomas Fountayne died Feb. 5, 1709, aged 70, and his widow died Jan. 20, 1743, at the age of 82. Their grandson, John Fountayne, D.D., dean of York, who died Feb. 14, 1802, was the last male representative of the family.—Blomefield's Norfolk, iii. 521. Hunter's Doncaster, i. 367.]

[a] ["In the year 170½ the bill for the settlement of the crown upon the illustrious house of Hanover after the demise of the then king William, the princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body. The king was very desirous for the good of the protestant interest it should take place, and that thereby all pretences for hereditary right might be cutt off. It was one of the last things he did; but being very zealous that it should be done, that he might leave this best of legacies to his kingdom, being not able with his weak and trembling hand to sign it, had a stamp prepared, that he might effect it with more ease to himself; and when he had done it he expressed himself in the manner of good old Simeon, *Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.* Bishop Patrick rejoiced as much at this happy settlement as any whosoever, and was observed to express himself with transports of joy upon this occasion; since he not only lived to see, but also had been able to do something towards what would be of so lasting a benefit to his native country: and though he lived not to see the illustrious family settled upon the throne, yet he could not but rejoice to see that day, as Abram did." —Dr. Knight.]

[b] ['Tewing house, Herts, was originally built by John Mountford, LL.D., and canon residentiary of St. Paul's, London. The estate on his death passed by purchase to sir George Boteler, and from him to his nephew sir Francis, on whose death it was bought from his coheiress by William Gore, esq., third son of sir John Gore, of Gilston, (see p. 481,) and justice of the peace for Herts, who made large additions to it. He did not long survive his friend Patrick, dying at Tewing, Aug. 9, 1709, in the 79th year of his age.—Clutterbuck, Herts, ii. 223. Chauncy, p. 275.]

God, the books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth were printed with my commentary upon them.

We had very great and long contests in December this year about the bill of occasional conformity [c]. On the 16th it was eleven o'clock at night before I came home from a debate we had about it. In which, I bless God, I endeavoured to vote with all uprightness and sincerity, and could not but be against it. For I observed there was nothing of religion intended in it, as appeared by this; that a certain lord expressed his joy that there was a bill brought in for the good of the church, and promoting religion; and therefore desired this clause might be added to it, that no man should hold any place, who doth not come to church once in a month, and receive the holy communion once in a quarter of a year [d]. Which he had

[c] [The bill for preventing occasional conformity originated with the high church and tory party in the first year of the reign of queen Anne. Its main provisions were, that all those who had taken the sacrament and test, (provided by the act of 1672 to be taken once as the qualification for holding any office of trust or emolument,) and did after that attend the religious meetings of non-conformists, should be disabled from holding their employments, and should be fined 100*l.*, and 5*l.* for every day during which they should act in their employment, after attending such meeting. They were also to be incapable of holding any subsequent appointment till after one year's conformity to the Anglican worship, which was to be proved at the quarter session. Upon a relapse, the penalty and time of disability were doubled. With cruel inconsistency the preamble of the bill asserted in absolute terms the principle of toleration, and deprecated persecution as hostile to the doctrine of the church of England.

The measure was brought into the house of commons, Nov. 4, 1702, by Mr. Bromley, Mr. St. John, and Mr. Annesley, was read a second time on the 15th, passed the third reading on the 28th, and on the second of December was sent up to the lords. Several amendments having been introduced into the measure by the upper house, a free conference was appointed between the two houses for Dec. 16th. It was conducted on the part of the lords by the duke of Devonshire, the earl of Peterborough, lords Somers and Halifax, and Burnet, bishop of Salisbury. For the commons appeared Mr. Bromley, Mr. St. John, Mr. Finch, the solicitor general Harcourt, and sir Thomas Powis. The conference was renewed at intervals until the 1st of Feb., neither house being willing to adhere to the other's modifications, and on the 24th the report was brought up, and entered at length in the Journals. The bill was ordered on the same day to be printed, but was suffered to proceed no further, parliament being prorogued on the 27th.—Lords' and Commons' journals. Parl. Hist. vi. 59–92. Burnet, v. 49–54. A MS. copy is in the Lambeth library, 641.]

[d] [A clause had previously been moved in the house of commons, when the bill was brought up from

reason to press, because he knew a gentleman who now was the great stickler for the church of England and promoter of this bill, that gave thanks publicly in the house of commons in his hearing, that he had not been in a church these five years. This begat many speeches to second his motion, and it was put to the question, whether this should be part of the bill, and carried in the negative by one voice [e]. I asked one of my brethren what moved him to vote against such a pious clause; who had nothing to say but that it would lose the bill, for the house of commons would never pass it. Besides, I looked upon this bill as making a manifest breach upon the act of indulgence, which had made great peace, quiet, and love among

the committee, to "oblige all persons in office to come to church," but carried in the negative.—Commons' Journals, Nov. 25.]

[e] [The arguments on either side are thus summed up by Burnet:

"On behalf of the bill it was said, the design of the test act was that all in office should continue in the communion of the church; that coming only once to the sacrament for an office, and going afterwards to the meetings of dissenters, was both an eluding the intent of the law, and a profanation of the sacrament, which gave great scandal, and was abhorred by the better sort of dissenters.

"Those who were against the bill said, the nation had been quiet ever since the toleration, the dissenters had lost more ground and strength by it than the church: the nation was now engaged in a great war; it seemed therefore unreasonable to raise animosities at home, in matters of religion, at such a time; and to encourage a tribe of informers, who were the worst sort of men. The fines were excessive; higher than any laid on papists by law: and since no limitation of time nor concurrence of witnesses was provided for in the bill, men would be for ever exposed to the malice of a bold swearer or wicked servant. It was moved, that since the greatest danger of all was atheists and papists, that all such as received the sacrament for an office should be obliged to receive it three times a year, which all were by law required to do; and to keep their parish church, at least one Sunday a month: but this was not admitted. All who pleaded for the bill did in words declare for the continuance of the toleration; yet the sharpness with which they treated the dissenters in all their speeches showed as if they designed their extirpation."—v. 51.

In his life of Dr. Manton Harris reports some remarks uttered by Patrick in a speech upon the bill in the house of lords, which is not reported in the parliamentary history: —"that he had been known to write against the dissenters with some warmth in his younger years; but that he had lived long enough to see reason to alter his opinion of that people and that way of writing: and that he was verily persuaded there were some who were honest men, and good Christians, who would be neither, if they did not ordinarily go to church and sometimes to the meeting: and on the other hand, some were honest men and good Christians, who would be neither, if they did not ordinarily go to the meetings and sometimes to the church."—p. 33.]

us. For it struck at the very best of the nonconformists; who, looking upon us as good Christians, that had nothing sinful in our worship, thought they ought, upon occasion, to communicate with us: but imagining they had something better in their way of worship, could not leave it, but adhere to their dissenting ministers[f]. This I took not to be an argument of their hypocrisy, as many called it, but of their conscientious sincerity; and therefore thought they ought to be tolerated in this practice, which might, in time, bring them over to us, as I know it had done some worthy persons[g].

[f] [Calamy represented to Burnet the evening before the conference, "that the communicating with the church of England was a practice among the dissenters, nor of a late date, but had been used by some of the most eminent of our ministers ever since 1662, with a design to show their charity towards that church, notwithstanding they apprehended themselves bound in conscience ordinarily to separate from it: and that it had been also practised by a number of the most understanding people among them, before the so doing was necessary to qualify for a place. We reminded him that Mr. Baxter and Dr. Bates had done it all along, and been much reflected on by several of their own friends on this account: and added, that should the bill then depending pass into a law, it would not only give great disturbance to a number of his majesty's most loyal subjects, contrary to all rules of policy, which required to keep all quiet and easy at home, when there was such an hazardous and expensive war to be carried abroad; but would bid fair for destroying that little charity yet remaining among us, and make the breach between the two parties wider than ever.—Calamy's Life and Times, i. 473.]

[g] [The bill was a second time introduced by the same members into the house of commons, in spite of much opposition and the hostility of the court, Nov. 25, by a majority of 173 to 130. The draught of it was altered by the omission of the preamble, the number of persons requisite to constitute a conventicle raised from five to twelve, and the fine on those who attended them, besides the loss of their employment, reduced one half. The second reading was carried, Nov. 30, by 210 to 132, and the bill passed, Dec. 7, by 223 to 140.

So decided was the opposition of the peers, that the second reading of the bill was negatived on the day of its introduction, Dec. 14, by a majority of twelve. Burnet distinguished himself by his speech against it, and was ably supported by lord Haversham and others. The archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Winchester, Rochester, Chester, and St. Asaph gave their votes for the bill; the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Worcester, Salisbury, Ely, Lichfield, Norwich, Peterborough, Lincoln, Chichester, Oxford, and Bangor against it. A last attempt was made in the commons, during the same session, to pass the measure as an appendix to a bill of supply, but without success. A similar act was passed in 1711, but repealed in 1719.—Parl. Hist. vi. 153-171. Burnet, v. 105-108. Tindal, i. 49. Hallam, iii. 332. Buckle, History of Civilization, i. 383.

Among

In December, this year, I made a purchase, by the advice of Mr. Longuevile, of an estate at Dalham, in Suffolk, twelve miles from Ely [h], where my wife and my son might live comfortably after my decease. In order to which, I began, not long after, to build an house; the old one, by neglect, being fallen down before I purchased it.

In the beginning of next year, 1703, I was so afflicted with the sharpness of my urine, that I feared I had the stone. So that by sir Thomas Millington's advice, I sent for Cypriano, a famous operator [i], who gave me hope it might not be so; and

Among the numerous pamphlets to which the agitation of this question gave birth, may be mentioned William's Affection to the Church of England, 1703; The English Monster, or the character of an Occasional conformist; The Establishment of the Church the preservation of the State; The Case of Toleration considered; A New Test of the Church of England's loyalty; The Political Union, by Dr. Sacheverell; The Case of the Regale &c. by Leslie; An Impartial View of the two last parliaments; and, The Shortest way with the Dissenters, a pretended argument in defence of the bill, by De Foe, which was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman.]

[h] [In Domesday book two manors in Dalham are mentioned, (25 Suff. Rysby hundred, vol. ii. fol. 390, a, b,) whereof one belonged to William Peccatum or Pechey, and the other to Richard, son of Gilbert, first earl of Clare. That of the Pecheys, including the advowson, was granted by king Edward II., in the 14th year of his reign, to Walter de Norwich, in fee farm, at the yearly rent of 40*l.* for all services. In the reign of Henry IV. Thomas Stotevill, esq., purchased the interest of Walter's descendants. It remained in the family of Stotevill, Estotevill, or Stutfield for centuries. Many of them rose to distinction, and one is celebrated in his epitaph in the church as having accompanied sir Francis Drake in his voyage round the world. Charles Stutville, esq., the last possessor, mortgaged the estate to the lord keeper North for 1000*l.*, whose heirs having foreclosed the mortgage, it became vested in Gilbert Dolben, esq. Stutville becoming imbecile, a petition was presented to the house of commons, Jan. 26, 1699–1700, on behalf of Elizabeth his wife, and their children, for leave to sell the estate, and pay off the incumbrances, with residue to them; and leave to that effect granted by the house.

A counter petition was then put in by the alleged imbecile or his friends, praying to be heard by counsel, Feb. 5, and referred to a committee, but is not again alluded to in the journals. The estate was thus purchased from the trustees by bishop Patrick, and enjoyed by his son. But on the death of the latter in 1713, heavily embarrassed, a private act was obtained for power to dispose of it, when it was purchased by Thomas Affleck, esq., in whose family it has since remained.–Davy's Suffolk Collections in Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 19102. fol. 122–134. Commons' Journals, &c.]

[i] [Sir Thomas had himself four years before experienced the benefit of the same operator's skill, as may be surmised from the following notices by Luttrell:—

"June 3, 1699. Sir Thomas

in a little time I was much eased. My commentary upon the two books of Samuel was published this year; and I likewise transcribed the two books of the Kings, that they might be ready next year; as I find it acknowledged to the great goodness of God, on my birthday.

The next year, 1704, my commentary on the two books of the Kings was printed, and I spent as much time as I could spare in considering the books of the Chronicles; and before the end of the year, the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther.

On the 21st of July, God was pleased to bestow a daughter upon my son, for which we gave him our most humble thanks[k]. In the next month I was desired to consecrate a new chapel, built in Catharine hall, Cambridge. Accordingly I considered of a form wherein to do it, and upon the 1st of September went thither, accompanied with the heads of several colleges, and other worthy persons; dedicated it to the worship and service of God, to which it was set apart, with prayers, and a sermon, and the holy communion. The master of the college, sir William Dawes, and the fellows, desired the form of consecration might be printed, with the sermon preached by Mr. Long, a worthy fellow of that college. Unto which I consented, and both were printed at Cambridge a little after[l].

In the beginning of the next year, 1705, I began to transcribe what I had observed upon the book of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther; which took up my time most of this year. In the conclusion of which[m] God was pleased to bestow a great blessing on us. For, on the 23rd of March, being

Millington, aged 68, was the beginning of this week cut of the stone by a Dutchman, and like to do well."

"Thursday, 14 Nov. 1700. Sir William Gore, an alderman of this citty, was on Tuesday cutt for the stone by Cypriano, a Dutchman: had one in a minutes time taken from him, weighing 4 ounces 2 drams, and like to do well."

Sir William survived till Jan. 20, $170\frac{7}{8}$.

"Tuesday, 7 July, Saturday. Sir John Garrard of Hertfordshire, aged above 60, was cutt for the stone by the famous Cyprianus: had one taken from him weighing 4 ounces, and like to do well."]

[k] [Penelope Patrick, born July 21, 1704, married Jan. 9, 1730, the right honourable Edward Weston, of Somerby, by whom she had two sons, Charles and Edward, both of whom died without offspring.]

[l] [The form is printed in the present volume, p. 349 above.]

[m] [In the course of the prolonged debate in the House of Lords, on the answer to be made to the queen's speech at the opening of the session, a day was obtained by the earl of Halifax, "to inquire into those dangers to church and state, about which

Easter eve, my son's wife was brought to bed of a son. Blessed be his goodness, which gave her a quick and safe deliverance. I should have observed, that on the 23rd of December, I conferred the order of priesthood upon my son (who had been made deacon before) at his earnest desire; he having solemnly devoted himself to the service of God in the ministry of the Gospel, and is very capable to do him much service therein.

In the next year I committed those books I had transcribed unto the press. And on the ordination Sunday, at Ely, on the 19th of May, we had the news of the most glorious victory that we ever read of obtained over the French by the duke of Marlborough, and the wonderful success following was amazing[o]. On the 27th of June a public thanksgiving was made to God throughout the kingdom, and my son was persuaded to preach the sermon on that day in the cathedral church, though he was no member of it; which he did on these words, *He scattereth the people that delight in war*, and shewed so much wisdom and judgment in his treating on them as very much rejoiced my heart, and affected all his hearers with admiration of him. I earnestly beseeched God that he would give him grace to study to improve, and win many souls unto truth and righteousness.

so many tragical stories had been published of late." On the 6th of December the discussion took place; Rochester, Halifax, Compton bishop of London, and the archbishop of York, complaining in terms of alarm at the increase of dissent and popery, the loss of the occasional bill, the unsettled state of the succession, the license of the press and pulpit, &c., with particular allusion to Hoadley's recent sermon. Burnet spoke in reply, deprecating unnecessary fears, and measures of restriction.

Bishop Patrick continued the debate with a motion, "that the judges might also be consulted what power the queen had in visiting the universities, complaining of the heat and passion of the gentlemen there; which they inculcated into their pupils, who brought the same fury with them to the parishes, when they came abroad, to the great disturbance of public charity. That at the election at Cambridge, it was shameful to see a hundred or more young students encouraged in hollowing like schoolboys and porters, and crying 'No fanatic! No occasional conformity!' against two worthy gentlemen that stood candidates. Then he complained of the undutifulness of the clergy to their bishops, and the difficulty they had to govern them regularly." At the end of the debate, a resolution was carried by a majority of 61 to 30, that the church was in no danger.—Lords' Journals, Parl. Hist. 479–506.]

[o] [The victory of Ramilies, won by Marlborough and the allies, over the French, commanded by the elector of Bavaria and the marshal de Villeroy, on Whit-sunday, May 23, (12. O. S.) 1706.]

In the beginning of August, this year, 1706, I received the forementioned books all printed, that I might correct the *errata* in them, if I found any; which I did, and returned them before the end of the month.

I should have noted before this, that on the same day my granddaughter was born I had a trial in the Chancery before the lord keeper Wright, about my estate at Dalham; one Jenkins having put in a bill against me. The whole matter was largely debated; and the lord keeper, after he had weighed all the evidence, dismissed the bill, and settled the decree that had been made for me. But I was very much surprised, that in December 1696[p], an appeal was made by my adversaries to the house of lords, for they could not have done a greater kindness, which I could not expect from them. I had no more trouble but to entreat all the lords of my acquaintance to be present and attend unto the cause. And they were so kind, that not one of them failed to be at the house on the 9th of January, when the cause was heard. And moreover, they were so kind as to prevail with those lords who were not of my acquaintance to come to the house, and stay all the time. A fuller house to hear a private cause had not been seen a long time, and the case was so clear, that after the pleadings were over, it was soon ended by the confirmation of the decree in Chancery for me; and this so unanimously, that there was but one lord that dissented. In the evening many came to wish me joy of it, which was very great, because it settled me in all I had laboured for. And, by God's blessing, I hope my son may enjoy it. For there can be no further dispute about my title to it.

I remember that the last year, 1705, I made a resolution on my birthday, (September 8th,) to look over my life from the beginning, and consider the great goodness of God to me through the whole course of it, as soon as I had finished my Commentaries upon the Chronicles &c. which I had in hand, and could come at some papers I had in London. I considered indeed I might not continue so long in the world as to be able to make that review; for we are but *sojourners*, (as the Psalmist speaks in the Psalm read this morning,) *as all our fathers were*. But I was apt to say, (as it there follows with a small

[p] [There is obviously some mistake in this date. It should probably be 1706.]

alteration.) *Spare me a little, O Lord, and renew my strength, before I go hence, and be no more seen.* This I said with great submission to God, who knows what is best for me and for my family; to whom my longer continuance among them would be a great blessing. And God hath been pleased to grant my desire. For on Whit Monday, May 13th, in this year, I began to call to mind the lovingkindness of the Lord, and have brought this narrative to the conclusion of another year; that is, to my birthday, September 8th, 1706, when I completed the eightieth year of my age; and, blessed be God, in health and strength, having few bodily infirmities, and the full use of my reason and understanding. So that if God please further to prolong my days, I hope I shall do him some further service in one kind or other.

But I find I have been so eager in writing all this, that I have passed by something, without notice, which I now call to remembrance, and shall here, though out of the order of time, set them down as things memorable.

When the workmen were making scaffolds in the church of Westminster for the coronation of king James, they chanced to bore a hole into the tomb of Edward the Confessor: so that they could see the shroud wherein his body was wrapped; which was a mixed coloured silk, very fresh[p]. By this they got a great deal of money from people who hearing of it came to see it; and made the hole wider and wider, till they could put their hand into the tomb. Which one of the vergers hearing of, went and forbade them to suffer this, or threatened to have them turned out of their work by sir Christopher Wren. This made them forbear to admit people to come into the chapel. But one Taylor, being a singing man in the church, prevailed with them one day to let him in with some friends of his to see the tomb; and he thrust in his hand so far as to pull out the shroud, and together with it a crucifix hanging in a gold chain, weighing about ten guineas. This he brought to the chanter of the church, who went immediately to search

[p] [In the original manuscript a small piece of stuff less than an inch square, answering this description, is pinned to the paper, evidently as a specimen of the shroud. It is too small to enable the pattern to be distinguished, but it appears to have been a woven fabric of black and yellow silk.]

if he could find any thing more, but could not, only several of his bones, and particularly a thigh bone, which was very large. Then he carried the crucifix to the dean, the bishop of Rochester, who went with Taylor to the king, representing to him how honest he was in not concealing this treasure. His majesty was highly pleased with it, and pulled a crucifix out of his pocket, and showed it to them, telling them it was his late brother's[q]. He immediately ordered Taylor fifty pounds, which was paid him out of the privy purse[r]. And he spake to sir Christopher Wren to make up the coffin strongly again, which was only of elm, hooped with iron, very coarse and cloutery.

Next I remember that in November, 1686, there was a commission granted to three bishops, of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough, to deprive Mr. Johnson[s]. And upon the 18th

[q] [Evelyn reports an audience which he had with king James, Sept. 16, 1685, at which his majesty narrated the same circumstances, and exhibited the crucifix. See his Diary, and the Illustrations at the end of the volume, with Dart's History of Westminster, ii. 25.]

[r] [Feb. 6, 168$\frac{4}{5}$, there was published "A true and perfect narrative of the strange and unexpected finding the crucifix and gold chain of that pious prince, St. Edward, the king and Confessor, which was found after 620 years interment, and presented to his most sacred majesty king James II.; by Charles Taylour, gent." The real writer is said to have been Henry Keepe, who had previously been known by the name of Young, but had assumed the former on changing his religion at the accession of James.—See Gough's Topography, i. 762; and the note in Dart, l. c.]

[s] [Samuel Johnson, born in 1649, in Warwickshire, was educated at St. Paul's School, London, of which he was appointed librarian, owing to his assiduity in learning, especially in the oriental languages. He proceeded to Trinity college, Cambridge, but left the university without taking a degree. Entering holy orders, he was presented by a friend, Robert Biddulph, esq., to the rectory of Corringham, in Essex, in 1669–1670; which preferment, the only one he ever had, worth only 80*l* a year, was held by him till his death. The air of that place not agreeing with him, he settled in London, taking an active part in politics, securing the esteem and patronage of the Bedford family. In the year 1672, he was made domestic chaplain to lord William Russell. While the exclusion bill was being actively pressed by his patron in the house of commons, Johnson, to promote the same cause, engaged the ecclesiastical champion of passive obedience, Dr. Hickes, in a book entitled "Julian the Apostate," published in 1682. Hickes put forth in reply a work with the title of "Jovian," to which Johnson drew up a rejoinder, "Julian's arts to undermine and extirpate Christianity," &c. This was printed and entered at Stationers' Hall in 1683, but the apprehension of his patron Russell deterred him from publishing it. The court however having information of it, he was summoned before the king and

of that month, I had an order sent me to assist the bishops in the exercise of that jurisdiction[t]. The same order to twelve divines in London, in which I was not satisfied, and therefore consulting with Dr. Tenison, (who was of the same mind,) we resolved not to appear, but thought it becoming us to go to some of the bishops, and desire them to excuse our non-appearance as well as they could. I went to the bishop of Rochester, and he to Peterborough; and I told the bishop I

council about two months after Russell was beheaded, and on being questioned, owned himself the author of the book. On Aug. 3, 1683, he was committed to the Gatehouse, but released on bail, no copy of his last work having been found. He was then prosecuted in the king's bench, for a libel on the duke of York, in writing "Julian the Apostate," sentenced to pay a fine of 500 marks, and committed to prison till he should pay it.

Having obtained the liberty of the rules, Johnson's zeal led him to brave the court, by circulating several spirited pieces against popery. When the army was encamped on Hounslow Heath, in 1686, he drew up "An humble address to all the protestants in the present army," &c.; in which he vehemently exhorted the troops to use their arms in defence, not of Romanism, but of the Bible, Magna Charta, and the Petition of Right. Through Hugh Speke, his fellow prisoner, more than 1000 copies had been dispersed among the soldiery, when the rest were seized, and Johnson again put upon his trial. His sentence was to stand thrice in the pillory, to pay a fine of 500 marks, and to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn, after he had been degraded from the priesthood.]

[t] [Compton, bishop of London, on whom the function of degrading Johnson should have devolved, being himself under suspension for refusing to suspend Dr. Sharp for preaching against popery in his own parish church of St. Giles', the commissioners charged with the administration of the diocese, Crewe, bishop of Durham, Sprat of Rochester, and White of Peterborough, performed the ceremony of degradation in the chapter house of St. Paul's. Stillingfleet, the dean, as well as Tenison, refused to attend, but Sherlock, among others, was present. An omission, perhaps not accidentally made, of the form of stripping him of his cassock, enabled him afterwards to retain his living. The flogging was executed without mercy, on the 1st of December, and endured with the firmness of a martyr. After the revolution, the judgment was declared illegal, June 11, 1689, and the deanery of Durham offered him in compensation, which he refused as inadequate. Interest was made for him by lady Russell and Tillotson for a bishopric, but in vain. King William at length granted him a pension of 300*l.* a year, with a gratuity of 1000*l.* Johnson's violent temper continued to vent itself in political effusions, and his bitterness caused an attack to be made upon his life on the 27th of November, 1692. His death occurred in May, 1703. His collected treatises were published in a folio volume in 1710, with a memoir prefixed, reprinted three years later.—London Gazette, Nov. 20, 1686; Biogr. Brit.; Chalmers; Birch, p. 199; Macaulay, ii. 104.]

had no good opinion of Mr. Johnson, and abhorred his practice of libelling. But I knew not what I was to do in their court, nor by what authority I could act, being not in the commission as he was. He told me the assistants were only to set their hands to his degradation, which I said was a thing I had no time to consider whether I could lawfully do, being none of the chapter of St. Paul's, who I took to be the proper assistants to the bishop. He promised to make the best excuse he could for my non-appearance, and so did the bishop of Peterborough for Dr. Tenison; who was more confirmed in his resolution not to appear, when he understood we must set our hands to his degradation, whereby he would be deprived of his freehold and benefice he had in Essex. Mr. Williams also, now bishop of Chichester[u], came to consult with us, and went out of town to avoid it. When they met, the names of the twelve assistants were called over, and only nine were present. The bishop of Durham moved we three who were absent should be sent for, it being proved we were summoned. To which the other two bishops very kindly and prudently replied, that there was no need of it, for they had a large majority present, who were sufficient to do the business, and so that motion was stifled. We never heard more of it.

A little after I was desired to visit one Mrs. Lewis, in my parish, who was very ill in body, and also troubled by her husband to change her religion. He was the most violent papist I ever met withal, who would not stir his hat to me when I came into the house, nor speak a civil word to me, but treated me like a dog. I desired him in a mild way not to trouble his wife now she was sick; but he told me in such a currish manner as I am not able to express, that he would trouble her, and never let her alone, for he must labour to save her soul, and if it perished, her damnation must be at my door. After much scolding he left me to pray with her, and she desired to

[u] [John Williams, a native of Northamptonshire, became commoner of Magdalene Hall, Oxford, in Lent term, 1657, at the age of 17, graduated B. A., Dec. 14, 1655, and M. A., June 11, 1658, entered holy orders, and became a chaplain in the navy, was made prebendary of St. Paul's, Sept. 21, 1683, and D. D. at the king's visit to Cambridge, Oct. 6, 1689, consecrated to the bishopric of Chichester Dec. 13, 1696, and died April 24, 1709.—Le Neve. Wood, Athen. Oxon. iv. 769.]

receive the communion the next morning, when he would not be at home to disturb us. But as soon as I came in, he was at my heels, and a little more civil; for he put off his hat to me, being not so outrageous as the day before. So that though still very violent, he left us at last, and suffered me to do my duty. I mention this to show what danger we then escaped, for such furious men, if they had prevailed, would have pulled us in pieces. Of which I was the more sensible when, about a fortnight after, Dr. Tenison came to my house and told me how a Romish priest said in a private house that they would take some course with him and me, if they met with us in the night, or could get us out under pretence of visiting some sick person, or some such means[x].

There was something worth remembering which slipped out of my mind when I related the conference Dr. Jane and I had before the king with Dr. Giffard and Godden. Unto which we were not persuaded to go, till no reasons we could give would be admitted to excuse us from the undertaking. For we represented to the lord treasurer that this would not be the best way for his satisfaction upon many accounts. Because, first of all, we might not be able in speaking to mention all that was pertinent or necessary, were our abilities never so great. And, secondly, that it would be very hard to carry away every thing in his memory, which ought to be pondered afterward. Many things might not be observed, and others slip out of his mind. And, thirdly, such verbal conferences were apt to be mistaken, and misreported. We added, that we could not do this without acquainting our superiors with it; for it was not fit the cause of religion should be entrusted to our management, if they could think of any fitter or abler persons.

To all which he replied, it was his majesty's desire, not his, to proceed this way: and he must in decency as well as duty follow his method. He had also named us two unto his majesty, whom he approved, but rejected others for whom he had a great respect. We then alleged the sixty-fifth canon of

[x] [In the month of June, 1684, an attempt had been made to inveigle Tenison into an obscure house, on the pretence of his receiving some information respecting the murder of sir Edmundbury Godfrey; but by the precautions which he took, the snare laid for him was defeated.]

1603[y], and the third canon of 1640; which made his lordship a little angry, and say, we refused then to assist him, and the king would ill interpret it. So we yielded, presuming upon the leave of our superiors; though in prudence we told him it was not fit for private persons to undertake such a thing, without direction from those above us. He told us his majesty pressed him to it with so much earnestness, that he could not deny it; and prayed us not to think that he would be determined by extemporary talk, and to believe that he was not dissatisfied in the least in our religion. But his majesty had argued with him about the infallibility of the church, from the common places of scripture, unto which he had opposed those two, *Where two or three are gathered together in my name, &c.;* and, *If any man love me, I will come unto him, and make my abode with him.* Which he told his majesty might as well be urged for the infallibility of private persons. So his majesty told him he would send a priest to discourse with him, which he did; and he gave him a paper, which Dr. Jane answered, and upon that was to be our conference, which I have related, and here set down some preliminaries to it, which I have since recollected.

It is not long ago since I read over the History of the late earl of Clarendon, which his son, the earl of Rochester, did me the honour to bestow upon me in the three fair volumes[z]. In which I could not but observe that there is not one word said concerning the book called Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, which goes under the name of king Charles the First, and did him great honour. The reason of which, I believe, was because he knew the king did not write it. For I have seen a letter of Dr.

[y] [The bishop probably intended to refer to the sixty-sixth canon, which enjoins every minister, being a preacher, to confer with popish recusants in his parish, provided he be thought fit and authorized by the bishop. The third canon of 1640 further enacts that such conferences shall be performed by the bishop of the diocese in person, or else by some one or more learned ministers at his special appointment, the bishop assigning the time and place: any neglect of these provisions by such ministers, without reasonable cause, being visited with suspension for six months.—See Wilkins, iv. 391, 546; Sparrow's Collection, pp. 299, 350; Cardwell's Synodalia, i. 284, 393.]

[z] [The first edition of Clarendon's History of the Rebellion was published in three handsome folio vols. at Oxford in the years 1702–1704.]

Gauden's, with whose relations I was well acquainted, representing to the lord Clarendon how well he had deserved of the crown in writing that book[a], and begging his favour in recommending him to the king for the bishopric of Winchester, then void[b].

And I must be so just as to say that his lady, (with whom I was well acquainted,) after his death, told me often that he was the author of that book[c]; which was to have been entitled *Singultus Regii*, till the king's death was resolved on, and

[a] [It must be regretted that Dr. Wordsworth, at the time of composing his elaborate and closely reasoned treatise, "Who wrote Εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ ?" was only acquainted (p. 114.) with Patrick's important evidence through the loose statements of Whiston, to whom archdeacon Knight had lent the MS. of Patrick's Autobiography. The personal opinion of the writer in favour of Gauden's title to the authorship is insignificant, in comparison with the grounds on which it was founded. In addition to Gauden's categorical and explicit assertion, and the direct testimony of his wife, evidence is here adduced of the existence of autograph letters from king Charles the First himself in corroboration of the same claim. Strong as the tissue of circumstantial evidence on the opposite side undeniably is, and ably as it has been drawn out by Dr. Wordsworth, that ardent advocate would yet hardly have ventured to heighten his charge against the unhappy prelate from that of mendacity, (so foul and so unmitigated as to involve the hypothesis of mental aberration) into that of absolute forgery; complicated too with the graver crime of high treason, in counterfeiting his sovereign's signature.]

[b] [These letters, six in number, will be found printed at length in the Clarendon State Papers, vol. iii. Supplement, p. xxvi–xxxii, and reprinted in a Supplement by Dr. Wordsworth.]

[c] [Gauden's assertion was put forward in the most explicit terms in his third letter to lord Clarendon:

"Nor doe I doubt but I shall by your lordship's favour find the fruits as to something extraordinary, since the service was soe, not as to what was known to the world under my name, in order to vindicate the crown and the church, but what goes under the late blessed king's name, the Εἰκὼν, or portraiture of hys majesty in his solitudes and sufferings. This book and figure was wholy and only my invention, making and designe, in order to vindicate the king's wisdome, honor and piety. My wife indeed was conscious to it, and had an hand in disguising the letter of that copy which I sent to the king in the Isle of Wight, by the favour of the late marquise of Hartford, which was delivered to the king by the now bishop of Winchester. Hys majesty graciously accepted, owned and adopted it as hys sense and genius; not only with great approbation, but admiration: hee kept it with hym, and though hys cruel murderers went on to perfect hys martyrdome, yet God preserved and prospered this book to revive hys honor, and redeeme hys majesty's name from that grave of contempt and abhorrence, or infamy, in which they aymed to bury him."]

then he changed the title[d]. This indeed she told me as a great secret, which I never told to anybody, desiring it should be reputed the king's book, because he read the sheets as they were composed, and sometimes corrected and heightened them. As appears further from what Dr. Gauden's eldest son told Mr. Bartholomew Soane of Thurlow[e], from whom I had it, that his father, when he died, gave him two letters, and bid him keep them as a precious treasure, which would be of great advantage to him. They were from king Charles the First, wherein he acknowledges the great service he had done him in writing this book; promising him that if he came to his throne, he would reward him for it. These letters the young gentleman showed to king Charles the Second, to do something for him after his father's death[f]. Upon the sight of them, the king said he knew the hand very well, that it was his father's, and promised to prefer him. Which he either forgot, or wanted power so soon as the young man expected, which provoked him to say he would publish the letters[g]; but died soon after. How-

[d] [This statement is not in strict accordance with Mrs. Gauden's narrative, preserved by Toland in his Amyntor, p. 115, in which she declares that the title originally given to the book by her husband was *Suspiria Regalia*, but that of *Εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ* subsequently adopted while the work was in the press and on the eve of publication. The latter change is said to have been adopted by desire of the king, on the suggestion of Jeremy Taylor.]

[e] [The family of Soane was distantly connected with that of Patrick, through the marriage of Stephen, father of Bartholomew Soane, with Mary, widow of Lewis Banastre, esq., first cousin to bishop Patrick's wife. Compare p. 463 above.]

[f] [To these decisive letters Mrs. Gauden doubtless alluded when she declared, "I can produce some letters, which, I am sure, will put it out of all dispute."—Truth brought to light, p. 37. Wordsworth, p. 50. Could they be found, and their genuineness be conclusively established, their evidence would, without question, enable the exact limits of authorship between the king and the bishop to be accurately defined, which is clearly the real problem at issue. To neither is the exclusive composition to be assigned. The work, projected and mainly elaborated by Gauden, was subjected to revision and modification by the king. The editor has prosecuted an earnest search among the documents preserved in the State Paper Office, in the hope of terminating this vexed literary question by their discovery, but without success. They appear to have been returned by the king to Gauden's son Charles, who died in 1679, and are probably long since lost.]

[g] [Bishop Kennet has stated that these papers, "amongst others left by Mr. Gauden, came into the hands of Dr. Simon Patrick, late bishop of Ely."—Reg. p. 642. It does not appear what authority he had for this assertion; which is sufficiently disproved by the bishop's silence in the present passage. It was probably but an incorrect version of the particulars here recorded by Patrick himself.]

ever, the king took care to publish them, for he told the earl of Anglesea, among others, that the book was not his father's: as appeared by a paper under his own hand, which he put before the book; which being sold at an auction of the earl's library, Mr. Millington read the paper in these words; "The king and the duke told me, (such a day and year,) that this book was not written by their father[g]." This paper was snatched up and brought to Whitehall, which I saw at the chaplain's table when I was in waiting[h].

I have said nothing of the popish plot, and the killing sir Edmund Berry Godfrey[i], wanting that book wherein I had noted something of it. I have, since writing the foregoing narrative, recollected what a joy there was on the 28th of December, 1679, for a further and clearer discovery of the plot, insomuch that his majesty said he believed it. But on the 30th we were as much surprised to hear that his majesty had prorogued the parliament till February; which cast a damp on all men's spirits. And I remember that dining at that time with the bishop of Salisbury, (Dr. Ward,) I asked him what was the meaning of the proroguing. "Why, the plot," said he, "was breaking out like Etna, and flaming about their ears

[g] [This important memorandum was first published by Dr. Walker in his "True account of the author of Εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ," and subsequently in Wagstaffe's Vindication, p. 14; Young's Several Evidences, &c. p. 22; Biogr. Brit. 'Annesley,' note L; and by Dr. Wordsworth, p. 45.

"Memorandum.

"King Charles the Second, and the duke of York, did both (in the last session of parliament, 1675) when I showed them, in the lords' house, the written copy of this book, wherein were some corrections and alterations written with the late king Charles the First's own hand, assure me, that this was none of the said king's compiling, but made by Dr. Gauden, bishop of Exeter: which I here insert, for the undeceiving others in this point, by attesting so much under my hand.

"Anglesey."]

[h] [The circumstance that this paper was brought to Whitehall, and publicly circulated there, without any suspicion of its genuineness being raised at the time, or appearing to Patrick worthy of record, cannot but be viewed as a considerable counterweight to the reasoning, however plausible or ingenious, by which certain writers have sought to brand it as a forgery.]

[i] [The mystery attending the death of sir Edmundbury Godfrey, whose body was found in a field near Hampstead on the 17th of October, 1678, after he had been missing four days, has never been satisfactorily cleared up. For the circumstances attending it, and the memorable consequences which it excited, the reader is referred to L'Estrange's History of the Times, part 3, 8vo, 1678; Tuke's Memoirs, 65; Granger, iii. 400; Echard, iii. 467; Kennet, iii. 351; Ralph, i. 387; Macaulay, i. 234.]

that they durst not look further into it." And on the 25th of January the parliament was dissolved [k].

[k] [Here the bishop's narrative abruptly terminates. Notwithstanding his increasing infirmities he was enabled to hold his triennial visitation of his diocese in the summer of the ensuing year. Archdeacon Knight adds that he continued regularly the diary which he had kept in shorthand for upwards of fifty years, now unhappily lost, and inserted an entry on the very morning of the day on which he expired, May 31st, 1707: from which it may be inferred that his end was rather sudden. But no details of his decease have been transmitted.

His remains were interred on the north side of the presbytery of his cathedral, where his monument (engraved in Bentham's History of Ely, p. 207,) exhibits the following inscription, from the pen of his successor, bishop Moore.

M. S.
REVERENDI ADMODUM IN CHRISTO PATRIS
SIMONIS PATRICK
PER BIENNIUM CICESTRENSIS
DEINDE PER XVI ANNOS ELIENSIS EPISCOPI;
AD HOS AMPLISSIMOS DIGNITATIS GRADUS,
PROPTER EXIMIA ERGA ECCLESIAM AC REMPUBLICAM MERITA
AB OPTIMIS PRINCIPIBUS GULIELMO ET MARIA, EVECTI:
CUJUS PIETATEM INSIGNEM, MORES SANCTISSIMOS,
INGENIUM ELEGANS, ACRE, COPIOSUM,
PRÆCLARAM IN OMNI LITERARUM GENERE SCIENTIAM,
ABUNDE TESTANTUR DICTA, FACTA, SCRIPTA IPSIUS OMNIA,
PRÆSERTIM ERUDITISSIMI ET LUCULENTISSIMI IN S. S. SCRIPTURAM
COMMENTARII
QUOVIS ELOGIO MAJORES, QUOVIS MARMORE DIUTURNIORES.
VIR, SI QUIS ALIUS, CANDORE ET CHARITATE VERE CHRISTIANA,
CONSTANTIA ANIMI INVICTA,
ÆQUITATE NULLO PARTIUM STUDIO INCLINATA.
IN OPTIMIS ARTIBUS COLENDIS, PROMOVENDISQUE,
IN NEGOTIIS MAXIMI MOMENTI GERENDIS,
IN UNIVERSIS VIGILANTISSIMI EPISCOPI MUNERIBUS EXPLENDIS,
AD EXTREMUM USQUE SPIRITUM PERPETUUS ET INDEFESSUS;
CUMULATIS JAM VITÆ OMNIBUS OFFICIIS
PIENTISSIMUS SENEX PLACIDE ANIMAM DEO REDDIDIT XXXI MAII,
A. D. MDCCVII. ANNO ÆTAT. LXXXI.]

[The additional particulars relating to Patrick's family history, which should have been given (as stated above, p. 407,) in the Appendix, have been transferred to the Editor's Preface.]

APPENDIX.

LETTER I.

To Mrs. Gauden[a], *at Hutton Hall, near Burntwood, Essex.*

Covent Garden,
Wednesday Morning, Aug. 9. [1665.]

My dear friend,

I was loath to tell you in my last, (which I writ on Monday,) how solicitous I was for you, least it should affect you too much, and make your owne fears grow greater than they were;

[a] [This lady was Elizabeth, wife of Dennis Gauden, head commissioner of the victualling department of the navy, cloth-worker and sheriff of the city of London in the year 1667, in which year he was knighted. He resided in a large mansion at Clapham, which he had built as a palace for the bishops of Winchester, at the time when his brother, Dr. John Gauden, had expectations of being translated from Exeter to that see. He was an intimate friend of Pepys, whose favour in passing his accounts he was in the habit of propitiating by handsome presents, in one year to the value of 500*l.* Pepys mentions that he was involved in a serious quarrel with admiral Sir J. Lawson, in 1663, by his scrupulous solicitude to enforce the strict observance of Lenten diet in the Algiers squadron, for victualling which he had taken an unprofitable contract.—ii. 258.

Sir Dennis was ultimately ruined, and his villa purchased by William Hewer, the friend and assistant of Pepys, whose death took place there, while on a visit to Hewer, on the 26th of May, 1703. Gauden died in the year 1688, and was buried at Clapham, July 1.

The minute diarist records frequent visits to the family, and speaks of Mrs. Gauden as a "good," i. e. religious woman. At the time of the opening of her correspondence with Patrick, she was residing with her sister-in-law, the bishop's widow, at Hutton Hall, near Burntwood, Essex, through fear of the plague.

The originals of these letters, sixty-eight in all, were lent by archdeacon Knight to William Cole, on the 19th of September, 1779, who transcribed some of them entire, and dismissed the rest with a brief summary of their contents. (Additional MSS., 5810, in Brit. Mus.) The former are here printed at length, others as abridged by Cole; his bare abstract of the rest not possessing sufficient claim to be inserted. The originals cannot be traced from Cole's possession.]

but though I perceive it was not without cause that I had those cares for you, (which were the fruit of my thoughts about you the day before, when it seems you were in labour,) yet now I am at the greater ease to heare how graciously God hath dealt with mee. It makes my heart a great deal lighter, I assure you, than it was before, and will serve mee for an antidote in this dangerous season: for you know, Solomon saith; *A merry heart doth good like a medicine.* I believe it will give me much joy every day to reflect upon your preservation, and to hope for your perfect recovery; which I beseech him to vouchsafe, who hath begun to deale so mercifully with you. I know not how it will please him to deale with mee, but he who hath in part delivered you from what you feared of yourself may do the same. In relation to your friends, there is some danger, no doubt, in this place, and it increases a little, but I am not in any feare, which will make the danger lesse. There dyed, as you will see by to-morrow in the bills, 20 in this parish, whereof 16 of the plague: this I know will debarre mee of the liberty of seeing you, and i submitt to that restraint, for though you will be inclined, I believe, to give mee that freedome, yet it will not be either civil or kind to accept of your grant till wee bee in a better condition of health. If you think there is any danger from these papers which you receive, the fire, I suppose, will expell it, if you let them see it before they come to your hands. You see how cautious I am growne, which you will impute to the love I beare my friends, whose very fancies I am loath in the least to disturb, though it were to do myself the greatest pleasure. I beseech you, therefore, do not hinder your recovery by any feares or sad thoughts concerning mee. If I could persuade you to it, I would seriously endeavour to make you look upon mee as one that is not so much worth as you may imagine, and of no great concerne to the worlde: but since that will be a work too laborious, and, its like, impossible, I pray remove your trouble about mee by other thoughts; which are, that I am in the hands of the same God who lately delivered you. He is the Lord of the world; and I lookt upon him this morning as having a vast dominion, and several countries under his government, from one of which unto another he thinks good sometimes to remove his subjects, but alwayes for the enriching of themselves, though they may think it may

be to their losse. I professing myself therefore one of them, and devoting myself to his service, hope well that if I make a remove, (for I look upon death as no more,) I shall be placed in some other part of his kingdom, so commodiously, that it will be much to my advantage. I can say no more now, it being a prayer day at church, and I having necessary buisinesse that will hinder mee from writing in the afternoone, but that I am your affect: fr. S. P.

For Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall, Essex.

LETTER II.

[This letter has lost its superscription, but is in Dr. Patrick's own hand, dated Aug. 16, 1665, telling her to keep up her spirits...that he is well, and the plague abated in his parish, but increased in many others; ... rejoices that she has another son; ...that he has not been at Battersea since he saw her, tho his brother continually solicits me,...but that he will not endanger that place. My love to Mrs. Pheasant: ... that he apprehends that friendship will inconvenience him, and make him believe in dreams that he lately dreamt of her.—Cole.]

LETTER III.

My friend, Sat. Sept. 2. 1665.

I know you longe to heare again how I do, and therefore, though I wrote on Tuesday, yet I cannot but spend a little of my time to give you satisfaction, notwithstanding the other buisinesse that is upon mee. I think myself now, by the goodnesse of God, to be as well as when you left mee, though the last weeke I was more than ordinarily feeble, which was a thing common to me with others. The air was much distempered for 2 or 3 days, the effects of which you see in the vast increase of sicknesse. Now the weather seemes more favourable, but yet is very uncertain: and truly, if this parish may be the measure of others, wee are like to see a greater mortality; for here are 20, I believe, dead, since the last bill, in 3 dayes time. How God will deal with us, it is not in our power to know; but it will be well with them that love him, either here or in another world.

I have had many thoughts of immortality, and should be at a great losse were it not for the benefit of Christian religion, which, though it gives us no distinct explication of the future state, yet assures us of it, and perhaps intended no more but to make us certaine that all that is true which the world did but conjecture at before. I am very willing to incline to that opinion, that the great intent of our Lord's comeing was to assure as much as could be of immortal life; which was all that he thought needful to be done, the discourses of pious men concerning that estate being true inough. And when I think thus, then I can contain myself very pleasantly with the thoughts of the happy company and the excellent discourses wherein we shall spend our time in the other world. But still you will say that this is but opinion, and he hath not told us that all those thoughts of ours concerning that world may be relied upon. And truly so it is, but is the best we have to comfort ourselves withall: yet this may be added withall, that the holy Scriptures justify these concepts of ours, when they tell us of being with the Lord, and going to the *spirits of just men made perfect*. Perhaps we may live to understand these clearer; if not, the will of the Lord be done, to which I still find it most agreeable to my temper to refer myself; and truly I find a great deal of peace in so doing, haveing nothing to trouble mee now that I have concocted the grief which I had for my father's death. I say "nothing" because though my man be some burden to mee, (which it will be too long to tell you now,) yet it is so sleight in compare with what others suffer, that I can easily endure it. This I learn from it, that the more wee have the more we have to loose, or to be a disturbance to us; and as we encrease our families, so we draw clogs and cares upon us; which I lay in the ballance against the pleasure which meethinks would attend so good a companion as an agreeable wife, which if one had now, it would ease the melancholy of being so much alone, and yet breed another, by haveing a double instead of a single one. You will wonder how this comes into my head, and so do I too, for I thought of no such thing when I set pen to paper: only sometimes I thought it would be very comfortable to have one now to talk to when I am weary, and in these long evenings; and it seems that image started up in my mind againe, because I begin againe to be a little weary.

What is the matter that you make so long an apology in your last about my not coming? You see that it would have beene no wayes fit: but sure my lr. did not express the least resolution against it, but a perfect indifference after you had weighed all things: for I put all into your will, and in your resolution I am satisfied; for I told you it is grievous to mee to disquiet any bodies fancy, or to converse with them on terms that are not equally pleasing on both sides. It is enough that I am well, and to heare that you are so. I should do ill to complaine now that God's providence is so kind to mee in a common danger: and there is a good use also to be made of these restraints, which may serve to weane our hearts from all worldly things, and make us able to live on something else. We heare no newes, nor is any thing talked of but the sicknesse. I am sorry Mr. Gauden should be forced from you in this time of your trouble, for you are in some distresse as well as wee. I pray God preserve you and bring you and all your relations together againe. I should count it some comforte to be so neare them as you are, though some perhaps may think the danger greater; he hath showne great mercye already in your deliverance, and your cosin's, (for many die in childbed,) and I hope he will still deliver and restore you to one and the other againe. Since I writ this, my next neighbour sends me a letter which came from his daughter at Yorke. It saith many prisoners are brought in thither, who are in a plot that is newly discovered, and the duke very busy in finding out the whole designe. Mrs. St. John writes worde out of Ireland, that there is a riseign there, in the county of Caverne; where that is I cannot tell[b]: this is the reason I suppose of all the talk that hath beene here and in other parts, as I heare by letters. I must make an end, and conclude with my hearty love to Mr. Gauden and your sister, praying you also to remember mee to the rest, and particularly to the Dr. when you write to him. I hope God will spare you, in which I shall much rejoice.

Yrs. affectionately, S. P.

For my honoured friend, Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall.
Leave this at the White Hart in Burntwood, Essex.

[b] [The county of Cavan.—Compare Carte's Life of Ormonde, ii. 327.]

LETTER IV.

My very deare friend, Sat. Sept. 19. [1665.]

I am exceeding glad to heare that you not only live, but grow a little more lively by the recovery of your spirits; but if they run any other way then you would have them, I shall be sorry. Your unworthy friend, you see, is still in this world, by the great mercy of God to him. How long he shall continue none knows; but pray desier, that if he do survive this great mortality, it may be to advance some excellent end, and to do more good to his friends and all others than he hath done. My mind, I thank God, is very well satisfyed; and, I may say to you, not afraid of dying hitherto. I cannot tell what it will be when it comes nearer; but I hope in our Lord, to whom I have comitted myself, that he will stand by me and refresh me. I can reflect on nothing so sadly as to be so separate from my friends, and not so much as bid them farewell if I dye; but when it is thoroughly weighed, it is not a matter so horrid as our fancy represents it. I hope I shall find it so, if I be cast into that condition; but how it is I cannot then tell you, unlesse I could returne out of the other world. I had a great pain in one of my legs the other night, which broke my sleep very much; if it had beene in another place it would have beene thought dangerous, but by a poultice or two it is now gone. I would not tell you of it in my last, because it was but then begining, and you might imagine me worse than I was. I find myself, with the alteration of the weather, to be a little dull to-day; but perhaps it may be imputed to my study for to-morrow. It was a lovely season yesterday, and wee hoped for some sweete cleare weather; but it pleases God the wind is changed againe, and brings abundance of raine with it: and indeed we have had no settled weather since I saw you, which hath made the sicknesse, I believe, rage more; for south winds are alwayes observed to be bad in such times, and the wind stays not long out of that quarter. It decreases in some places, and grows very much in others. I hope there will not so many dye here as did last week, and yet wee have 21 or 22 dead already. I suppose you think I intend to stay here still, though I understand by your question you would not have mee; but, my

friend, what am I better than another? Somebody must be here, and is it fit I should set such a value upon myself, as my going away and leaving another will signify? For it will, in effect, be to say, that I am too good to be lost, but it is no matter if another bee. Truly I do not think myself so considerable to the world; and though my friends sat a great price upon me, yet that temptation hath not yet made me of their mind, and I know their love makes mee passe for more with them than I am worth. When I mention that word *love*, I confesse it moves mee much, and I have a great passion for them, and wish I might live to embrace them once againe; but I must not take any undue courses to satisfye this passion, which is but too strong in mee. I must let reason prevaile, and stay with my charge, which I take hitherto to be my duty, whatever come. I cannot tell what good wee do their soules, though I preach to those who are well, and write to those who are ill; I meane, print little papers for them, which yet are too big to send you by the post; but I am sure, while I stay here, I shall do good to their bodies, or perhaps save some from perishing, which I look upon as a considerable end of my continuing. My deare friend, do not take it ill that I cannot comply with your desires in this thing; you see what sways mee, and I know you will yield to it, and say it ought to be stronger than the love of you. If you can convince mee that I may with a good conscience go, you may think it will be acceptable; but I know not upon what grounds you will make it good. Try, if you have a mind; but if I should go, why would you have mee to be at Clapham, when my brother is so neare, and you are not there? I should not have asked that question, but it was out, as yours was, before I minded. I know it is your love; and perhaps you also meane that I should be there on week dayes, and preach here on Lords dayes; but that will be dangerous, perhaps both to them and to mee, at least to them, and I have not hitherto layne out one night since you left Clapham. You would not expect, I am sure, such a long lr. on Saturday, nor did I intend to say much more than that I was well; but there is something that makes my pen run, which none can tell so well as yourself. May I not buy a paire of stockins of a friend, whom I can be confident is not infected, and which have layne long in his shop? I want no-

thing else at present; and how should it be more dangerous than to receive beer and wine, the vessells being capable of infection? But especially bread, they say, is the most attractive of it, which I am forced to buy; for I know not how otherwayes to have it. I saw last Tuesday about 30 people in the Strand, with white sticks in their hands, and the dr. of the pest house walking in his gowne before them; the first woman rid on an horse, and had a paper flag on the top of her stick with *Laus Deo* written in it. They were going to the justices, being poor people sent thither and recovered by him of the plague. He seemed to take no small content in his stately march before them; but now I have told tales of myself, and confessed that I go sometimes abroad. Indeed, it cannot be well helpt, and I hope there is no great danger. I would not grow bold and confident by being safe so long, nor would I grow timorous, as such care as you require I doubt will make mee. I saw a letter from Salisbury of the 6 instant, which saith now the plague is broke out there, and his majesty will be gone suddenly; he hath not been well of late, and imagines that aire doth not agree with him. This is true, for it comes from one of my parish there who is well acquainted att the court. Now I must make an end, and only add my hearty love to all, with you and your friends, praying for your preservation, and remaining yrs. most affectionately, S. P.

I forgot to tell you that instead of the plague drink you writ of, they have sent me plague water, or some such thing; for it is distilled, and nothing like what I had before; but never trouble them to send mee any. Dr. Michael Thwayte[a] directed to make and drink presently of London treacle and lady Allen's water. I bought both presently, but forgat still to mix them: only now and then I take a little treacle.

To Mrs. Eliz. Gauden, of Clapham in Surrey, 1665.

[a] [John Micklethwait, a native of Yorkshire, studied medicine and graduated M. D. in the university of Padua in 1638. He was incorporated at Oxford in the same degree, April 14, 1648, became fellow of the college of physicians, elect in 1659, and treasurer, president 1676–81, and physician in ordinary to king Charles II., from whom he received the honour of knighthood. He died July 29, 1683, aged 70 years, and was buried at St. Botolph's church.—Wood, Fast. Oxon. ii. 110. Goodall, Preface to Proceedings against empirics, &c.]

LETTER V.

Sept. 21, 1665.

My deare friend,

I must tell you, for you will heare it from other hands, that the plague is again increased, as I suspected it would, according as you would understand by my last. Our only comfort is that we are in the hands of God, and not in the hands of men; for his mercies are very great. I am very joyfull to heare at last that you bend your thoughts to resign me up to God: I hope it will make your life more happy, whether I die or live. You do not trouble mee by your instances to leave this place, because I think most of your love, which is conspicuous therein; and I should have reflected as much, without those intreaties of yours, upon the desireablenesse of seeing my friends once more, who, I think I may truly say, have faster hold of mee than any thing in this world. But if God will pull me from them, his will be done. I ought to esteem him my best friend, who doth not envy to mee any other, and will spare my life, unlesse it be better for mee to dye. To him I still referre myselfe, which I call trusting in God, (as you would have seene, if it had beene fit, before this time; but I doubt you will be afraid to receive papers printed in London.) But it is not to accomplish a martyrdome, as you call it, (that's too high a name,) but to do a little service to my neighbors, who I think would not be so well if I was not here. I hope also that some or other will bee assistant to me, if I be sick: for the truth is, you ask me a question which puts me in mind of that I never deliberated about, and that is, concerning a nurse at such a time. I have thought of none, for I must deale sincerely with you, and only hope that some or other that wish well to mee will provide a good one for mee, when I shall be in need. I intend to be wary about my house, but stay here I cannot, without hazard of my health, the rooms being so cold, and my landlord gone, and beside so covetous that I could never get him to make necessary repairs. I intend to content myself with hanging one room, where I lye, and let the rest alone, till I can meet with a faire opportunity, that will be safe also, to furnish myself. I consider indeed its an unfit time to trim houses when we are like to quit those tabernacles wherein wee are; but necessity

hath no rules of that nature, wherein it can be confined. I am sorry to heare some of your family are so ill. I pray for an amendment, and that God would give you, my friend, contentednesse in all conditions, and strengthen you with might in the inner man, to doe and beare what he requires. A proclamation came out this weeke for the proroguing the meeting of the parliament from the 3 of Octob. to the 9, and then they are to assemble at Oxford; and strictly required so to do, and proceed to those weighty and urgent affaires which are there to be handled: so the words are. I pray accept of this script, which I cannot enlarge, having a lr. to write to my mother, and other businesse haveing employed mee already, till it is night. I need not bid you remember your very affectionate friend SY. PATRICK.

For Mrs. Gauden, att Hutton hall, &c.

LETTER VI.

Sept. 23, 1665.

My friend,

You see already that I am still alive, and it seemes I cannot live but I must have a little love for you. At least I see you will believe it, and also, if I had a mind to let it dye, you would take care by your kindnesse to keep it alive. Nay, you will needs have me live too: you will hold mee here, if it bee possible, and hope to keep me alive by makeing mee desire it; a strong antidote! In what dispensatory did you find it? Its a medicine of your owne makeing, and might do much if I could think myself so worthy to live as you fancy. Howsoever, by the goodnesse of God, (who I thinke heares my friends' prayers,) I am not only yet alive, but in very good health. I am almost astonisht att it, when I seriously look on myself, to find my body in such good plight. I do not think you ever saw me in better condition: my brother is of that mind, that I grow fatt. Do not smile; but believe mee, I am so well, that if you find mee so when God shall restore us to the happinesse of seeing one another, you will thinke it half a miracle. In stead of a skeleton, which I believe you fancy, you will meet with good flesh; and when you would have been content to receive a friend half dead, you will wonder to find me so lively. But I check my

pen. God knows what an alteration a day or a night may make. I tell it you only that you may be so farre from being troubled about mee, that you may rejoice with mee. I know sadnesse is naught for you, and wish I might not occasion one thought of that nature; which that you may not, I tell you how well God hath dealt with mee, and you may tell mee of it hereafter, if I live and should forget it. For indeed such singular benefits require an extraordinary gratitude, and a very great affection to the service of God in the world: and therefore if I survive this calamity, it concerns mee to make a good use of my time, and to employ the remainder of my life better than the former part. I call to mind many neglects, for which indeed I can find many excuses, and perhaps I could not help them; but I must try more seriously, and not say so till I be better assured by more diligence. I am sorry you speake so faintly of your owne condition, and tell mee only that you are pretty well in health. I pray study to be better, and I wish your mind and body may both recover together. I forgot that I told you of any acquaintance of mine dead: but if I did I suppose I meant a cosin of mine, that was an apprentice in Lumbard street, to a goldsmith. Other there is none, that I had any great acquaintance withall: Mr. Raworth[b] of Shoreditch was once, but wee had almost forgot one another in these late times of trouble. I suppose that you heard that he died yesterday was sennight. You may command what you please for your little one, but surely you will not challenge that you speake of, for then some should have at least represented mee, and when he comes to be older he will never owne that relation, though I should, there being two others to whom he is engaged. It's Saturday, and so you will not expect a very long lr. from mee. Remember me to Mr. Gauden, Mrs. Phesaunt, &c., and forget not your affectionate friend S. P.

For Mrs. Gauden these, at Hutton hall, to be left at the White Hart, in Burntwood, Essex. 2*d.* pd.

[b] [Francis Raworth was vicar of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch. On his death Dr. Ambrose Atfield was instituted to the living, Mar. 5, 166¾. —Newcourt, i. 688.]

LETTER VII.

[A lr. consolatory on the recovery of her little boy; about his health, and tears and gratitude for it.—Cole.]

Covent Garden, Sept. 28. [1665.]

My friend,

We have, I am sure, much cause of joy, if we could be sensible of it; for the sicknesse is abated very much, there dying 1837 lesse this week than the last. If it were not that I have so much to thank God for, both in this regard and many else, I should be melancholy sometimes to think how much alone I am. Its well I do not look much to the future; for if I did, I should be miserable without a great hope in God, not haveing any that I can think of who would be helpfull to mee if I should be sick of this distemper. I am sorry sometimes I cannot satisfye your desires, in makeing sure of one to attend mee: but I pray, my friend, live by the same faith that I do, that God will direct my friends to provide some for mee in such a condition; for it is more troublesome to go about it now then it is to think of what will be then. My brother, I know, will do his endeavours &c. I remaine your affect. fr. S. P.

For Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall, &c.

LETTER VIII.

Sat. Night, Sept. 30, 1665.

My Friend,

I recd. one from you last night, and I hope before this time you have mine, which let you know that I was soon satisfied in my desires of knowing how you do, by the receit of one from you, not long after I had writt a former letter. I pray do not straiten yourself in any of your occasions to perform this office. I may well suppose you are in good health, in a place more remote from danger than this where I am. I cannot endure you should disorder your affairs at all, or put yourself to any trouble on my account; to avoid which it was indeed, as you guess, that I have not told you many things that have hapned here. I know the tenderness of your spirit, and the strength of your fancy; which two together may much disturb you if

you should be presented continually with frightful objects. I told you therefore long ago, if you remember, that you must not expect particulars from mee: which I did not purpose that I might consult your peace and compose, which I do sincerely wish and study; but since you do demand an account of one thing, and I shall speak of that which is past, I will satisfy you, and hope now you see mee preserved still when others are gone, you will be rather thankful than troubled about mee. You enquire what ministers are dead? for you heard of some, and would know the truth. There are more, to tell you plainly, than the number you name; Mr. Peachell, and Mr. Mandrill, who were lecturers, dyed a good while ago, one of them lecturer of St. Clement's, the other at Benet Fink. Since, there dyed one Mr. Austin, minister, I think, of St. Mary Stainings[a]; the minister of Alphage[b], whose name I think was Mr. Stone; one Mr. Bastwick, son to the famous doctor of that name, who was preacher at the Counter in the Poultrye; Mr. Welbank, one of the ministers of St. Saviour's, Southwark, Mr. Throckmorton, curate of St. George's, Southwark, and a gentleman who officiated for Mr. Hall in Basishaw. All these I can call to mind; and the mention of this last, whose name I think was Phillips, brings a sad story to my mind, which I will relate, because something depends upon it which I ought to remember. On Tuesday was fortnight, I was at Dr. Outram's; and Mr. Bastwick, whom I spoke of, came in, whom I never saw before, and the doctor not often; he came to make a visit, but the dr. had no acquaintance with him, only had met him at a friend's. He had all the news of the towne; and particularly told us of the death of that gentleman who supplied Mr. Hall's place. He was left in trust to pay him his money every Munday; and he told us how timorous he was, and careful, that he would scarce come into his house to receive it; and that he preached the Sunday sennight before, but was dead with his wife and all his children, which were 3, before Thursday night. The next time I met Dr.

[a] [Emanuel Austen, clerk, was instituted to the rectory of St. Mary Stayning, on the presentation of the crown, Nov. 6, 1662, and succeeded on his death by Israel Tongue, S.T.P., Oates' notorious accomplice in the popish plot, June 26, 1666.—Newcourt, i. 458.]

[b] [Timothy Long was instituted to the rectory of St. Alphage, May 7, 1663. On his death, Egid. Waren, or Warcing, was instituted, Mar. 17, 166¾.—Newcourt, i. 261.]

Outram, he told mee that this Mr. Bastwick went from us home, and fell sick that very night, and dyed a few days after, I think on Sunday. The dr. added that he did not like his looks then, and thought there was a great alteration in his countenance; but he said nothing to mee when he was gone, (which was about 5 o'clock,) though to his man he gave a charge, as he tells mee, that if he came againe he should not let him in, but say he could not be spoken withall. You see how much we are beholden to God in keeping us from the dangers to which we are exposed. Mr. Lance in Lombard Street also is dead lately, but not of the sicknesse; the minister of Kentish Town hath had it and is recovered. I think I have heard of another or two that were curates, but of no more ministers. The last weeke gave us great encouragement to hope for the restoration of better health: but I am something afraid this week will raise it again a little, for wee have 15 or 16 dead already, and had but 19 last weeke in all. It is fit perhaps that it should be so, least men impute all to the cold weather and nothing to God's goodnesse. The more incurable this disease is, and beyond the account of men, the more are they directed to acknowledge a supreme power that chastises men and corrects their disobedience. There are people who rely upon pitifull things as certain tokens of its going away shortly. I have been told more than once of the falling out of the clapper of the great bell at Westminster, which they say it did before the last great plague ended, and this they take for a very comfortable sign. Others speake of the dawes more frequenting the pallace and abbey; which if true is a better sign, supposing the aire to have beene infected, for the bookes I read tell mee that the goeing away of birds is the forerunner of the plague, and that one shall see few in a plague yeare. The death of birds in houses where they are caged ordinarily preceedes the death of the inhabitants; for these aiery creatures feele the alteration in that element sooner than wee. Thus you see how desirous all are for some token for good, and how they catch at the smallest shadows for it: but the best sign of all, I doubt, is much wanting, and that is the reformation of men's manners; of which I heare little, unlesse that those come to church who did not before. I think often of a saying in the 2d booke of Esdras, which describes the temper of the world exactly, ch. xvi. v. 19, 20, *Behold famine and plague,*

tribulation and anguish, are sent as scourges for amendment: but for all these things they shall not turn from their wickednesse, nor be allway mindfull of thy scourges. A sad thing, that the event of these judgments proves no better: but so it comonly falls out; and men soon forget both their smart, and also the good resolutions which it formed. I hope, my friend, the hand of God will not be without its instruction to us; and that wee shall be carefull, if he let us live, to improve it as wee ought. I cannot but acknowledge a great wisdome as well as justice in this restraint which I now suffer, and therefore I thankfully accept it, and intreat you to assist mee with your prayers, that I may both understand the meaning of it, and likewise make the right use which God intends. I must ever also acknowledge a wonderfull kindnesse of God to mee mixed with this; for I am well and cheerful, to my admiration and astonishment when I seriously think of it. I could not have expected to spend my time, and find it so little a burden to mee as it used now and then to be when I was alone. These long evenings, when I see none, I give God thanks, pass away without any irksomenesse at all. I have quite changed my diet, I eat boiled meats and broth more than I used; something at supper also, which doth not hinder my thoughts. You see I take care of myself, and by this long letter, will perceive that you are much in the thoughts of your ever affect. friend, S. P.

My true love to all. When you send, I think the post is the readiest way.

For Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall, &c.

LETTER IX.

[A consolatory letter concerning the state of his and her health, and pious reflections on the mortality.—Cole.]

Octob. 3, [1665.]

The sicknesse, I doubt, will increase againe; wee have 25 dead here, and had but 19 last week. I heare it rises in other parishes also. I remain, yrs. very affectionately, S. P.

LETTER X.

For Mr. Patrick, &c. [The superscription lost.]

Octob. 5, 1665.

My FRIEND,

I am afraid you are troubled that I have not wrote this last post, because I was so ill when I wrote last: but the reason I did omit it was because there was one dead of the sicknesse out of the pest house, and I thought it not safe to send to Burntwood; for beside that, the plague is in divers places in the towne: but now the pest house is removed to another place in the towne more safe &c. The chief that I designed was to caution you against melancholy, which I think is growing upon you. I can say nothing to you on that subject but what you used to say to me. I wish you would read over your own lrs. to me, (which I beseech you preserve for me.) That of the Psalme you mention (Ps. 69. 5) is a place I have oft thought on; and for these many years you know it is all the religion I have had to expose my naked soul to God: and I am still of the mind that it is the best devotion. I am yrs, E. G.

LETTER XI.

Sat. Night, Oct. 7, 1665.

I thank God I continue in a better state than I could have expected; for tho' you think I am verging a little to melancholy, yet I hope it is only a serious mood; for I am afraid sometimes I am too cheerfull, and so forgetfull of the miseries of others. You may be sure I will endeavour to avoid that dismall temper, as I shall labour for composednesse and equality. I have also taken a little cold, which hath put some damp upon my spirits. I knew it would be so, for I felt the wind strike into my head as I was burying a corpse one night: that is a thing I have oft found prejudiciall, but there is nobody else to do it now. I think too sometimes I have too great a burden of worke upon mee: but hitherto I go through it very well; only I am sometimes a little weary after preaching twice, especially when the fast week comes. It comes now and then into my wishes that I was more free from this kind of businesse in a parish, for I suppose I could profitably employ my time in some other way; but I check myself in this and a

great many other wishes, knowing there is no contentment but in conforming our wills to our present condition. I read a passage this afternoone in Epictetus that pleased me mightily: "Remember," saith he, "that thou art to live in the world as if thou wast at a banquet, &c." We are in great hopes of a considerable decrease this week. Here indeed we have buried many; and so they do at Westminster, as Dr. Outram tells mee; but in other places the bells do not go so oft. I must correct an error in my last but one: Mr. Welbank is not dead, as was reported; it is the curate, one Mr. Knightley, who they say did not dye of the sicknesse neither. This was the occasion of the report that Mr. Stillingfleet was dead; the reader of St. Andrew's, Holborne, dying a good while ago: but as for Mr. Stillingfleet, he hath not beene here a long time, but gets his place supplyed by somebody. My love to all. I am alwayes yours very affectionately, S. P.

For Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall, Essex.

LETTER XII.

Octob. 12. [1665.]

My friend,

It happens to be such a buisy night that I cannot say all that I would. I have not had so many burialls a great while, and I deferred to write till night, being with my brother at Battersea all day. The sickness is not decreased so much as wee expected, but wee ought to bee very thankfull for any abatement. There are 652 lesse this week than the last. There dyed here but 15, which is 10 lesse than the week before. How it will be this week I know not, but there are 9 dead already, 6 being buried to night. In the next parish of St. Martin's there dyed no more to day, which gives hope still of a decrease there. The sicknesse is much at Wandsworth, where 24 dyed in one week. It is got into Wiltshire also, and is very neare sir W. St. John's, so that they have sent their children away to Mr. Bernard's, neare Huntingdon. It is a very sad time, I perceive, everywhere; and I must acknowledge it a very singular favour of God that I am so much supported. I hope I shall not forget his goodnesse, if he let me live to see more healthfull and pleasant seasons. He knows how long it

is necessary to keep us under, and how much time is requisite to make us thoroughly serious; if that be but effected, we shall have a more sober joy hereafter. My very hearty love to Mr. Gauden, Mrs. Phesaunt[c], &c. S. P.

For Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall, Essex, &c.

LETTER XIII.

Covent Garden, Oct. 14. [1665.]

My friend,

What shall I think? Are you alive? or do I write to one in another world? Is it possible that the post should be so unfaithfull as to lose all the lrs. of the last week? or did you write none? Are you so ill that you dare not tell mee how ill you are? I know not what to think: I think all this, and then againe I unthink it all. I think as I feare, and then as I hope; but in effect all comes to nothing. I am just where I begun, and cannot tell what to conclude. I am well, I thank our Lord, and have every day more and more experience of his goodnesse; for though the funerals are lesse, I know not whether the danger be so. People are grown bold, and because they find themselves well they think their neigbours ought not to shun them, though they have some dye of the plague in their houses. In many places they do not shut them up, and so they take their liberty to come abroad; and there also where they need not, and where they ought to be more civill. But wee must not expect that from ordinary people; it is a thing proper to better bred souls: if the vulgar be not intollerably rude, we are beholden to them. I am your affectionate friend,

SY. PATRICK.

Dr. Harrison, of St. Christophers, who before was at Great St. Bartholomews[d], was buryed yesterday; one told mee, of

[c] [Pepys mentions, on occasion of a visit to Gauden's family at Clapham, that he "had after dinner a little opportunity to kiss and spend some time with the ladies above;—his daughter, a buxom lass, and his sister Fissant, a serious lady, and a little daughter of hers, that begins to sing prettily."—July 27, 1665.]

[d] [Ralph Harrison, D. D., had been promoted by the bishop of London from the rectory of Great St. Bartholomew to that of St. Christopher-le-Stocks, Aug. 17, 1663. He was succeeded by the Rev. John Hall, Feb. 20, 166§. — Newcourt, i. 296, 325.]

the sicknesse, but I suppose not, because I heard there was a funerall sermon.

For Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall, &c.

LETTER XIV.

Octob. 17. [1665.]

My very deare friend,

It was a singular joy to me when I did but see your hand last night,—(a very long lr. expressive of his joy in hearing from her, with an extract from Epictetus, of half a sheet, beginning thus,) "Consider what God hath made thine, and what he hath reserved to himself," &c.—We expect a very great abatement this week, in the whole, though here wee buried one more than last week. The city remembrancer told a friend of mine that there are 1500 lesse without the walls than last week, besides the decrease in the citty. I heare Mr. John Goodwin[e] is dead somewhere in Essex. It is said that Dr. Bolton also is dead in the country, whither he went because of the contagion.

I am your affect. friend, S. P.

For Mrs. Gauden. at Hutton hall, &c.

LETTER XV.

Octob. 19, 1665.

My friend,

I endeavour to practise the philosopher's lesson, and to rejoice both living and dying. I need not tell you what a great decrease there is this week. I have beene advised to the same preventive you speak of, an issue, but could never fancy it. And indeed I must tell you, that I owe my preservation not to medicines, which I am apt to neglect when I have other things in my mind. I forgot to tell you in my last that the college of physcians was robbed on Sunday night; they broke open a chest with many locks, and took out, as is re-

[e] [The famous republican divine. He had been instituted, Dec. 18, 1633, to the vicarage of St. Stephen, Coleman St., from which he was ejected at the restoration, and opened a conventicle in that parish.—Newcourt, i. 537. See an account of him in Chalmers, and the Nonconformists' Memorial, i. 196.]

ported, 6 or 700 pound. I received a letter from my lady St. John last night, who sends me word the king dines at sir Henry Lee's, a nephew of sir Walter, to day, and that the dutchesse is breeding againe. My true love to your husband and Mrs. Phesaunt, &c. I shall never cease to be your very affectionate friend, S. P.

For my honoured friend Mrs. Gauden, &c.

LETTER XVI.

Oct. 21, [1665.]

MY VERY DEARE FRIEND,

You must send your next to James Street, whither I am going the beginning of the week. I have made me an handsome study, and furnished a room to lye in, with which I content myself. I have hung it only with bays, which I had of a safe hand, not thinking it fit to venture to enquire after any thing better; though I employed one to look after serge, and he could find none to fit me. I have provided to make the rooms warm with paper windows; so that you see I have a mind to preserve myself still in the world, if God pleases. Mr. Cradock[a] writes me word he hath a great mind to return, though there is no term here, and I think he will have no employment. I may have his company, I see, if I will; but I persuade him to stay a little longer, since this place doth not require his presence. My very hearty love to Mr. Gauden, Mrs. Phesaunt, and all our friends: the good God be your comforter and restorer, and make himself alwayes present to your mind, which is infinitely better than the company of your affectionate friend, S. P.

My poor clarke, who I think feares God, and upon the same reasons that you and I, hath had his family sadly visited. His wife and 7 children, all he hath, have been all sicke; and now his wife and one child are dead, and she big with child: the rest are like to do well, and I hope I have saved the poor man by timely advice to remove himself, that he may take care of all the rest[b].

For Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall, to be left at the Post House in Burntwood, Essex.

[a] [Zachary Cradock, then preacher at Gray's Inn. See p. 541 above.]

[b] [Compare p. 445 above.]

LETTER XVII.

Oct. 26, [1665.]

My friend,

I recd. yours of 23, this morn., which was the more acceptable because unexpected. The post bringing me none last night, I concluded I must stay till to morrow night before I heard of you. This therefore coming in the mean time from Tower Hill, puts me in mind how foolish it is to conclude any thing for the present state of things, which may so soon alter for the better. If I had beene afflicted last night for feare of the badnesse of your condition, I had seene myself confuted this morning; and so I consider it in other passages of our life; which makes mee resolve to keep to this rule as much as I can, not to judge hastily. We must not do so of men's actions: why should wee be so forward to judge of God's? I thank God I hoped well yester night, and only prayed for you that you might recover your strength, as I now see there is some reason to expect you will. I know it cannot but trouble you that your little one should suffer together with you, and I shall never blame you for the greatnesse of your affection to such pretty things; only love them as mortall, that is, such as yourself, and all things here are. Indeed I want something, (as you say,) to make me a perfect friend; and therefore I am the more beholden to you, that you will love mee so much who have so many defects. Yet I can imagine something of that tendernesse which parents have, and now and then I meet with something in books which expresses such a passion to children from their parents, and mightily affects me; and therefore I do not account myself wholly a stranger to that kind of love. No, I think sometimes that I have such touches of some sort of love, that it is not fitt for mee to be acquainted with more, least I should be lost in it: but to say the truth and correct myself, it is no great matter what I think, for I am very mutable as to the quicknesse of my passions, and sometimes take myself for a very dull piece of earth, that needs a little of that fire from somebody else, which I imagine there is too much of in myself at other times[c]. I felt still the same inclinations, but that brisknesse of spirit which transports us so much hath

[c] ["Part of this Lr. puts me in mind of a conversation between the head of a college and his devotee, in the Sopha, a loose book of Monsr. Crebillon, tho' that is all that it does."—Cole, MS. note.]

its ebbs and flows as all things else have. My cold begins to abate, and gives me leave to enjoy myself more than I did the last week; but when I think that I shall be shortly so again, it takes off much of the pleasure which I begin now to feel upon the release of my spirits from such abundance of rheum. Wee live by continuall fermentations, and unlesse we could forsee every change of weather, to provide against it, and know the exact proportions of meat and drink, such ticklish nice bodyes as mine will never hold long in one temper. I have so many lrs. to write to night that I can add but little more. I heare from Oxford that they are in good health, that the parliament rises on Monday, that they have passed another severe act against non-conformists; the letter doth not say what it is. That the dean of Westminster[d], and one Mr. Crisp, an acquaintance of mine, preached too excellent sermons last Sunday, much to the commendation of a religious life, and the making an atheist to appear a very pittifull brute. I pray excuse my haste: tho this be none of the shortest, yet it is not so long as I could have it if I had none else to salute. I remain yours most affectionately, S. P.

I need not tell you how mercifull God hath been unto us in the abatement this last week, which was above 1400. You will hear of it, I suppose, long before this comes, and therefore I forbear all particulars.

To Mrs. Gauden, of Clapham in Surrey, 1665.

LETTER XVIII.

Oct. 31, [1665.]

My friend,

Your last brought mee a great deale of good newes, and made mee amends for the past before, which brought mee none. I told you if wee can stay a little all will be well. Patience is never badly paid. It seems a very dull virtue, but it is rewarded with great joy in the issue. It is a good thing, saith Jeremiah in his Lamentations, *to hope and quietly to wait for the salvation of the Lord.* I pray God give us more of this grace, for wee have great need of it in this world of troubles and cares; and I beseech him also to endue us with such a

[d] [Dr. Dolben, afterwards archbishop of York. Compare p. 431, above.]

gratefull sense of what is past, that it may more cheerfully wait upon him in time to come. I very much rejoice with you at present, to heare that God hath dealt so graciously with you and your infant of late; and I hope all such things will not slip out of my mind, but accompany mee to my grave. I am sometimes very much amazed at the thoughts of God's goodnesse towards my owne particular person of late, for it seems stupenduous, and I would fain be filled with greater admiration of it. And it receives no small increase when I add all the kindnesses that he hath done mee in my friends; which are very wonderful also: both together furnish mee with abundance of matter for my meditation. I can never want company, (you may well think,) who have so many mercies to call to mind and intertain myself withall; and truly those thoughts and my books are most of the society which I have, unlesse my brother sometimes comes, or I go to him. I thank God he is very well, but one of our best neighbours at Battersea, Mrs. Bryne, whom you have often heard mee speak of, I doubt, will shortly leave us and go to another world; she hath beene in a very languishing condition many weeks, and now cannot move herself nor scarce speak; and, which adds to the affliction, their eldest daũr is dead, not without strong suspicion of the plague. We have great hopes now the sicknesse will go away, and make room for the return of our neighbours againe. There is a great decrease againe in most places, as is generally said; which very much revives the spirits of the people, who have beene greatly dejected. I have beene in a kind of tumult to-day, by the bringing of my books from Battersea, which hath spent most of my time, and yet I am to preach for Dr. Outram to morrow, at Westminster, and therefore cannot be permitted to add any more, but my hearty love to all, and to tell you that I am yrs. most affectionately, S. P.

For Mrs. Ganden, at Hutton hall, &c.

LETTER XIX.

My friend, Nov. 4. [1665.]

It would be a very great trouble to mee to heare that your soule conflicts still with such an uncompliant body, &c.—As for your coming to Clapham, I believe you do not think mee a very

fit person to advise withall about it; but I will tell you impartially all that I know, in answer to your questions, and then you must resolve as you see best. I have heard such sad stories as you relate, but I could never heare of any certain confirmation of the truth of them. People love to make things worse than they are, that they may seem to know more than their honest neighbours' reports. That's the most charitable construction I can make of their strange storyes. A man told Mrs. St. John in Ireland, that he used to heare mee, and that he saw mee one day fall down dead in the church. But there may be some truth in that which is said of the death of some that are returned hither: thus much I believe, that some being infected in the countrey come hither to their owne houses againe. Here is one example near mee, but otherwise in this parish very few are yet so much as returned; and I think, if they have no necessity, they do well to stay a little longer; but in a months time I believe the towne will fill, and then if the sicknesse do not increase, you may venture, not long after that, to come to your owne habitation. Yet if you consult your brother, he will tell you, the physicians' rule is comprised in 3 words, when they advised what to do in the plague, which in English are, "Quickly, far off, slowly:" that is, fly soon, and far enough, and returne late. To his counsel and example therefore I referre you. When he comes to live in London, you need not feare to come to Clapham; or if Mr. Gauden will have you thither sooner, it is but doing what you intended to do before. Set a watch at your door, and let it be known that you admit of no visits, no not so much as mine. Come when you will, I promise you I will not bee too forward to visit you, for feare of setting a bad example to others. It will be some happinesse that you are nearer, and to think that there is some more likelihood than there was, that I may see you againe; but whatever Mr. Gauden saith, I suppose it is but to prepare you, he knowing that you will be long in moveing; and I have no expectation to heare you are at Clapham till after Christmas; then I suppose you will begin to think of your old place, and resolve to move towards it, provided God be pleased to remove the sicknesse, which wee are now in hopes of. The king, I can assure you, talks of coming speedily nearer to us. So the dean of Westminster writes to Dr. Outram. Some

say he will come to Hampton Court; at least he will come to Windsor. Your very affectionate friend, S. P.

My love to Mr. Gauden and Mrs. Phesaunt, &c.

For Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall, &c.

LETTER XX.

My friend, Nov. 7, 1665.

Though I am little at leisure &c.—I have made further enquiries about the accesse of people to London, and their state of health since they came, but can find no ground for those sad reports which you have. This I find, that the same storyes are spread in other countries, and people are thereby affrighted from coming hither: but there is no cause, as farre as I can learne. Yesterday I met Mr. Holliard [a], who askt very kindly of you: who told me he heard 2 linen drapers in Cornwall were returned and dead; but he inquired of their neighbours, and they knew no such thing: yet I think my churchwarden says well, that of all the lyes he hath heard he thinks this will do least harm; for it will keepe people from flocking too fast to London, which otherwise they might be apt to do. The soldiers (who have hitherto beene quartered in tents in Hyde Park) returned yesterday into the citty, I suppose because of the weather, which may endanger their health more than this place. I wish I could satisfy your desires in going to Clapham, (so I call them, for though you say you had only thought to ask mee to go thither, yet at last you do more; so great is the art of love, which I see you have not forgot :) but I am not in a capacity yet to do it. Indeed, you have taken a course to make mee forget all things else; for you as good as make it a test of my love, by asking if I will be so kind: but yet I come to myselfe againe and find that I cannot well stir from hence. For to tell you the truth, here is no body to performe any duties here but myself only, nor hath been since I saw you, except only on Sundays and fast days. My reader hath beene out of towne, and is so still, only comes on those dayes: and it is well that those with whom he lives would be content to suffer that, he teaching their children, and they removing hence out of feare, so that all the burden hath lain upon mee,

[a] [Probably the surgeon who attended Pepys, and is frequently mentioned in his Diary.]

which is more than I think I told you before now; and you know there is most to do at nights, for then wee bury those who are said not to dye of the plague, and they now are the most. This will hinder mee at present from doing that which none can better tell than you how much I am inclined unto; beside, though that is not so considerable, I am a little backward to go any whither but there where I have used to go all this time, till the sicknesse be gone, least any inconvenience should follow. But the cloake and cassock may be usefull in time, and I pray put them on my account, for I will pay you for them. If I thought that you would take it ill that I do not agree to your proposition, I should make more words than I have done, to shew you what circumstance I am in. I believe you will understand, by what I have said, how necessary my constant attendance here is for the present, from whence I have not beene one night since you went from Clapham. I think it is time now to bid you good night, and I have lent you a fair proportion of it, being to preach twice to morrow, and having one sermon to make: by that you may judge how unwilling I am to deny you any thing, and therefore make some other proofe of the kindnesse of your most affect. friend, S. P.

My very hearty love to Mr. Gauden and Mrs. Phesaunt &c. Though he may want company, yet counsell, I believe, he wants none, being so well able to advise himself: at least mine he will not want, who am so unexperienced in affaires. I heartily wish his good successe in all things, as much as the best friend he hath; and if that might passe for an argument of friendship, I should not yield to any other. It falls out ill that his businesse is in the daye, and mine at night; and so we are not like yet to meet together. But I forgot myself, I am going to write a new letter; the reason, I suppose, is because I see by making those cloaths you have set your mind not a little on this, and therefore I would fain satisfy you. Let them be mine, though I do not use them now, and put mee downe in your booke debtor for them. I have not time to read this over againe, but I hope you will make sense of it. Just now I received one from Mr. Cradock, who is well. I will remember you to him.

For Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall, &c.

LETTER XXI.

MY DEARE FRIEND, Nov. 9. [1665.]

I suppose you will heare before this can reach you, that the sicknesse did not decrease so much last week, but it is increased as much in this that is nearly past.—I have walked to Battersea and back againe with a great deale of ease this day; they have had none dye there this fortnight; but at Wandsworth there is a great mortality, there are 12 dead since Sunday, as one of the parish tells mee. You may think the increase of the sicknesse here comes from the accesse of more people; but I think it otherwise, for it is much increased in Lambeth, and in Wandsworth, as I told you, from whence people rather run away. It is to be ascribed rather to the unseasonable weather that hath beene of late, and most of all to the wise goodnesse of God, who intends to shew that we are not yet so safe as secure sinners imagine. I observe that people grow remisse already, and their fervours are already cooled; we had nothing so good a congregation yesterday as we used to have: and therefore God may in mercy quicken us againe to mind our duty and rouse up dull souls by this new alarm; at least it may have this effect, to keepe people from flocking to the towne so fast as they may be disposed to do, and also continue in men's minds a dread of the sicknesse, whensoever wee mention it, which is so unaccountable. You hope, I see, that I should be able to acquaint you with its nature. But truly, after all my inquiries and observations, I can learne little but that it seizes upon men strangely, and handles them seriously; some are affected in one manner and some another, and some are smitten that stir not half so much abroad as I. But this will be too long a discourse. I do not heare neither of any of your acquaintance dead; but I said, I believe, wee shall miss many in the conclusion, because I heare now and then of some that I knew that are swept away a good many weeks ago before I heard of it. Wee have but a few dead in this parish this week, thanks be to God for it, though all our neighbouring parishes have had an increase, &c. Your most affectionate friend, S. P.

For Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall, &c.

LETTER XXII.

My friend, Dec. 5. [1665.]

That you were so pleasant in your last, &c.,—I had almost forgot to tell you some newes, which is, that there are some new bps. and other dignified clergy made. Dr. Blandford, warden of Wadham, is made bp. of Oxford; Dr. Hyde, brother to the judge that dyed, deane of Winchester, is to be bp. of Salisbury; one of the duke's chaplains, Dr. Roberts, I think is to succeed him in that deanery; and I heare that Dr. Thomas is made deane of Worster, in the roome of Dr. Warmstrey, who is lately dead.—I have a good honest man and wife here live in the lower rooms of my house, which I think was but necessary for my security; and hee tells mee, that he heares Mr. Gauden hath severall places in his offices void, or that he shall want some in a new office that he is erecting, as some that belong to the victualing business informs him; wherein he thinks himself capable to be employed, if Mr. Gauden be not otherwise furnished. He knows by some meanes that I am acquainted with you, and so desires mee to recomẽnd him; and I can do no lesse, praying you to speake to Mr. G. or write to him about it. He will be very faithfull, I believe, and extraordinary diligent, and he hath a shrewd capacity for businese: he hath something to live upon, but he would not be idle; which I comẽnd in him, and I think a great part of his present maintenance depends on the life of his wife. I am your very aff: fr. S. P.

I have not [done] yet: for just now comes newes to mee by one that is come from the Clarks Hall, that the sicknesse is decreased above an 100; which is a great mercy, for we feared an increase. The just number they would not declare, because my ld. mayor must have it first; and I heard lately that he imprisoned one of the officers, because they spread abroad the account before they came to him; which indeed was unhandsome. There was not one dyed at Westminster on Sunday last, which is a thing seldom happens in healthful times. Farewell.

For Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall, to be left at the Post house in Burntwood, Essex.

LETTER XXIII.

My friend, December 14. [1665.]

I cannot send you so good newes as I did the last week of the decrease of the sicknesse; the report of which I suppose will outrun this paper, and prevent all that I can say about it. It is not much indeed, but it's something sad at this time of the yeare, not to see it still fall more and more. So we promised ourselves that it would; and many are returned upon that presumption: but wee must all look up to an higher hand, who still thinks good to hold his rod over us, and who alters the weather as he pleases; on which depends very much, I persuade myself, these ebbs and flows of this disease. If it do not leave us this winter, God knows when I shall see you; for I suppose you will scarce be persuaded to come to Clapham, though you love it so well, if the citty be not quite cleare of it. It is some comfort that you live so that I may commodiously heare from you very often, and with that I shall rest content, till the wisdome of Heaven grant more; for if I should complaine, I presently reflect that it may be worse, and is not now so bad as I deserve. You are afraide, I see, that I shall be married before you come. I know you wonder at the expression, but I meane wedded to my bookes; and to tell you the truth, I think I am falne deeply in love with them, and we have had much cõunication, so that I am almost contracted to them; but I used to tell you that if I had a wife I would agree with her that I might have some affection for a friend in my owne dispose; and therefore I shall take a care now that my present spouse do not engrosse all, nor make mee indifferent to all other but herself. You see indeed by this we are merry together sometimes, yet I believe it is harder than I have sometimes thought it for two to live alone together in so much cheerfulnesse as never to desire a 3d companion. We are sometimes dull, and then could wish some such friend as you to be with us, though there were not that naturall inclination which there is to spend some of our better and pleasanter hours with you. But it's time to leave this little jesting, which one of my bookes told mee lately is the ease and recreation of earnest. Wee must talk of something beside myself. I heare then that the duke of Albemarle is to go to sea in the spring, and that the earl of Sandwich is turned out, but he hath a friend in the court, a

lady whom we saw sometimes in Bath when we were there, who is his great support, and helpt him to the honour of going embassadour into Spaine. All the last week but one was spent in examining of him; and the duke of Albemarle himself brought in articles against him. Thus I am told from no meane hands. They say also, he and the whole fleet almost are guilty of cheating the king, by pillaging the rich ships that were taken. But inough of this. Mr. Mompesson told a friend of mine lately that his house is still haunted[b], but not so much nor so constantly as formerly. The king gave the French embassadours, when they went away, jewells to the value of 4000*l.*

I am sorry to heare you have one sick in your family, and shall be glad the next may tell mee of her recovery. I wish my last had the good fortune to come to your hand; not because it is of much value, but because it may tell you how much I value you and your peace, which I beseech the Lord of Peace to graunt you alwayes, and by all meanes. With which wish of the apostle I must end for this time, only adding my kind love to all, especially your husband and sister. From your affectionate friend, S. P.

For Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall, &c.

LETTER XXIV.

My friend, Decemb. 16. [1665.]

I will hope it was no bad day with you yesterday, because I had such a good one; for I had a triple pleasure: one was by a visit which your husband made mee; a 2d was a lr. of yours which he brought along with him, and the 3d was another the post brought afterwards. It seemed a little too much joy in one day, for though the last told mee you were infested with your old enemy the head ache, yet it did but diminish, not take away the pleasure, which so many desireable things concurring together gave mee. Indeed I was very joyfull to see your husband, and to see him look so well under so great a burden of cares as I know is upon him, and of which, I believe, he sees no end. It is a great mercy to you both, which I know you reflect upon with much thankfulnesse, and may serve to divert your thoughts from other sad spectacles, either past or present. I adventured to say some little thing to you

[b] [Compare Pepys, June 15, 1663.]

about that which so much troubles you; perhaps it might make your head ake, if it had beene well before, it being so hard to understand any thing in this dark world; or if it increased your payne, I pray pardon my innocent meaning, and believe that I intend not often to put you to any such torment; for I feele every day so meane an opinion of myself prevailing, that I shall do but little of the office of a guide hereafter, but you must look upon me as a fellow traveller. This is no melancholy fancy, but the effect of more thoughts then in the hurry of the world I could be master of; but I need not have said so much of this, for my lr. carried its owne apology with it, by telling you that I was much inclined to say those things, and therefore hoped they would do you good. But is it possible that you should expect to be well, and yet sit up till morning writing letters? What miracle do you look for? or with what confidence can you bid your friend look to his little body, when you take no greater account of your owne? Do you think yourself still to be made of brasse? Are not many of your late distempers, think you, the fruit of such imoderate watchings? Cure yourself of this, or else I will advise your friend to sitt up all night with his mistresse to be revenged of you. And I think it will be no small one, if shee get away all his love. For the present you may perceive that he hath kept some for you, and spends not all his time there, for otherwise you would not receive so often, and now and then so long letters; nay, let mee assure you, that yours cannot be made so long but he would gladly throw away all at any time to read them; and therefore you injure him by those wishes that he may receive them only then, when he hath nothing else to do, and pray say so no more.

I am sorry Mr. L. should deserve no better of those that have beene such friends to him as you have. I am sure if you have no reason to thank him for something he hath designed, there is some cause why I should find fault; and I should think myself a little unhappy that I have had no better fortune, as wee call it, in those that I have commended to you, if I did not know that you will not let mee loose your friendship at all for such errors. I have beene not a little angry with him in my owne mind ever since he sold you that organ; and never shall digest it, for many reasons that I know. I

wish him well indeed, but he hath lost a friend, if ever I was any to him. Though you had complained of nothing now, there is cause for what I say, and therefore wonder not if I be a little fierce in my expressions. I wish Mrs. Phesaunt with all my heart a perfect release from her tedious fits, and thank God that shee hath any remission of them; as also your daughter, for I know how grievous it must needs be, not only to them, but to you. I cannot but wish that I were in condition to come and see you, as I know you have a mind I should; though perhaps it would be too great a pleasure in these sad times: but I can no wayes effect it. I have inquired, I assure you, about a man to do my buisinesse here sometimes, but the towne is empty of all such persons; and he that was wont to do it is dead, I am sure, for I buried him; it being his desire, though he lived in St. Martin's parish. I am apt to think sometimes that none of my neighbours are so burthened as I; but use and custome hath now made it easy, and I forget what it is that I do continually: yet some nights I have nothing to do; and now I think that I can foresee what night I may be away, and to have an inclination to go and see your husband some evening, and come againe in the morning.

I have a new suit, made this time twelvemonth, which I never wore, haveing two made together, and which I thought not to put on till I came to see you. If you think there will be no harm in the cloak and cassock that I weare, I may sometimes, it's like, step over to him; or if you think that be not fit, you may send mee those that you made for mee in the country. But if they be stuff, as I suppose they are, they must be lined, or else they will be too cold for winter: but I leave all this to your discretion, and your convenience of sending, and likewise to your consideration, whether it will be safe to stay a night in your house till the plague be more abated. It is the last place I lay in after my owne lodgings, save that night only when I left you, before you went away, when I went, you remember, to Battersea, and took my leave of it, as I did of you. It grows late, and therefore I must say no more, after I have remembered your sister, and told you that I am yrs. ever, S. P.

For Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall, &c.

LETTER XXV.

[A consolatory letter on her melancholy, extremely long.—Cole.]

My friend, Decemb. 19. [1665.]

I went in the morning to Mr. G., who told mee he would be at Tower Hill, to advise with him about a minister for Algate, which I hope I have procured, if he will be accepted there. Then I went about the returne of some monies into France; you may guess for whome.—I must remember also to tell you, that when Mr. G. came on Friday with your letter, I did not open it till he was gone. I know he confides in you, and trusts you perfectly; but yet I thought not good to read it till I was alone, because I would enjoy him as much as I could, and then enjoy you. He told me to day you drolled with him, and therefore hopes you are in a very good temper; but he stays at London as a bad debtor, who, when he cannot pay, must be at home to give people good words. Ile stay till another time, since I have more lrs. to write, to talk of my little rivall; who I knew, before you told mee, had engaged your affections extraordinarily. I can spare him a great deale, and yet leave so much for myself, that it will be hard for some to get such a portion from the dearest friend they have. It's not like I should have any other mistresse than that I told you of; but if I should, I shall think myself very happy if I have but half so much love from [her] as I have from you, after that I have abated for that which Mr. G. and your little one and all others ought in all reason to carry away. I speake seriously, if I thought there were but so much kindnesse to be found in any one, but half so much kindnesse, after all that I am to defalcate from yours (as due to all other persons) towards your poor friend, I question whether I should not incline, with your good leave, to have another mistresse.

Your most affectionate friend, S. P.

For Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall, &c.

LETTER XXVI.

My friend, Decembr. 21. [1665.]

The towne now begins to fill againe—You are very desirous,

I see, to know what Mr. G. said of you in our little short converse here; truly it was so short that you could make but a little part of it. There is a great increase of the sicknesse this week. I had a lr. this day from your husband about the liveing of Aldgate, which is unhandsomely disposed of by the patron, after he had, of his own accord, ingaged your husband to seek out a fit person for it: so that buisinesse is at an end.

I have some newes from a place near Dover, which is, that the French embassadours, when they came there, commended our king very much for his witt, and his being very good company; and that the duke of Richmond is heire to the lord D'Aubigné, deceased in France, and is a peere of France, and hath 2000*l.* per ann. by his death, and hath sold a private man of war, which he maintained against the Dutch, that he may not offend the French. But I might have passed by this, he not being of any great concerne. The rest is hearty love to your sister, and all the love to yourself that you can read in these words,

Your affectionate friend, S. P.

[On the back this romantic lady has wrote this imperfect sentence; perhaps the rough draught of her answer to the as romantic Mr. Patrick.

"What shall I think? for I cannot speake enough of that laborious love of yours that digs so deepe to please and ease my..." William Cole.]

For Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall, &c.

LETTER XXVII.

My friend, Decemb. 23. [1665.]

[A tedious, long, platonic and mystical Letter.—Cole.]

I can give no guesse yet how the next bill will go: but wee have never a one yet dead of the plague, as it is judged, though 3 of other diseases. I heare the abp. of Canterbury[a] hath beene sick againe of a feaver, in which he had an apoplectical fit, but he is uppon his recovery, as I am certainly informed from one that spoke lately with Dr. Willis[b]. My lrd. Chancellour[c] hath the gout, and the king resolves not to come hither

[a] [Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Abp. of Canterbury.]

[b] [Dr. Thomas Willis. Compare p. 442, above.]

[c] [Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, lord chancellor.]

till after Shrovetide. It is writt to mee, by the same hand, that Mrs. Middleton[d] is comeing into the same place of that lady you saw at a christning next towne to your former dwelling. I know not what they meane by "place," and therefore must leave it to your interpretation, &c.

I remaine your affect: friend, S. P.

For Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall, &c.

LETTER XXVIII.

My friend, Decemb. 26. [1665.]

[Another long letter in the same mystical style, ending thus :]

I am glad that you have the happinesse of enjoying your husband, and its possible I may sometimes in fancy enjoy both your company, for most of my society is no more. And yet I am not alone; for sometimes I send for my churchwarden, who is a good pleasant man, and make him dine with mee; and I have many occasions to be at Church, which I think, at last, proves rather a divertisement than a labour to mee, for I reade prayers constantly on the dayes appointed myself; and yet I believe am almost as well as when you left mee. This is indeed a great mercy of God, and I desire to be very thankfull for it, and wish that I may alwayes so much remember it as to imploy my time well, which I see may be spent in greater labours then I perhaps before imagined. I received a lr. out of London this morning, which tells mee they are in hopes of a good abatement this week of the sicknesse in every place; and the newes booke tells us that in Westminster, from Munday to Thursday, there dyed but 4.

I remaine yours, Sy. P.

For Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall, &c.

LETTER XXIX.

My friend, Decr. 27. [1665.]

I see that there was some reason why I should feare the losse of your company, for I perceive by the seraphick discourse

[d] [Jane Middleton, one of the ladies of honour to the queen.— See Mémoires de Grammont, p. 109, 355; Pepys, ii. 222, 305.]

of yours of the 23 that you are got upon the confines of another country; and yet methinkes sometimes againe you talke so much like one of our worlde, that though you are got so farre before me, I doe understand and ecco strongly to what you say of the disproportions of our understandings to those great and difficult poynts, which yet methinks doe soe naturally propose themselves to our enquiry, that we should not be afraide of sume modest thoughts about them; for truth sure does not delighte to hide itselfe from us; but as you observe, whenever it finds us in a fit temper, it is readie to discover its secrets to us; so that we are apt to thinke that there's nothinge hinders but the separation wall of flesh. But, my friend, may not our expectation be too high too, as to the injoyments of the other world? I that so oft have come short of my hopes, and have been a little unhappy by those disappointments, am apt to argue thus with myselfe. It may be man is not such a considerable being as we take him for; nor is there so much happiness assigned for him as he expects; and may be those eager desires that we take to be so significant of it are rather the effects of to great a conceite of ourselves, then the isues of our pure nature: and then againe, I remember that I am told *that the harte of man cannot conceive the good things that God hath proposed for them that love him.* And now I am at a stand what to conclude about it, and must say as you doe, that I am very variable in my thoughts, though I think at present not all so much as you sometimes are apt to expresse, especially in your last. I know you have made a very great advantage of being so much alone; and I easily believe, because I have felt it, that there are pleasures belonging to each varietye of temper; and it is no wonder that you love your very restraints. Neither yet doe you thinke it strange to find those fine notions, which you say you have so handsomely settled, a little ruffled, when you expose yourselfe to the windes of a more free converse: and I beseeche you, what ever you doe, keepe yourselfe free from any engagements besides the general ones, as to any forme of living; for you doe not imagine the snare that is in those things. As sure as you are reading this, your minde will change as to many things that now you seem fixt upon; and therefore preserve your resolutions for the future disposition of yourselfe; for the emergencies which the providence of God shall bring you into. And

because we see by the dayley experience of ourselves, how little power we have over our own wills and actions, lett us with the greatest humilitye implore, and with the greatest faith expect his guidance: and though we know but little, let us, my friend, be found doeinge; and expect that he will in that way discover soe much of his secrets as will make us happy. I would goe a little further, but that I am called off with many businesses and attendances upon other friends; and indeed this festivall will, I perceive, abridge very much of this pleasure, though one would thinke this place would have secured me from those entertainments. Yet I see it would have been taken ill if I should not have invited my neighbours before I went; and at this present my house is so full that I scarce know how to stir myselfe: and yet I have stole a little time to tell you that I am,

Yrs., E. G.

Thanks be to God, the sicknes is fallen so much this weeke, it incourages me much to make haste to Clapham. I shall be very busie about my remove, and therefore excuse me if I say nothing to you a long time.

For my friend Mr. Patrick, at his house in Covent Garden.

LETTER XXX.

My friend, Decr. 28. [1665.]

What have you done? Nay, doe not wonder at this beginning, for I was going to say at first dash! Fie upon you! what do you meane? I was almost ready to turn a friar, and weare a poor habit like a monk, and you have transformed me into a gallant. You were afraid, sure, I should fancy a cloister, and soe have run into the old extreme, and put mee into the garb of the court. I doe not know whether my eyes deceive me, but I thinke you have sent me a silk cassoke, which you know I always thought too rich for mee, and most of all now, when the times do almost teach mee to vow poverty. Will you alwayes retaine this humour of loveing to see mee fine? or have you sent it mee for my wedding suit? You know the Muses love not such apparel, for they are but little courted by them that weare it. There is no body, I doubt will love mee in it but yourself. I confesse it will be so great a joy to mee to have

the liberty of seeing you againe, that I may be allowed to be as fine at that time as in a festivall. If that be your designe, I am reconciled to you, otherwise I shall commence a quarrell against you in good earnest. I shall scarce be persuaded to weare it at any other time, unlesse it be to please you, and perhaps you intended to see what power you had still over mee, in imposing upon mee this habit which you know I was alwayes averse to. Well, I will be obedient for this once, and bring my fancy to it, because it agrees so much with yours; but if any reproach mee with too much gallantry, especially after this miserable time, when it is to be supposed our purses are so empty, what will you thinke then? To save you from that danger, I think, as I said, no body must see me in it but you, and upon that high day of our happy meeting. You see, I talk of it as if I expected it, and had forgott that there is so much danger still remaining. For though the bill is very much decreased, yet mee thinks its a great number still which dye of the plague; but its hard not to speak of what wee thinke, and not to think of that which wee are inclined to wish and desire; and I doe submitt all to God's eternall wisdom, who hath beene very kind to mee hitherto. In the meane time you may know by this that I received lately a cloak and a cassock from you, which I will be accountable to you for, if I live to see you; and till then they shall not come on my back. If you observed a late bill of mortality, there was one put down as hanging himself at St. Peters, Cornhill; it was that Cole the bookseller[e] who prints Culpeper's works, and the English Bartholin, which you have, and many independent bookes. It seems he lived a very wicked life secretly, and some thinke that might trouble him; or else he was struck by God with a distraction, which his neighbours say was observed in many of his actions, before he did this execution on himself: and so the jury found him mad, whereby his estate (worth 6000*l.*) is saved. This brings to my mind a very sad accident, which a friend of mine writes me from Dorchester. He being lately in Devonshire, he was hard by a place where one that had been a minister, living discontentedly with his wife, one night knockt out her braines, as she was by the fire side, and when he had done, tooke a rope and hanged himself just over her body, and so was found the next

[e] [Peter Cole, the independent bookseller.—See Peck, 544.]

morning. This was at Axmouth, about two months since, while he was in those parts. But why do I tell you these things? unlesse it be to remember myself and you how much wee are indebted to God for preserving us in the use of our reason, and giveing us so many sweet relations with whom we live happily. Thanks be to God for all his benefitts. My very heartie love to Mr. Gauden and your sister, with remembrance of kindnesse to all our friends. I am ever yours, S. P.

For Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall, near Burntwood, Essex.

LETTER XXXI.

Jan. 6, 1665. [1666.]

My friend,

But do I speake so often of my happinesse in my privacy? So you tell me in your last from Clapham; and therefore sure it is greater then I thought, since I speak of it oftner than I think for. I did not imagine that I had entertained you with so much of that discourse, and so frequently as you tell me I do. It is well if it have no worse effect then to make you so willing as you signify to be contented with this kind of converse, and to be able to live alone: for that we must come to at last, unlesse we both dye together. And I pray whence comes that confusion of thoughts which you mention in your last letter, and which I discovered in the first little script which came before it? That bore date the 11 of December: and if I had not otherwayes heard from Humphrey that you was at Clapham, I should have wondred where it had lain all this month, and how you came to be so venturous. I imagined presently that you was troubled at something; but I concluded that it was with a great deale of buisinesse which lay upon you, for the settlement of your affairs in this remove, till I received the other letter after, (dated on Thursday,) which makes mee, though I am unwilling to suspect it, to ask you whether you bee troubled at mee? I had rather forsake all my pleasures than that should bee: nor can I bee pleased if you bee troubled. I have no delights which are not consistent with being your friend: and in good earnest I do not see but that I may enjoy this privacy, which it seemes I have often commended, and your company too. It is possible indeed, not so frequently as hereto-

fore, (though I will not dissemble that I am inclined perhaps too much to enjoy it alwayes,) yet so often as that you will have no reason to complain of my absence from you, nor my wife of my absence from her. I received a letter lately from one that seemes to be afraide that I shall grow soure to my friends, by being kept so long from them: but I hope you observe nothing in my lrs. of that, (as I do not discover it in myself,) though they are, you know, the characters of one's spirit, and declare in what humour we are. I reflect upon this, because that merry expression concerning my wife dropt from my pen; whom if you do dislike, I will rather sue out a divorce than that you should be displeased; or I will dispute for polygamy, and another, you know, will certainly draw away some of my affection for this. Now I believe you will say I talk like a man of this world; and I believe also you fancy that I have so much of that in mee, that it must have a longer time to put off that person, and to become solely one of another. Howsoever it be, my friend, I pray do not thinke that I intend to alter that relation wherein I stand to you, or to be lesse yours than I have beene; for though I may perhaps keepe more at home, yet it shall not be without your leave; and leavinge also so much of my heart with you, that if you knew howe much it was, perhaps you would desier lesse. I think I was nearer to you on Thursday than you imagined, if you came not late to Clapham: and I am glad you did not absolutely desier my company, because it had beene impossible to come, first, because it was a prayer day on Friday, and 2dly, because I kept a little Christmas now at the conclusion of it; for one of my acquaintance sent me a goose, and another an hare, and so I had invited my bro. and Mr. Cradock's bro., that we might remember our friends. So that you see wee are not perfect stoicks or hermits here, but that wee eate and drink as you do, and sometimes make good cheare. I must not turn over leafe now, haveing other lrs. to write, and it being Saturday night: therefore with remembrances of true love to your husband and Mrs. Phesaunt, I remaine your affect. friend, S. P.

For Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall, [near] Burntwood, Essex.

LETTER XXXII.

My friend, Jan. 11. [166$\frac{4}{5}$.]

You tell me in your last of Jan. 9, a strange thing, which is, that you should come hither into these parts with a designe to have at least a sight of mee, and yet you gave mee not the smallest intimation of such desires. You think sure that I am grown so knowing since you went, that I can divine: or you think that there is such a magick in love, that what one heart sighs for the other instantly feels it, and sighs at the same instant for the same; like 2 strings that are in unison, that sound both when but one is struck. I call to mind indeed that you may not have been a stranger to some such wonderfull touches; but it was well there was no such particular harmony at that moment, for you see what the effect in all likelihood would have beene. Your fancy is a little too strong yet to indure our company, who suck in that aire continually which you think is so infectious. And I perceive I know something better than you yourself, for I always told you we should not see you here presently after Christmas: it is one thing to resolve, and another thing to put in execution; when we attempt that, difficulties shoot up, some in reality, and others in fancy, which discourage our progresse in what we designe. And now truly I will advise you not to be too forward to remove. First overcome your feares, and bring not them along with you; for nothing will make you so lyable to any ill impressions as that passion. I am apt to think I had beene dead long ago if I had not mastered that; for I was oftentimes strangely faint, and have beene surprised with very poisonous smells: but the fancies thereby raised by God's goodnesse I vanquished, and hope to live now to see you, my friend, once more before I dye. But I pray let all feare be discharged when I come. And as soon as you have done that, what is there so powerfull that can keepe mee long from you, when I shall feele your attractions increased, together with your neighbourhood? I am so desirous to talk to you, that it is a little grievous to mee that I cannot run on, at least to the end of this page, though it is a very good friend that hinders mee. My brother is come to visit mee, and stays with me all night, which he hath not done since the plague above once: for indeed I would not let him. I wish it had beene some other night,

because I love not to have any one to rob you of that little time which I dedicate to you; but you will see by this that I cannot forget you, whatsoever other occasions I have: for I preferre friendship before all; and I shall never, I suppose, be in love with any thing else, so much as that. Mr. Gauden, I think, called here yesterday, but could not stay; by whom I heard, before yours came, that you were not very well conceited of our aire, and something indisposed by comeing into it. I hope in God you will get the victory over your fancy, or if there be any reall impressions on your blood, over those bad atomes which you suckt in among us. My very kind love to your sister. I am almost crept to the bottome, though I designed it not; so great is the temptation I have of making no end of talking with you. I remaine

Your very affect. S. P.

My bro: service to you.

For Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall.

LETTER XXXIII.

My friend, Jan. 18, 1665. [1666.]

I do not use to tell you that I am glad I have not heard from you of late: but now I am ready to say so, because I looke upon it as a signe that you are buisy in preparing yourself to come this way, though the face of things, as most look upon them, doth not much encourage you; yet you spoke so resolutely in your last concerning your purpose to commit yourself to God in your old habitation, that now I expect ere long to be so happy as to see you. Or if you or any of yours should be afraid of that, yet I shall be much pleased to be so near you, from whom, if it were possible, I should never be divided. There hath beene a great increase, according as I feared, this weeke, though, blessed be God, wee are in a pretty good state of health at this end of the towne; and when all things are weighed, it is no wonder that with the increase of the people, together with the increase of their confidence, there was such an increase of the mortality; for I heare great numbers are come to towne, and that those that have beene alwayes here have grown more carelesse of themselves. I pray therefore, since you are coming so neare us, that you will not look upon this place with too

much dread, and hope also that you shall not leave this world till those clouds which have so long covered you do a little break up, and make way for a more perfect day in your soule. I am very well still, blessed be God, and it will be a great joy to you, I know, to find mee continue so, and to receive mee safe after so many dangers which I have run; though I myself do sometimes much wonder at it, and suppose that it may hereafter more affect mee than it did, to find myself well in the midst of the mortality. I have been forced to spend all this afternoon abroad in the citty, about many little buisinesses that concern my relations; so that returning late in the night, and having more ltrs. to write, I must end now with my hearty love to your sister, and the rest of our friends; remaininge ever yours very affectionately, S. P.

For Mrs. Gauden, at Hutton hall, in Essex, these.

LETTER XXXIV.

My friend, Sunday Night. (No date.)

As our affections naturally incline of themselves to that object which hath awakened and engaged them, just like the needle touched by the loadstone; so there are some things which I have light upon of late that have brought you often to my mind; if it be proper to say that a thing is brought to us which is alwayes with us. One I will acquaint you withall, because I entertained myself a long time with the discourses which I imagined you would have about it. I have told you sometimes that the antient Christians very many of them were of opinion, that the soules of good men goe not strait to the vision of God, but are bestowed in a middle place betweene the highest glory and this world, where they stay till the daye of recompence and rewards. This I found the other day so rarely expressed in some notes I have formerly taken out of Origen, that I cannot but transcribe them, and comunicate them to you: for they declare he believed the progresse of the soule from a lower state to a higher, till it comes to the highest of all; which wee have often talkt of. "The soule," saith he in his Homilies upon Numbers[a], "doth not ascend on a sudden to the supreme blisse,

[a] [Hom. xxvii. tom. ii. p. 375.]

but is led through many mansions, in every one of which it is more enlightened; and receiving an increase of brightnesse, and growing in wisdome, at last arives at the Father of lights himself." This he explains more distinctly in another book, where he hath these words[b]:—"I think that the saints departing this life remaine in some place about the earth, which the divine writings call Paradise: then they are in a place of instruction, and, as I may say, in the auditory or school of souls; in which they are taught about all things which they saw here, and also learn to make a true judgment about things that are to come; being able even in this life to give some guesses, and to see that which is future through a glasse darkly. Now the purer any man's heart is, the more his mind his purged, and his sense exercised, the sooner he ascends to the place of the aire, and comes to the kingdome of heaven, through the several mansions which the heathens call spheres, but the divine Scritures name heavens: in every one of which they shall first of all see what is done there; then they shall know the reason why they are done; and so in order they shall go through every thing; that is, remain so long in every place, till they have learnt the dispensation of those things which are there managed."

When I had writ this, I thought with myself, O! how gladly could I walk with my friend into these spacious plaines! How happy should wee be to philosophise together in those quiet and undisturbed places! How much also ought wee to study purity, that we may not hover about the earth, but ascend aloft, and mount into the clearer and brighter regions! Thus we find a probable discourse is apt to transport our souls, and make us for a time forget this world. A well contrived conjecture hath this power upon us when we are a little unloosed from this body, to carry us further, and make us content to leave it: much more then should the faith of Christ work upon our hearts, who hath assured us of a blessed life, though not distinctly told us what it is. It cannot be lesse, sure, then the pleasures which this great man speaks of; and therefore wee should not be lesse moved with Christ's promises than with these delightful speculations. I did not think to be carried

[b] [De Princip. lib. ii. tom. i. p. 106. Compare Huet's Origeniana, lib. ii. quæst. 11. § 11, 12. pp. 223, 224.]

thus far when I began; but partly the pleasure of the thing, while I was in writing, and partly the pleasure I thought it would give you in reading, made mee not willing to stop. There is but one pleasure more I would have, and that is to see you; which I shall not do to morow, but the next day I will if it be possible. Send me word whether you shall dine at home, otherwise I come not till night. I have not spent a day so pleasantly a long time as I have this: one reason was, that I was so much alone in the evening, having no company but an invisible friend. I remaine yrs., S. P.

If the weather should prove very bad you will not expect me.

For my lady Gauden these[c].

LETTER XXXV.

My deare friend, Sunday night, Feb. 13, 1669. [1670.]

Having an opportunity to send to Battersea, I could not but desire my brother to convey this to you, to let you know that I got well home yesterday, and was better then I hoped all day long, and took no small delight in what I did to day. This evening is also not without its pleasures, in which I mett with the description of a good woman, exactly like to yourself. The words of another exactly translated into English are these[d]: "Some women being famous for profitable management of household affaires, and others for their piety, (it being hard to excell in both,) shee overcame all others, in the one and in the other; having the perfection of both in her one single person: for shee so administred domestick businesse, according to the laws and rules of Solomon, in his description of a brave woman, as if she minded not piety; and yet so attended to God and divine things as if shee were a stranger to household affairs. And one of these hindred not the other, but were both rather furthered and helped by the meanes of each other." The rest I will not add, because I will tell you another thing I noted, which much pleased mee. The same father very honestly determines, that a man may be a Christian in the account of

[c] [The date of this letter is partly limited by that of Gauden's knighthood, which was conferred Oct. 23, 1667.]

[d] [Greg. Naz. Orat. viii. in Gorgoniam, § 8, 9. tom. i. p. 222.]

God, though not of their society: for speaking of his own father, he has these words[e]:—"He was ours before he was of our fold, for his manners made him one of us. As there are many among us, who are not of us; their life estranging them from the common body; so there are many without who belong to us, even such whose good maners prevent their faith, and who, wanting the name, have the thing itself. In this number was my father; a strange branch indeed, but inclining to us in his life."

This was good divinity 1200 years ago, though it be not so now, when we glory in a name, without the Christian nature and disposition.—

I shall scarce see you till Thursday, and then, I believe, I shall come before dinner, and bring Mr. Martin with mee, who is come to towne.

I am ever yours, S. P.

For my lady Gauden these, at Clapham.

LETTER XXXVI.

My friend, March 27, 1676.

I can do little more than think of you, and that I assure you I do very oft: for though I have waited for an uncloudy opportunity, I have not yet been able to meet with it. To day is the first time that my head hath been anything clear of vapours; when the waters purged mee there, and give mee hopes I shall find them hereafter less in my head. Then they will be very pleasant, when they hinder not the correspondence wee would willingly maintain with our friends; among whom I hope you will still reckon yourself the principal, whose happiness I do no lesse desire than my own.—I cannot well add more, being to hang down my head a little longer, to look over a sermon which Mr. Glanvill importunes mee to preach for him to morrow morning, he being to preach on Monday also. My wife presents her hearty service, and thanks to you for the conveniences which, by your favour, we here enjoy. Mine, with hers, to sir Dennis, with love to our sister, and due

[e] [Orat. xviii. tom. i. p. 334 A.]

respects to Mr. Clerk and Mr. Jenks, &c. I remain your most affectionate friend, S. P.

For my lady Gauden, at Clapham. To be left at the Victualling Office, on Little Tower Hill, London.

LETTER XXXVII.

To Dr. John Mapletoft[a].

Sir,

My lord of Peterborough[b] will be ready to ordain you at the time appointed, March 3; before which, I suppose, you will be here to procure a faculty to enable him to do it, or give me order to get one against you come. I believe institution is sufficient to prevent a lapse, induction being necessary only to intitle you to the profits of the benefice. But it is best to consult the words of the statute, which I have not by me. I alwayes took the articles to be onely articles of communion; and so bishop Bramhall expressly maintains, against the pretended bishop of Chalcedon[c]: and I remember well that bishop Sanderson, when the king was first restored, received the subscription of an acquaintance of mine, which he declared was not to them as articles of faith, but peace[d]. I think you need make no scruple of the matter, because all that I know so understand the meaning of subscription, and upon other terms would not subscribe.

I remain yours,

Feb. 8, 168⅔. S. P.

You must not trouble the bishop with any such declaration at your subscription, for he is a very touchy and scrupulous man.

For my honoured friend Dr. Mapletoft these at Fausley. To be left with the postmaster at Daventry.

[a] [Printed, with other letters, from John Locke and Algernon Sidney, in the European Magazine, vol. xiv. p. 403, Dec. 1788, to which an account of Mapletoft is prefixed.]

[b] [Dr. Wm. Lloyd, afterwards translated to Norwich.]

[c] [Bramhall's Works, ii. 201, 261.]

[d] [Sanderson's Works, vi. 337.]

LETTER XXXVIII.

To lady Rachel Russell[c].

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LADYSHIP,

I received your letter of the 11th instant, and give you my late but most humble thanks for taking in so good a part that poor humble tender of my duty and service, which in the sincerity of my heart I made to your ladyship; and though I now find that there was no occasion at all for it, yet I cannot be sorry for my mistake, since I enjoy the benefit of it, in reading a letter which is so well stored with devout and heavenly thoughts.

I cannot read, without rejoicing, your ladyship's submission to the Divine Providence, in resolving all to this, that whatever you find will be best, and anything you could imagine would have been worse; nor without begging of God, in the words of David, 1 Chron. xxix. 18, *To keep this for ever in the imagination of the thoughts of your heart.* For as your ladyship cannot have a more honourable and worthy and just opinion of God, than to believe that all he does is for the best, so neither can you entertain a thought which tends more to your own ease and satisfaction; for it is indeed the very secret of contentment. And sure there cannot be a more reasonable thing in the world than to think well of what God does, and to allow him, who is the fountain of love and goodness, as well as of wisdom and understanding, to choose better and wiselier for us than we possibly can for ourselves. It is true that some particular providences look otherwise at the first sight, and we cannot so readily explain and make out the benefit and advantages of them. The man who in riding to a port to take shipping, and by a fall from his horse broke his leg, and thereby was stopped from his intended voyage, did not apprehend the mercy of that providence at first, till he afterwards understood that that very ship was cast away, and all the passengers in it. In like manner we are often puzzled in beholding the frame and structure of this visible world: for many things which at the first appearance seem to be blemishes in the creation, yet, upon further examination, we find to be so very useful and

[c] [Letters of lady Rachel Russell, vol. i. p. 125. 8vo, Lond. 1853.]

good, that we are forced to bear testimony to that divine approbation, which once pronounced them to be all very good. And so, I doubt not, but by a diligent examination we may give ourselves a very good account of the ways, as well as of the works of God, and discover such advantages and gracious passages in every affliction, as may force us to acknowledge that we should not have been so well without those afflictions, and that he of very faithfulness hath caused us to be troubled. And as such sensible and experimental acknowledgments must needs be acceptable to God, because thereby we honour him, and speak well of him of our own knowledge, so on the other hand, it is impossible for our minds to dislike that which we cannot but acknowledge to be best for us, even we ourselves being judges. Your ladyship's pious determination not to part with the hope of a future state, if all the glorious offers of this present world were set against it, is according to all the rules of prudence, which even worldly men themselves think fit to practise in other matters; for who will sell the reversion of a great estate for a present penny? or who, on the other hand, will not disburse his ready money for some very gainful improvement of it hereafter? And yet there is some proportion in these things, for the most gainful improvement is but the same money multiplied over again, and the greatest estate is but a penny so many times told; whereas an eternal happiness and this transitory world's false joys hold no proportion.

I intend to read over the same authors which your ladyship names, and if your ladyship pleases to impart some of your thoughts upon any passages in them, I shall value them as misers are wont to do their treasures, who envy sight of it to all the world besides. Your ladyship's discourse upon occasion of my lady Bedford's death, I understand as an instance of your preparation of mind, and readiness to be dissolved, to be with Christ, which is certainly best for you, whenever he pleases. But the continuance of your ladyship's life and health, if God see it good, is so absolutely necessary to the support of your noble family, that I hope they will be prolonged, and for the sake of your children ought not to be shortened, so much as by an otherwise innocent wish. My master's education particularly does plainly depend on your ladyship's care of yourself in the first place, and then of him; for whose

health I the more earnestly pray, because with grief I lately heard that he was ill, but I hope it is over before this. I beg your ladyship's pardon for this tedious length; and therefore, as to the other parts of your letter, shall only crave leave to say, that your ladyship ought to take comfort in the inward testimony of your sincerity, and not to be discouraged at any weaknesses that may possibly attend it, for that outweighs them all. I humbly beg your ladyship to present my most humble service to my good lord of Bedford, to whom I should have written upon this occasion, if I had understood that it had been proper for me, and that I should not rather have renewed his grief; and beseech you to accept of my hearty thankfulness for all your goodness towards me, who am

Your ladyship's
most humble, most faithful,
and most obedient Servant,

May, 1684. S. PATRICK.

LETTER XXXIX.

To Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury[a].

May it please yr. Grace,

If his mtie. hath been pleased to confer the prebend of W., as my ld. Jersey writes, upon Mr. Stapleton, I do not see what we have to do in the matter. But if there must be the formality of our mentioning him to his mtie., I am ready to obey him. Your grace knows what business I have against to morrow, which will excuse the shortness of this.

Your grace's most affectionate
Ely, May 25, 1700. and dutifull Servt.
Sy. Eliens.

For the most reverend his Grace the Lord
Archbishop of Canterbury, at
the Palace in Lambeth.

[a] [From the original MS. in the Lambeth library, (942. fol. 158,) in reply to the following letter from Tenison.

"Lambeth, May 23, 1700.
"My Ld.,
"I send yr. lp. a copy of a lr. wh. I recd. yesterday, desiring next post

LETTER XL.

To Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury[b].

MAY IT PLEASE YR. GRACE,

The bearer hereof, Mr. Wharton, my countryman and townsman, was presented by me lately to a small rectory in Lincolnshire. He is now presented to another by a lady, which is but a mile from mine, both which will make but a competent maintenance. I desire your grace will be pleased to grant him a fiat for a dispensation to hold them both. I have qualified [him] myself, as my chaplain, out of kindness to him and his relations. I had no place void, but one whom I had formerly qualified resigned his patent, haveing now no use of it. I received a letter from yr. grace the last night, to which I shall take this opportunity to make some answer. I am far from being so well as I was before my great cold, which was thrown into my bowels, (in one night's time,) and hath ever since given me great disturbance; but I hope I get ground of that distemper, and am in a way to do well. I wish heartily Chelsey Coll. could be obtained for Dr. Edw. If it were represented to his mtie, what a credit it would do him to prefer a man merely for his learning and his zeal for his governmt, I cannot but think he would consent to it, especially if it were represented how much I am concerned that an university man should be taken notice of, purely upon those accounts. We cannot serve his mtie. unless he will countenance those whom we commend to him, purely because they have deserved well of him, and have no friends to make their worth known but we alone. I cannot but think

to hear from you, yt. I may ye better know wt. answer to give to ye king.

'Hampt. C. 22 May, 1700.

'MY LORD,

'His maj. has been pleased to conferr ye prebend of Worcester now vacant upon Mr. Stapylton, and has accordingly ordered me to acquaint yr. grace of it, yt. you may impart it to the rest of ye comissioners, and give ye necessary directions herein.

'I am my ld. yr. graces, &c.,

Jersey.'

"Mr. Stapylton, (my lord's chaplain,) they say is a good man. I cant say so of Mr. Smalwood, who was recomended by another ld. Ye person dead is worthy Dr. Hopkins.

"I am, my lord,

"yr. very affect. Br.

"Tho. Cantuar.

"May, 1700."]

[b] [From the Lambeth Library, (942. fol. 170.)]

that Mr. Dawson is to be preferred to all the competitors for Dr. Hunt's benefice, and therefore have signed the enclosed for him.

I am, may it please yr. grace,
Yr. most affectionate Friend and dutifull Servt.
Ely, Aug. 4, 1731. Sy. Eliens.

LETTER XLI.

To his grace the archbishop of Canterbury[c]. [*Tenison.*]

Melton, near Doncaster, 16 Maii, 1702.

.....morning I came from Mr. Gore.....told me he would give 10*li. per annum* to the corporation for propagating the gospel, to be given from Lady day last. I had not the roll about me to get his subscription, but it is sure enough. I have ventured upon a long journey, but it is about a weighty concern[d], and I bless God I hold out very well, and am rather better by it than otherwise, and hope the change of air may turn to my advantage, especially in so sweet a country as this is, and among good friends, with whom I shall stay at least a fortnight before I return to Ely, for a pretty long rest is necessary after such a long journey of 4 days.

I am,
Your grace's most affectionate Friend
and dutiful Servant,
Sy. Eliens.

LETTER XLII.

To the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel[e].

Ely, July 14, 1702.

Sir,

I was gone to Cambridge for 2 or 3 days when your letter came hither, otherwise you had received an answer to it sooner. Mine is a very small diocess, in which there are but 3 con-

[c] [From the Minute Book of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The opening of the letter is imperfect.]

[d] [The marriage of his son. Compare p. 551 above.]

[e] [From the Minute Book of the Society. This letter has been printed in Anderson's History of the Colonial Church, vol. iii. p. 33.]

siderable towns where they dwell that are most likely to promote the pious design you mention. In Cambridge, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Richardson, Master of St. Peter's colledge, is, I am sure, well disposed to such a work; and so, I believe, are Dr. Roderick, the Provost of King's, Dr. Bentley, Master of Trinity, Dr. Covel, Master of Christ's, and the King's Professor of Divinity, Dr. James, Master of Queen's, who is now going up to wait as chaplain at court. Here at Ely there is no gentleman in the town but sir Roger Jennings, who, I hope, will not be backward in so good a work. At Wisbich, Mr. John Bellamy, one of her majesty's justices of peace, and Mr. Josiah Cohil, another of them, (who lives but 2 miles off from thence, at Newton), are good men, and therefore likely to promote it.

I am Sir,
Your faithful Servant,
Sy. Eliensis.

For Mr. John Chamberlayne. at his house in Petty France, Westminster.

LETTER XLIII.

To Dr. Thomas Turner, President of C. C. C. Oxford[f].

Sir,

I am very unwilling to press you into residence beyond your inclinations, but I hoped what I last proposed by Mr. Dean would have been very acceptable to you. Which was, that you would come once in two or three years, when it would be most convenient to you, and the season most inviting. For to be wholly absent when you are in health, I doubt will not hear well, and both you and I shall be censured as negligent in our duty. Yet I have such a respect to you, and am so tender of doing any thing that will make you uneasy, that I leave you to follow your own prudence and conscience in this matter. I mention that last word, because I think *beneficium* and *officium* cannot be separated. But I look upon you as so good a man, that I may safely leave you to your own judgment, and not interfere mine further in this affair. I am, Sir,

Your assured Friend and Brother,
Sy. Elien.

Ely, Aug. 13, 1704.

[f] [Aubrey's Letters, i. 138.]

LETTER XLIV.

To Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury [g].

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

I do not think a fitter person can be propounded to be a gov: of the Charterh. than the lord treasurer, whom I look upon as worthy of the highest honour, and who is most likely constantly to attend to his business. Therefore if I can be well enough to be there, you may rely upon my vote to go along with your graces, being,

Yr. most dutifull and affectionate Servant,

Dec. 2, 1706. Sy. Eliens.

To the most reverend his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, at his Palace, Lambeth.

MANDATE OF KING CHARLES II. TO QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, FOR THE ELECTION OF DR. ANTHONY SPARROW [h].

CHARLES R.

Trusty and wellbeloved, wee greet you well. Whereas wee are giuen to understand, that ye place of master of that our colledge is now void by ye death of Dr. Martin, deane of Ely, late master there, and haueing taken particular notice of ye good abilityes and constant loyalty of Anthony Sparrow, Dr. in divinity, and one of our chaplaines in ordinary, and formerly fellow of yor colledge, wee have thought good hereby to recommend him effectually unto you, to be elected into ye said place of Master of that our colledge; not doubting of your readynesse to comply with our royall pleasure in a particular which designes chiefely ye good of that society, and ye just encouragement of a person well deseruing of vs, and ye church, and who from ye neare relacoñ he hath heretofore had to yor

[g] [From the Lambeth library, (941. fol. 12.)]

[h] [See p. 436 above. This document and that which follows have been obtained from the archives of Queen's college.]

colledge, is euery way fitted to receiue ye govern^t of it. So as in that choice you will not onely haue an advantage of gratifying our recommendation, but of makeing a discreet prouision for ye future good and prosperous estate of that our colledge; which wee shall on any good occasion expresse ourselfe ready to advance. And so wee bid you farewell. Giuen att our court at Whitehall, Aprill ye 30^th^ in ye 14^th^ yeare of our reigne, 1662.

By his majesty's command,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Addressed

"To our trusty and wellbeloued ye Vice Master or Vice President and ye rest of ye Fellowes of Queenes colledge in our Vniversity of Cambridge[a]."

[a] [The interference of the crown in college elections formed, from the earliest times of academic history to a comparatively recent period, no uncommon example of the undefined prerogative exercised by the sovereigns of England. It rested on no definite basis of statute or common law, and was in many cases exerted not only in opposition to the wishes or the consciences of the electoral body, but in contravention both of the privileges secured to them by royal charter or legislative enactment, and of the oaths by which every individual member had bound himself at his institution. The ground of this usage was wholly prescriptive: yet among the many claims put forth to the allegiance of the subject, before the personal prerogative of the crown was restrained within its later limits, it was hardly felt to involve any serious grievance; so long as the royal mandate either left inviolate the strict laws of the foundation, or assumed to itself the responsibility of dispensing with them.

The supreme control thus exercised over the free choice of the electors, presents at first sight some points of analogy with the congé d'élire issued by the crown to the dean and chapter on the occasion of electing a bishop.

An essential distinction nevertheless is to be drawn between them. The right of nominating to episcopal sees was taken at a very early period by the crown out of the hands of the people or the capitular bodies, and no election could take place without it, the form of election being retained merely as a recognition (however anomalous) of the earlier usage. It was exerted not merely on certain occasions, but universally; and the title to the temporalities rested immemorially by the constitution in the crown, as evidenced by the form of investiture. The royal mandate by which the fellows of a college were enjoined to give their votes for the nominee of the sovereign was an exceptional instrument; nor has any thing ever been requisite towards putting the newly elected head into full legal possession of his office, but the confirmation of the visitor. In case of disobedience to the royal command no proceedings could be taken against the contumacious electors under any specific statute, but by general impeachment on the ground of treasonable resistance to the will of the

sovereign, or by virtue of some special judicial commission.

Numerous precedents may be cited from the history of either university, evincing that the practice was far from rare.

In the important case of Magdalene college, Oxford, in 1688, the last notable instance in which the choice of the society was set aside, it was the overt design of James for the introduction of Romanism, joined to the legal disqualification and scandalous repute of his nominee Farmer, that nerved the fellows to their bold resistance, and enlisted the sympathies of the nation on their behalf. In the course of the proceedings instituted against their body it was openly conceded by Hough that of his nineteen predecessors in the presidency four at least had been elected by royal mandate. The first of these was Walter Haddon, who was elected Sept. 30, 1552, by virtue of letters mandatory from king Edward VI. A second was nominated by Elizabeth, probably Nicholas Bond, Apr. 5, 1590. Thomas Pierce and Henry Clerk, who immediately preceded Hough himself, were similarly nominated by Charles II. The case of John Oliver, D.D., elected May 24, 1644, instanced by Jefferies, was disputed by Hough; and, the register of the college during that period having been lost, could not be satisfactorily determined; but has been recorded by the historian of the university as an instance in point.—See Wood, Hist. of Colleges, &c., 317. State Trials, xii. 30.

Thomas Holland, M.A., of Balliol, was elected rector of Exeter college, April 24, 1592, at the command of Elizabeth. His successor John Prideaux resigning in 1642, George Kendall, D.D., was recommended by king Charles I., but for many reasons declined by the society, the king wanting either the will or the power to enforce his injunction. In the year 1666 the mandate of Charles II. secured the election of Arthur Bury, May 27.

At Queen's college John de Hotham was elected about June 18, 1350, "by superior command," to quote the words of Wood: which if not to be construed as implying a formal mandate, indicate at least a powerful constraint exercised upon the electing body.

Sir Henry Savile, in a letter addressed to lady Russell, Feb. 4, 159$\frac{8}{9}$, acknowledges that to the lord treasurer Burleigh he was indebted for his nomination as warden of Merton, and prays for her intercession with his lordship in order to obtain for him the provostship of Eton, then vacant.—Strype, Ann. iv. 319.

William Harvey, M.D., was nominated warden of Merton by Charles I., April 7, 1645, and Edward Reynolds by Charles II., July 7, 1660.—Hardy's Le Neve, iii. 544, 545.

The latest additional instance in the history of Oxford is that of the hon. Leopold William Finch, who was elected warden of All Souls' by mandamus from James II., Jan. 21, 1686.—Wood, 11, 107, 145, 272.

The published annals of the sister university, although more meagre than those of Oxford, are yet not wanting in evidences of the same regal intervention.

Thus Dr. W. Smyth was nominated master of Clare hall by queen Elizabeth in 1598. — Cambridge Transactions, by Heywood, pref. p. xv.

On the death of Dr. Whitaker master of St. John's College in 1595, the intervention of the crown was sought by a party of the fellows in order to prevent a puritan head being appointed as his successor. The opposite party in turn petitioned lord Burleigh that no royal mandate might be issued to deprive them of their freedom of election. A mandate was subsequently issued offering the college the choice of Dr. Clayton or Mr. Stanton; the

SECOND MANDATE OF KING CHARLES II. FOR THE ELECTION OF DR. ANTHONY SPARROW[b].

CHARLES R.

Trusty and wellbeloved, wee greet you well. The particular care wee have for ye recouering our vniuersities out of that

former of whom, as being unmarried, the queen preferred. Clayton was chosen unanimously. At the request of the heads Mr. Neate was nominated in the room of Dr. Clayton to the mastership of Magdalen College. Cambridge Transactions, ii. 64—85.

On the displacement of Dr. George Day from the bishopric of Chichester and provostship of King's college, king Edward VI. sent a mandate to that college for the election of his old tutor sir John Cheke, who was adopted by the fellows as their head, notwithstanding his being disqualified on three separate grounds; not having taken the degree of doctor, not being in priests' orders, and never having been on the foundation of that society.—Strype, Life of Cheke, p. 36. Cole asserts that the election of Samuel Collins in 1615 was similarly enjoined by James I.

In regard to King's college, a royal foundation, such a claim on the part of the king may have stood upon more defensible ground, notwithstanding the freedom secured to the society by the charter of Henry VI. It was more frequently exercised over that foundation than any other. When the provostship was vacated by the death of sir Thomas Page, in August, 1681, Samuel Pepys was recommended by his friends to apply to the king for the appointment, being assured that the royal mandate would, if obtained, secure his election. The design was not however prosecuted further.—Life of Pepys, by lord Braybrooke, vol. i. p. xxii. Bentley's Pepys correspondence, i. 265.

At the same college is the last attempt to be traced on the part of the crown to assert this unstatutable privilege.

On the death of Dr. John Coplestone, provost of King's college, king William III. issued his mandamus, enjoining the fellows to elect Mr. Upman, fellow of Eton. Objection having being raised against this nomination on the ground that Upman had preached in defence of the declaration of indulgence during the preceding reign, a new injunction was issued in favour of Isaac Newton, then member for the university of Cambridge. Against this recommendation it was protested by the college that the provost must, according to the statutes, be in priest's orders, and be chosen from among the fellows of the society. Their appeal was heard before the king and privy council, Aug. 29, 1689, when Newton was declared disqualified for the office.—Cole's MSS. in Brit. Mus. 5849. fol. 264. Alderman Newton's Diary, quoted by Edleston, Correspondence of Newton and Cotes, p. lix. Brewster, Memoirs of Newton, ii. 116.

From that period no attempt appears to have been made by the crown to exercise any direct authoritative control over the constitutional freedom of collegiate elections.]

[b] [The fellows of Queen's, apprehending that a mandate might be issued, presented to the king a petition, the substance of which is given by Dr. Knight, praying to be left to the exercise of their free choice. The king's reply is contained in the second more peremptory missive.]

decay and corruption ye late unhappy times had introduced, makes vs more then ordinarily sollicitous to supply all vacances in them with such persons as may best restore them to their pristine splendor and reputation; so as wee cannot satisfy ourselfe to leave ye prouision of a governor for that our colledge upon a bare recommendacon of Dr. Sparrow; whose personall worth, piety, and learning, might yet secure him ye successe of those his just pretencons. Wee haue therefore thought good hereby to signify our expresse pleasure to you, that you faile not to choose and admit ye said Dr. Anthony Sparrow into ye place of president or master of that yor colledge, now vacant by ye death of Dr. Martin, late president there. Wherein, though wee should not otherwise have doubted of yr complyance, wee haue out of our tendernesse of ye good of that our colledge, in what so nearly concernes it, chosen to secure ye event by an absolute significacion of our royall pleasure. And so wee bid you farewell. Att our court att Whitehall, May ye 2d. 1662.

By his Majesty's command,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Addressed

"To our trusty and wellbeloued, ye Vice Master and Fellowes of Queenes Colledge in our Vniversity of Cambridge."

NARRATIVE OF THE ELECTION OF ANTHONY SPARROW, MASTER OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, IN OBEDIENCE TO HIS MAJESTIES MANDATE.

Three scrutinies being by statute allowed in the choice of the master, wee tryed the first scrutiny, whether we would elect by a free choice Dr. Sparrow, an ancient member of our society, and knowne to be a constant loyall subject to the king, and true to the church. The senior fellows, to the number of five of us, voted for him. Others writt for Mr. Patricke; but before five of them had written, the senior fellow broake of that scrutiny, and produced his maties letters recommendatory for Dr. Sparrow; and read them in the presence and hearing of the whole society present.

After these were read we went to a second scrutiny, and the

seniors writt as before for Dr. Sparrow, some others for Mr. Patrick; but before they had written soe many suffrages for Mr. Patrick as had bene given for Dr. Sparrow, the senior fellow broak of that scrutiny, and read his maties mandate for the electing Dr. Sparrow. After that, the seniors again, according to their duty, writt their suffrages for Dr. Sparrow, and the senior fellow seeing that others were disobedient to his maties command, broake of that scrutiny: Dr. Sparrow having then two suffrages more then Mr. Patrick.

After this, the senior fellow pronounced Dr. Sparrow master or president, *virtute regii mandati.* The truth of this we doe all attest by the subscription of our hands, ready to confirme it by oath when required.

Ambrose Appleby, Edward Kemp, Richard Bryan, senior fellows.

[The following statement is added in a different hand.]

The mandate being published to the society before the election was made, Dr. Anthony Sparrow claymes the right of the presidentshipp or mastershipp of Queen's Colledge, by vertue of that mandate; ffor the statute of the colledge for election being made by the king's sole power, and never confirmed by act of parliament, may, when he pleaseth, be abrogated, and by the same reason be suspended for a time. And *de facto* hath usually upon emergent occasions been suspended or abrogated. And being soe, the society hath noe power to contradict his maties authority. And therefore the mandate being for the election of Dr. Sparrow, the society hath noe power to chuse any other for that time. And if they did, that election was void. The seniors and some others did, in obedience to the king's command, elect and admit the sd. Anthony Sparrow. Afterward, differences in the college beginning to arise about the right of the mastership, his matie sent a commission to the vice-chancellor, and some other doctors, to visite and determine. The visitors, in the king's name and right, declared Dr. Sparrow master, and left him in quiet possession. This being done, he humbly conceives no other court ought to intermeddle with this debate; since the king is, *jure communi*, visitor of the sd. colledge, being heir to the ffoundresse, queene Elizabeth, wife to king Edward the 4th. And the common law saith, that where the king is ffounder, or heir to the ffounder or ffoundresse,

he is visitor of that foundation, and as visitor, judge of differences about the statutes of the colledge[b].

CERTIFICATE TO VALENTINE GREATRAKES[c].

Having been present sundry times when great numbers of people resorted to Mr. Valentine Greatrak's, and beheld many wonderful cures done by his hand, I could not refuse his desire that I would in writing declare something of what I have seen, and therefore do certify as followeth :

I was by when he stroked a servant of Mr. Fairthornes, (an excellent engraver near Temple Bar,) who had been lame a twelvemonth by a dead palsy on the right side. After the second stroking he was able to go about the room with the help of a stick, and in a little time grew to such strength, that he now can work at his trade again.

The wife of Samuel Smith of Newbury has been afflicted with a violent pain in her back and hip several years, which made her so lame, that she could not stir without some torment, and by the continuance of it, her life was become (as she said) a burden to her. By gentle stroking he brought it down to her foot, and in a few minutes (renewing his stroking in those places where she said any pain was remaining,) drove it quite away, so that she could go without her staff as fast as any of us there present. I have seen her several times since, and she continued in the same strength ; only coming to him sometimes to confirm it in her, (and to remove some small grudgings which she had of it,) before she went into the country.

There was also, a little after, a well known artist in this town, who desired his help, having lain in intolerable pains (as himself told me) for the space of eleven months. I saw him stroke his arm, and thigh, and leg, whither he pursued the pain till he chased it out at his foot, and the patient said he was perfectly free. I heare indeed since that his pain is returned ; but I have good reason to conclude that if he had applied himself again to the same hand which eased him before, he might have received a greater benefit ; for I know one whom he gave relief unto, that had been long tormented in that

[b] [From Sancroft's papers, formerly in the possession of bishop Tanner, and now in the British Museum. MS. Harl. 3789. fol. 123.]

[c] [See p. 447 above.]

fashion, but within a day or two was in such pain that she could not stir in her bed, and judged herself worse than ever. Upon my desire that he would go again to her, (for she could not come to him,) he went, and after a few gentle strokings, freed her so perfectly from her pains. that for a considerable time she felt none at all, and I hope still remains at ease.

These are but a few of those instances which I could give of this nature; to which if I should add what I have seen him do in the case of deafness, of the evil, fits of the mother, wind, and such like, it would be enough to fill a volume. And yet I have not seen half so many cures as other persons of unspotted credit have done, who had the leisure and opportunity to be more frequently with him. I never yet met with any, who would have the patience diligently to attend him for a few hours, and who came away unsatisfied about the reality of such things as are reported. Nay, some persons (not too forward of belief) have been convinced in a few minutes. A small acquaintance and short converse with him would also soon satisfie those who doubt, that he is a man of no designs; for he appears to me of too free an humour, and open disposition, to be able to conceal and disguise himself. There is nothing of reservedness to be seen in his temper. I could never discover any thing that looks like craft and subtilty in him. He seems to be of a singular good nature, and to be void of all covetousness, pride, or hatred of others. His charity and good will to mankind seems to be great; and to be the only thing that moves him to engage himself in such perpetual labours. I never heard him speak any words unbecoming a Christian. He professes all loyalty to his prince, due reverence to his spiritual governors, and to be of the reformed religion, as it is here by law established. All which considered, methinks he merits much respect: and if this testimony of mine may do him any service, I shall be very glad of it; because of the obligation I have to him for a cure done upon my self.

Simon Patrick, rector of St. Pauls Church,
April 14, 1666. Covent Garden[c].

[c] [Valentine Greatrakes was a native of Affane in the county of Waterford, where his father, William Greatrakes, esq., a gentleman of good family, held a small patrimony. He was born Feb. 14, 162¾, and educated as a protestant in the free school at Lismore, until the age of

KING CHARLES THE FIRST'S VOW CONCERNING THE RESTORING CHURCH LANDS [a].

I A.B. do here promise and solemnly vow, in the presence and for the service of Almighty God, That if it shall please his Divine Majesty of his infinite goodness to restore me to my just kingly rights, and to reestablish me in my throne, I will wholly give back to his Church all those impropriations which

thirteen, when he was destined for Trinity college, Dublin, but the rebellion breaking out, his mother took refuge with him in England, where he resided with his great uncle, Edmund Harris, and on the death of that relative, with a clergyman in Devonshire, under whom he studied theology and the classics. Returning to Ireland, he spent a year in complete seclusion, at the lonely castle of Caperquin, at which period his mind seems to have become disorganized. In 1649 he entered the parliamentary service, and after six years, the forces being reduced, retired to his native place, in which he was made clerk of the peace for the county of Cork, and registrar for transplantation. At the restoration these places were taken from him, and want of regular occupation aggravating his previous tendency to fanaticism, he felt what he called an impulse, that the gift of curing the king's evil was bestowed upon him. His system of operations bore much analogy to the later practice of mesmerism, or animal magnetism, consisting of passes or strokings over the parts affected, which he further accompanied by prayer.

Having met with that ephemeral success which commonly attends every novel and imposing method of treating disease, aided by the active imagination of the patient, Greatrakes became bold enough to advertise the cure of all disorders whatsoever by the same simple process. Towards this end, he presumptuously laid claim to supernatural aid, and with great profanity invoked the Holy Ghost as his assistant; for which he was cited to the bishop's court, and inhibited from prosecuting such practices. Upon this he came to England in January, 1665, where he performed many cures; was invited by the king to Whitehall, and established the highest repute. Even Dr. Henry Stubbe, a physician of eminence, published a pamphlet in attestation of his skill. The hon. Robert Boyle, Henry More, and many other members of the Royal Society were among his patrons.

In the year 1666, in reply to some attacks made upon him, with particular reference to his failure in the case of Mr. Cresset, in Charter House Square, Greatrakes published an account of his system in a Letter to Boyle, appended to which were certificates from Boyle himself, Whichcote, (a patient,) Cudworth, Wilkins, Denton, Fairclough, Faber, and other men of learning and probity; to which, Patrick, who had himself benefitted by the stroker's art, contributed the present testimonial, p. 61.

It is uncertain at what period this empiric's death took place, or whether his pretensions continued to the last to command the confidence of the public. Ware, in his History of the Writers of Ireland, declares that he was living in Dublin in the year 1681.—See Biogr. Brit. art. 'Stubbe,' Chalmers, &c.]

[a] [See p. 542.]

are now held by the crown; and what lands soever I now do or should enjoy, which have been taken away, either from any episcopal see, or any cathedral or collegiate church, from any abbey, or other religious house, I likewise promise for hereafter to hold them from the church, under such reasonable fines and rents as shall be set down by some conscientious persons, whom I promise to choose with all uprightness of heart, to direct me in this particular. And I most humbly beseech God to accept of this my vow, and to bless me in the designs I have now in hand, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Oxford, 13 Ap. 1646. CHARLES R.

"This is a true copy of the king's vow, which was preserved thirteen years under ground by me,

August 21, 1660 [b]. GILBERT SHELDON."

LETTER OF KING CHARLES I. TO JUXON BISHOP OF LONDON [c].

My Ld., Newcastle, September 30, 1646.

My knowledge of yr. worth and learning, and particularly in resolving cases of conscience, makes me at this time (I confesse) put you to a hard and bold taske; nor would I doe it, but that I am confident you know not what feare is in a good cause. Yet I hope you beleive that I shall be loath to press you to a needless danger, assuring you that I will yeild to none of yr. freinds in my care of yr. preservation. I neede not tell you the many persuasions and threatenings wch. hath binne used to mee for making me change episcopall into presbyteriall

[b] [This important paper has been published in the Appendix to Robert Nelson's "Letter to persons of quality and estate," p. 24. 8vo, Lond. 1715; and in Spelman's History of Sacrilege, p. 170. 8vo, Lond. 1846.]

[c] [This letter in the king's handwriting is preserved in the Lambeth library (679. fol. 183) with the note prefixed in archbishop Tenison's autograph:

"The following lr. of k. Ch. Ist., from Newcastle, Sept. 30, 1646. to the b. of London, as also those of k. C. to Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Henderson to his majesty, are originals, given by ye k. to ab. Sheldon, and by him to Ralph Snow, and by Ralph Snow to me.

THO. CANTUAR.

Dec. 20, 1711."

The letter, omitting the final proposition, has been printed from Baker's MSS. in the Cambridge University library, by sir H. Ellis, 2 Series, iii. 325; and a less accurate transcript in Letters of the Kings of England, by J. O. Halliwell. ii. 422.]

government; wch. absolutely to doe is soe directly against my conscience, that (by the grace of God) no misery shall ever make mee.

But I hold my selfe obliged by all honest meanes to eschew the mischiefe of this too visible storme. And I thinke some kinde of complyance to the iniquity of the times may be fit, as my case is, which at another time were unlawfull. These are the grounds wch. have made me thinke of this inclosed Proposition: the which, as one way it lookes handsome to mee, so in another I am fearfull least I cannot make it with a safe conscience; of which I command you to give mee your opinion upon yr. allegiance, coniuring you that you will deale plainly and freely with me, as you will answeare it at the dreadfull day of judgment. I conceive the question to bee, Whether I may with a safe conscience give way to this proposed temporary complyance, with a resolution to recover and maintaine that doctrine and discipline wherein I have binn bred. The duty of my oath is herein chiefely to be considered, I flattering my selfe that this way I better comply with it then being constant to a flat denyall; considering how unable I am by force to obtayne that which this way there wants not a probability to recover, if accepted, (otherwise there is no harm done.) For my regall authority once settled, I make noe question of recovering episcopal government; and God is my witnesse my cheifest end in regaining my power is to doe the church service. So expecting your reasons to strengthen yr. opinion, whatsoever it be, I rest

Yr. most assured, reall, faithfull,

constant friend,

CHARLES R.

I desire yr. opinion in the particulars as well as in the generall of my proposition. For it is very possible that you may like the scope of it, and yet mend much in the penning of it. I give you leave to take the assistance of the bp. of Salisbury and Dr. Sheldon, or either of them, and let me have yr. answeare with all convenient speede. None knowes of this but Will. Murray, who promises exact secresy. If yr. opinion and reasons shall confirme mee in making of this propos., then you may some way bee seene in it: otherwise I promise you that yr. opinion shall be concealed.

A PROPOSITION FOR SETTLING RELIGION.

Whatsoever was the necessity for reformation in religion, at the beginning of this parliament, noe man will now make the least question of it. And I believe it is little lesse evident, that the present distractions are so greate, and of such a nature, as it is much out of the power of any humane fiat to settle them; there being no way, in my opinion, to restore that happy tranquillity which the Church of England hath lately and miserably lost, but by a solemn, free, and serious debate by a well-chosen number of divines of each opinion; for certainly persecution never was nor will bee found a good way for conversion.

These considerations have made mee form a proposition, which I believe no man but myselfe hath thought on. It is, that concerning matters of religion, I will be content that all things remayne for 3 yeares *in statu quo nunc*; so as I and my household be not hindered from useing that forme of God's service which we have alwayes done. And that in the meanetime a committee be chosen of both houses, the fewer the better, to consult and debate with 60 well-chosen divines; that is to say, 20 of my naming, as many of the Presbyterians, and as many of the Independents; how the church shall be settled and governed at the end of three yeares, or sooner, if partyes or differences may be sooner agreed. I doe not meane that these committees shall have any other power then that of hearing, debating and reporting; for I alwayes understand that the determination of all be left to mee, with the 2 houses. Now if this be accepted, I expect that this should rather facilitate then retard the setling of civile matters: giving you power to make use of these, as you shall judge best for that peaceable end, which all good men desire.

For Will. Murray.

My letter to the bishop of London, from Newcastell, the 30th Sep. 1646[d].

[d] [This paper is probably referred to in the various replies of divines to Sheldon, given at length in Cary's Memorials of the civil war, I. 329-337. The same proposal was in the mean time embodied in the king's message to both houses, dated from Holdenby house, May 12, 1647. Compare vol. v. p. 674.]

DRAFT OF COLLECTS FOR THE NEW OR AMENDED LITURGY, MDCLXXXIX.[a]

Third Collect for Evening Prayer.

Almighty God, who hast hitherto preserved us in safety this day, by thy great mercy defend us from all perils and dangers of this night. Pardon whatsoever we have done amiss, and settle our holy purposes to do better for the time to come: that laying ourselves down to sleep with these godly resolutions in our hearts, they may awaken with us in the morning, and we may daily grow more watchful in all our ways, for the love of thy only Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen.

A preparatory prayer for the receiving of the Communion, to be read on the Lord's day, or some week day or days before.

O God, who hast ordained holy mysteries for a communication of our Saviour's wonderful love in laying down his life for us, and for the communication of the benefits of his death and passion to us; we beseech thee to dispose all those who intend to receive the holy Sacrament, to come to thy table with such sincere repentance of all their sins, and unfeigned resolutions of better obedience, with such an humble faith and ardent love unto thee and unto all men, that they may comfortably hope for thy gracious pardon, and for the power of thy holy Spirit, to carry them, by patient continuance in well doing, unto eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[a] [It is impossible to determine with precision how far these Collects are to be considered Patrick's composition. The first draft is known to have been drawn up by him, though subsequently modified by the hands of Tillotson and Stillingfleet. (See p. 526, above.) A place for them may consequently be claimed among the author's writings. They have been extracted from the volume of alterations and emendations of the Liturgy, published by order of parliament, in the year 1854, and collated with the original MS. in the Lambeth Library. Those only which form substantively new collects have been included, it being impracticable to indicate every instance in which particular phrases or expressions have been subjected to alterations.]

A prayer to be said in any time of calamity.

Almighty God and most merciful Father, we, miserable sinners, do here humbly acknowledge before thee, that we are unworthy of the least of all thy mercies. We confess, O Lord, in the bitterness of our souls, that we have grievously sinned against thee: that all orders of men amongst us have transgressed thy righteous laws: that we have hitherto rendered both thy mercies and thy judgments ineffectual to our amendment. It is of thy mere mercy, O Lord, that we are not consumed; for which our souls do magnify and bless thy name. O God, who hast hitherto spared us to the end that thy goodness might lead us to repentance; let it be thy good pleasure to give unto us all that godly sorrow which worketh repentance to salvation not to be repented of: that thou mayest turn from thy heavy displeasure against us, and mayest rejoice over us to do us good, through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour. Amen.

Collect for the fourth Sunday in Advent.

O Lord, who has given us cause of perpetual joy by the coming of thy Son, our Saviour, among us; raise up thy power (we pray thee), and possess us with a mighty sense of thy wonderful love: that whereas through the cares of this life, we are sore let and hindered in running the race that is set before us, we may be careful for nothing; but thankfully commending ourselves in everything to thy bountiful grace and mercy, the peace of thee, our God, which passeth all understanding, may keep our hearts and minds, through the satisfaction of thy Son our Lord. To whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

Collect for Christmas Day.

Almighty God, who hast given us thy only begotten Son, the brightness of thy glory, and the express image of thy person, to take our nature upon him, and to be born of a pure virgin; grant that we being regenerate, and made thy children by adoption and grace, may daily be renewed by thy holy Spirit; till Christ be perfectly formed in us, and we be made partakers of a divine nature, through the same our Lord Jesus

Christ, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the same Spirit, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

Collect for St. John the Evangelist's Day.

Merciful God, who art light, and in whom is no darkness at all; enlighten our minds, we most humbly beseech thee, with such a full understanding of the doctrine taught by thy blessed apostle and evangelist John, that we walking in the truth, in all purity and holiness of life, may have fellowship with thee and thy Son Jesus Christ; by whose blood being cleansed from all our sins, we may at length attain to everlasting life, through the same our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Collect for the holy Innocents' Day.

O most blessed God, who having sent thy Son in our nature, didst preserve him in his infancy from the malice of Herod, by whom many other children were slain; grant that in all dangers and adversities we may put our whole trust and confidence in thee: and do thou by thy good providence preserve us from the rage of unreasonable and wicked men, or strengthen us by patient sufferings to glorify thy holy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Collect for the Epiphany.

O God, who by the leading of a star did manifest thy only begotten Son to the Gentiles, and guide them to the place where he lay; mercifully grant that we to whom thou hast revealed him more clearly by the light of thy glorious Gospel, may make such progress in faith and holiness, and be so entirely led and governed by thy Spirit, that we may be brought after this life, into that blessed place where he now is, and there have the fruition of thy glorious presence for ever and ever, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Collect for the first Sunday after the Epiphany.

O God, whose infinite mercies in our blessed Saviour encourage us to call upon thee; we beseech thee graciously to hear us, and grant that we may both perceive and know what is thy good, and acceptable, and perfect will revealed to us; and also have grace and power so faithfully to fulfil the same, that

we may present ourselves a living sacrifice, holy, and acceptable unto thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Collect for the second Sunday after the Epiphany.

Almighty and everlasting God, who dost govern all things in heaven and earth; mercifully hear the supplications of thy people, and so rule and guide us that we may do our duties faithfully in our several places and relations: constantly abhorring that which is evil, and cleaving to that which is good; being fervent in spirit, serving the Lord, rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation, and continuing so instant in prayer, that we may enjoy thy peace all the days of our life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Collect for the third Sunday after the Epiphany.

Almighty and everlasting God, mercifully look upon our infirmities, and endue us with the spirit of meekness and patience; that no evil we suffer from others may move us to do evil unto them, but we may overcome them by doing them good, and if it be possible, as much as lieth in us, live peacably with all men. And into whatsoever dangers and necessities we may fall by doing our duty, stretch forth thy right hand, we humbly beseech thee, to help and defend us, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Collect for the first Sunday in Lent.

O Lord, who for our sake didst fast forty days and forty nights, and vanquish all the temptations of the devil, by which our first parents were overcome; grant that we may not receive the grace of God in vain, but use such abstinence, that our flesh being subdued to the Spirit, no desire of pleasure, glory, or worldly advantage may tempt us from our duty; but we may ever obey thy godly motions in righteousness and true holiness, to thy honour and glory, who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one God world without end. Amen.

Collect for the fourth Sunday in Lent.

Almighty God, who hast made a covenant of unspeakable grace and mercy with us in Christ Jesus, and conveyed unto

us therein an heavenly inheritance upon sincere obedience to his commands, which is our reasonable service; grant that we may evermore rejoice in thee, and walk worthy of our holy calling, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Collect for the fifth Sunday in Lent.

O Almighty God, who hast sent thy Son Christ to be an high priest of good things to come, and by his own blood to enter in once into the holy place, having obtained an eternal redemption for us; mercifully look upon thy people; that by the same blood of our Saviour, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot unto thee, our consciences may be purged from dead works, to serve thee the living God, that we may receive the promise of eternal inheritance, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

First Collect for Good Friday.

Almighty God, the Father of mercies, we beseech thee graciously to hear the prayers of thy church, for which our Lord Jesus Christ was content to be betrayed, and given up into the hands of wicked men, and to suffer death upon the cross; and according to that new covenant, which he sealed there with his precious blood, put thy laws into all our hearts, and write them in our minds; and then remember our sins and iniquities no more; for the sake of him, who, when he had offered one sacrifice for sin, for ever sat down on thy right hand, and now liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

Collect for Easter Day.

Almighty God, who by the resurrection of thy only begotten Son Jesus Christ, has overcome death, and opened to us the gate of everlasting life; we humbly beseech thee, that as by thy special grace preventing us, thou dost put into our minds good desires; so by thy continual help, we may steadfastly set our hearts upon those things which are above, that when Christ, who is our life, shall appear, we may also appear with him in glory, where he now liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

Collect for the fifth Sunday after Easter.

O Lord, the Author of all good, grant unto thy humble servants a right understanding in religion, that by thy holy inspiration they may not only know, and intend those things that be good, but by thy merciful guidance and assistance may perform the same; that so not being forgetful hearers, but doers of the work, they may be all blessed in their deed, through our Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Or,

Almighty God, who hast blessed the earth that it should be fruitful, and bring forth every thing that is necessary for the life of man, and hast commanded us to work with quietness and eat our own bread; bless us in all our labours, and grant us such seasonable weather that we may gather in the fruits of the earth, and ever rejoice in thy goodness, to the praise of thy holy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Collect for the Ascension Day.

O God, the blessed and only Potentate, who only hast immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath seen nor can see; grant, we beseech thee, that like as we believe thy only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ to have ascended into the heavens; so we may also in mind and heart thither ascend, and with him continually dwell: steadfastly believing that the same Jesus that was taken up into heaven, shall so come in like manner as the apostles saw him go into the heavens, where he now liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen.

Collect for Whit Sunday.

O eternal God, who according to thy faithful promise didst on the day of Pentecost lead thy holy apostles into all truth, by sending to them the light of thy holy Spirit; grant us by the same Spirit, both to have a right judgment in all things, and also faithfully to keep thy holy commandments; that thereby we may know that we love thee, and being loved by thee, we may evermore rejoice in the comfort of thy holy

Spirit, through the merits of Christ Jesus our Saviour, who liveth and reigneth with thee, in the unity of the same Spirit, one God, world without end. Amen.

Or,

O eternal God, who according to thy faithful promise didst send the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost; grant us by the same Spirit to have a right judgment in all things, and shewing our love to thee by keeping thy commandments, may evermore rejoice in Him, through the merits of Christ Jesus our Saviour, who liveth &c. Amen.

Collect for Trinity Sunday.

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty. Thou art worthy to receive glory and honour and power; for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created. Blessed be thy divine majesty who hast given us thy servants' grace by the confession of a true faith, to acknowledge the glory of the eternal Trinity, and to worship one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. We beseech thee, that thou wouldest keep us steadfast in this faith, and in holiness of life, and give us grace to walk worthy of thee, who livest and reignest ever one God, world without end. Amen.

Collect for the first Sunday after Trinity.

O God, most blessed for ever, the strength of all them that put their trust in thee; mercifully accept our prayers; and because through the weakness of our mortal nature we can do no good thing without thee, much less so great a thing as for thy sake to love one another, and to have thy love perfected in us; grant us the help of thy grace, that in keeping thy commandments we may please thee both in will and deed, especially in keeping that great commandment of loving one another as thou hast loved us, whereby we may dwell in thee, and thou in us, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Collect for the second Sunday after Trinity.

O Lord, who never failest to help and govern them who continue steadfast in thy fear and love; keep us, we beseech thee, under the protection of thy good providence, and give

us grace to fear and love thee above all things; and to have bowels of compassion towards all our brethren, that so we may have confidence towards thee, and whatsoever we ask we may receive of thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Collect for the third Sunday after Trinity.

O God of all grace, who hast called us into thy eternal glory by Christ Jesus, we beseech thee mercifully to hear the prayers, which with hearty desires we make unto thee; and grant that we, being clothed with humility, and casting all our care on thee, may be sober and vigilant; and continuing steadfast in the faith, may resist all the temptations of the devil, and at length obtain the crown of life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Collect for the fourth Sunday after Trinity.

O God, who hast taught us that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us; increase and multiply upon us thy mercy; and possess our hearts with such a strong belief that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us, that nothing here may ever make us start aside from our duty, but thou being our Ruler and Guide, we may so pass through things temporal, that we finally lose not the things eternal. Grant this, O heavenly Father, for Jesus Christ's sake our Lord. Amen.

Collect for the fifth Sunday after Trinity.

O Lord, whose eyes are over the righteous, and thine ears open to their prayers; we most humbly beseech thee to make us all of one mind, having compassion one of another, loving as brethren, being pitiful and courteous, eschewing all evil in word and deed, and doing good, seeking peace with all men, that so we may attain that peace which passeth all understanding, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Collect for the eighth Sunday after Trinity.

Most gracious God, who hast given us the spirit of adoption, whereby we call thee our Father; grant that we, mortifying the deeds of the body, and being led by thy holy Spirit, may live

as becomes thy children, and joint heirs with Christ, and finally be glorified together with him who liveth, &c. Amen.

Collect for the ninth Sunday after Trinity.

O God, who hast in thy holy Word set before us thy righteous judgments upon thine ancient people the Jews for our admonition and example; preserve us by thy grace from all those sins by which they provoked thy wrath against them, and never suffer us to be tempted above what we are able, but make a way for us to escape the temptation, or enable us to bear it, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Collect for the tenth Sunday after Trinity.

O God, who wast pleased to bestow great diversity of spiritual gifts for the first planting of thy church; we beseech thee still to pour out such a measure of thy holy Spirit upon every member of the same, as may be for the profit and edification of the whole body, united together in love by one and the same Spirit, through Jesus Christ, &c. Amen.

Collect for the eleventh Sunday after Trinity.

O God who has brought life and immortality to light by the gospel, and hast begotten us again to a lively hope, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead; make us steadfast and immoveable in this faith, always abounding in the work of the Lord, who died for our sins and rose again, and now liveth and reigneth with thee, &c.

Collect for the twelfth Sunday after Trinity.

O most merciful Father, who by the glorious ministration of the Spirit, hast given us a clear revelation of thy will in the gospel of thy son; we beseech thee to enlighten our minds, that we may rightly understand it, and duly value it, and frame our lives according to it, to thy honour and glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Collect for the thirteenth Sunday after Trinity.

O eternal God, who hast called all nations to be one by faith in Christ Jesus, grant that we who are baptized into him may so faithfully serve thee in this life, that we fail not finally to

attain thy heavenly promises, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Collect for the fourteenth Sunday after Trinity.

Almighty and everlasting God, we beseech thee enable us more and more to mortify the flesh with the affections and lusts, and to bring forth the fruit of the Spirit in love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance; that we loving what thou dost command, may obtain that which thou dost promise, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Collect for the fifteenth Sunday after Trinity.

Almighty God, who having made thy Son Jesus Christ perfect through sufferings, hast called us to be his disciples and followers; endue us, we beseech thee, with the same Spirit which was in him; that we being crucified to the world, may patiently bear the cross, and being renewed in our natures, in righteousness and true holiness, and walking according to this rule, peace and mercy may be upon us, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Collect for the sixteenth Sunday after Trinity.

O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family of heaven and earth is named; grant, we beseech thee, according to the riches of thy glory, that we may be strengthened with might by thy Spirit in the inner man; that Christ may dwell in our hearts by faith, and we being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend thy love in Christ, which passeth knowledge, and be filled with all divine graces and virtues, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Collect for the seventeenth Sunday after Trinity.

O God, the Father of all, who art above all, through all, and in us all; grant, we pray thee, that thy grace may always prevent and follow us, that we may walk worthy of the vocation wherewith we are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with longsuffering, forbearing one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. That,

being continually given to all good works, we may finally attain everlasting joy and felicity, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Collect for the eighteenth Sunday after Trinity.

O Lord, who hast enriched us with the knowledge of thy holy gospel; grant us grace, we beseech thee, so to wait for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ to judge the world in righteousness, that we may withstand the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the devil; and with such pure hearts and minds follow thee the only God, that we may be confirmed unto the end, and be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Collect for the nineteenth Sunday after Trinity.

O God, forasmuch as without thee we are not able to please thee; mercifully grant that thy holy Spirit may in all things direct and rule our hearts, and renew us in the Spirit of our mind: that putting away all bitterness and wrath, anger and malice, and every other evil affection; and being kind one to another, tender hearted, forgiving one another, even as thou, O God, for Christ's sake hast forgiven us; we may comfortably look with an assured hope for the day of redemption from all evils, unto eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Collect for the twentieth Sunday after Trinity.

O Almighty and most merciful God, who hast given us to understand thy holy will; we beseech thee to grant us thy grace to walk circumspectly, not as fools but as wise, redeeming the time, in all sobriety and heavenly mindedness: that being filled with the Spirit, we may rejoice in thee, and give thanks always for all things in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Collect for the twenty-first Sunday after Trinity.

O merciful God, who, according to thy divine power, hast given us all things pertaining to life and godliness; make us strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might: that, putting on the whole armour of God, we may be able to resist all the temptations of the devil, praying to thee always with fervent prayer, and watching thereunto with all perseverance, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Collect for the twenty-second Sunday after Trinity.

O merciful God, perfect, we beseech thee, the good work which thou hast begun in us, that our love may abound yet more and more in knowledge and in all judgment: that, approving things which are excellent, we may be sincere and without offence till the day of Christ; being filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are to the praise and glory of thee, our God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Collect for the twenty-third Sunday after Trinity.

O God, who hast set before us many and great examples of a holy and heavenly life, assist us by thy grace to be followers of them as they were of Christ; that we may not mind earthly things, but having our conversation in heaven, may look for the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, to change our vile bodies, and fashion them like unto his glorious body, in which he liveth and reigneth with thee and the holy Spirit, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

Collect for the twenty-fourth Sunday after Trinity.

O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, give us grace, we beseech thee, to walk worthy of thee unto all pleasing; that being fruitful in every work, and increasing in the knowledge of thee, our God, and thereby made meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light, we may always give thanks unto thee in thy holy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Collect for the twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity.

O eternal God who art faithful and true, and according to thy gracious promises hast raised up a glorious deliverer to us, who is the Lord our righteousness; we beseech thee to stir up the wills of thy faithful people, that, bringing forth plenteously the fruit of good works, they may be a people prepared for the Lord: and we pray thee hasten his kingdom, when he shall reign and prosper, and execute judgment and justice in all the earth. Grant this for thy infinite mercies sake in Jesus Christ, to whom with thee, O Father, and the holy Ghost, be eternal praise. Amen.

Letter from the bishop of Rochester (Sprat) to the bishop of London (Compton), relating to an alteration in the 5th of November Office, 1689[a].

My lord,

I suppose you received the message which I left yesterday morning with my lord bishop of Chichester (Patrick) for your lordship: that considering the shortness of time, I could not alone undertake to accommodate the whole fifth of November Office to the present occasion, but that I would do something towards it. Now, my lord, I send you here what alterations seem to me to be most necessary, and withal, a new Collect to be said in the Morning Prayer, and repeated in the second service, unless you shall be better provided.

So that if your lordship shall admit what I have done, there remains but one prayer more to be made for the end of the Litany; which, as I told my lord of Chichester, I hope your lordship will be quickly furnished with from better hands.

By reason of some indisposition of body, and some domestic business, I shall not be able to wait on your lordship till Thursday morning, at the house of lords.

My lord, I am your lordship's most humble
and most obedient servant,
Tho. Roffen.

Bromley, Oct. 27, 1689.

Since I wrote the former, I have ventured at a prayer to be used at the end of the Litany, which has occasioned the blots, that I desire your lordship to excuse:

[a] [See p. 526, above. The revision of the special form of prayer for the fifth of November had been committed in the first instance to Compton and Sprat, in conjunction with Patrick, but ultimately devolved upon the last-named alone, for the reasons expressed in the following letter. To Patrick consequently are to be assigned those additional portions which relate to the deliverance of the church and nation, by the arrival of king William III. It is at the same time clearly established, that the composition of the last collect is due to Sprat, the emendations proposed by Patrick, having in two instances only been incorporated into the original draft. This letter has been printed in Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa, ii. 381, from the original formerly in the possession of archdeacon Knight, and now among the Tanner Papers in the Bodleian Library.]

"O God, whose name is excellent in all the earth, and Thy glory above the heavens, who on this day didst miraculously preserve our [forefathers][b] (church and state) from the secret contrivance and hellish malice of popish conspirators; and on this day also didst [begin to give] (vouchsafe) us a mighty deliverance from the open tyranny and oppression of the same cruel and blood thirsty [enemies] (faction). We bless and adore Thy glorious Majesty, as for the former, so for this Thy late marvellous lovingkindness, [in the preservation of our religion and liberties.] (to our church and nation) And we humbly pray, that the devout sense of this Thy repeated mercy may renew and encrease in us a spirit of [love] (praise) and thankfulness to Thee its only author: a spirit of [peaceable submission] (love and gratitude) to our gracious Sovereign, whom Thou madest the blessed instrument of it, and a spirit of fervent zeal for our [holy] (pure and undefiled) religion, which now again Thou hast so wonderfully rescued, and established, a blessing to us and our posterity. And this we beg for Jesus Christ, His sake. Amen."

At the end of the Litany something may be said to this effect:

"Most gracious God and heavenly Father, who by Thy all-wise providence hast ordained the appointed times and seasons of all things, and hast made this day to be for ever famous and renowned in [this church] (all the churches of the saints), for the two signal preservations Thou hast wrought on us and our holy religion, [and for our blessed reformation upon it.] Grant, we beseech Thee, that we may approve ourselves so worthy of these glorious mercies, by adoring in all things the holy reformed doctrine we profess[c], that the gates of hell [may] (shall) never prevail against this church which Thy own right hand has planted, and that Thy outstretched arm has so often defended amongst us; that Thou mayest be with it always to the end of the world. Amen."

[b] [The interlineations by bishop Patrick.]

[c] ["And let all the enemies of Thy sacred truth know and confess."]

VISITATION OF ST. PETER'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MDCICIII[a].

On Friday April 7, 1693, I went to Peter-house, where the master and fellowes being met together, I askt them, Whether they had any thing further to add unto that wch. was contained in the foregoing papers[b]. And nothing more being offered to me, I told them I would briefly state the case wch. I was come to determine; and without entring into every thing in question, reduce my business to a short issue. They had attempted an election (it appeared by yr. appeal and answer) *per consensum magistri et majoris partis sociorum*, but could not make one; because sr. Baker wanted the consent of the major part of the fellowes, and sr. Barret wanted the consent of the master; whereupon the master thought it might be done by him and the two deans: but if this should be admitted, there was no election that way neither, for one dean dissented. And therefore recourse was had to a clause in bp. Alcock's declaration concerning certain doubts; whereby the master thought he and one dean had power to make an election; wch. being pretended in a case wch. hapned in bp. Gunning's time, I told them I had heard he should declare, when he came to hear it, he hoped they would never more proceed upon that clause, (wch. the master who sat by me did not contradict.) But whether the master and one dean have such a power or no, I thought needed not now be examined by me, if what the six fellows alledge be true; that Mr. Woodward hath

[a] [Harl. MSS. in Brit. Mus. 7042. fol. 231, &c.; extracted by Baker from the bishop's register.]

[b] [These papers, which are also recited at length in the bishop's register, are as follows:

1. The appeal of the six fellows, Ralph Witly, Michael Beaumont, Andrew Pern, John Baynes, (dean of the college,) Charles Squire, and William Vernon, against the election of Abraham Baker, B.A., on the 16 and 17 Feb. It is written in Latin, and dated Feb. 27, $169\frac{2}{3}$, and sets forth the facts as recapitulated by the bishop.

2. The appeal of Henry Barret, the rejected candidate, also in Latin, dated Feb. 28.

3. The statement of the master, Dr. Joseph Beaumont, in English, in reply to the petitioners' case.

4. The rejoinder presented by the appellants to the master's narrative, also in English.]

not taken the oath of allegiance to their present majesties[c], and therefore was no fellow, and consequently could not be dean of this colledg. In this I desired he would satisfy me, by produceing a certificate of his having taken that oath, wch., after long arguing with him, he refusing to do[d], I told him I should take it for granted he had not, and look upon his fellowship as haveing been long void, and all that he had done in it, since that time, as a perfect nullity. For wch. I told them all, I had the opinion of the attorney generall, whereby I would govern myself, and take care to fill the vacant places by my authority. Accordingly, on the next Monday I sent to them the following mandates:

SYMON ELIENSIS.

Mandat. pro societat. in coll. S^ti^ Petri, Tho. Stubes.

Symon permissione divina Eliensis epus, dilectis filliis nostris magistro et sociis domus nostræ S^ti^ Petri Cantabr. salutem, gratiam et benedictionem in Christo Jesu. Cum locus sive societas Johīs Woodward in artibus magri in domo nostra prædicta jam diu ipso facto vacaverit, virtute cujusdam actus parliamenti, cui titulus. "An act for abrogating the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and appointing other oathes," in non præstando juramenta in eodem statuto requisita; cumq. jus nominandi ad dictum locum sive societatem jure devolutionis, et per lapsum temporis, ad nos dictæ domus visitatorem notorie dignoscitur spectare et pertinere; nos itaq. pro authoritate nostra visitatoria qua fungimur, et virtute juramenti de obedientia in licitis mandatis præstanda nobis præstiti mandamus vobis, et tenore presentium firmiter injungendo requirimus, quatenus absq. moræ dispendio, immediate post receptionem presentium, dilectum nostrum Thomam Stubes in artibus bac., in locum sive societatem magri Woodward prædict., in domo nostra prædict. jam vacantem admittatis, et recipiatis eundem ad consuetum annum probationis, cæteraq. omnia et singula,

[c] [About two years earlier the earl of Nottingham, secretary of state, had written a letter by the queen's command to the university of Oxford, calling for the names of all those who had not taken the oaths to their reigning majesties.]

[d] [Woodward's letter, which is vague and evasive, not denying the fact, but failing to contradict it, is transcribed in archdeacon Knight's manuscript.]

quæ vestro incumbant officio, et in hac parte debita et requisita, peragatis. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum episcopale præsentibus apponi fecimus, datis decimo die mensis Aprilis, Anno Dñi. 1693. &c.

Mandatum pro sodal. in coll. S^ti^ Petri Galfr. Washington.

Symon permissione divinâ Elien. epũs, dilectis filiis nostris magistro et sociis coll. sive domus nostræ S^ti^ Petri Cantab. salutem, gratiam et benedictionem. Cum nuper (quod magnopere dolemus) exorta fuit inter vos discordia, de electione scholaris sive socii ad locum sive sodalitium m^ri^ Johĩs Pern jam vacantem, sex nimirum sociis suffragia sua dantibus cuidam dño. Barret in artibus bac., quinq. vero cuidam dño. Baker in artibus etiam bac., magistro collegii cum iisdem quinq. consentiente: cumq. dissentientibus hoc modo magistro et sociis pertineat ad officium magistri et duorum decanorum discordiam hanc (ut asseritur) dirimere, et si contingat magistrum et duos decanos inter se convenire non posse, tunc demum ad magistrum et unum decanorum (ut etiam asseritur) devolvitur. Quo quidem pretextu magister collegii et mr. Woodward senior decanus nominarunt dictum dom̃. Baker ad locum vacantem, juniore decano dissentiente, quem quidem dom̃. Baker magister coll. postea admisit, a qua nominatione et admissione sex socii antedicti appellarunt ad nos, de iniquitate et nullitate præmissorum querelantes, cumq. nobis constet locum sive societatem m^ri^ Woodward prædicti, in domo nostra prædicta, jam diu ipso facto vacare, virtute cujusdam actus parl. in ea parte editi, in non præstando juramenta in eodem statuto requisita, proindeq. inhabilem fuisse ad fungendum officio decani, quippe qui socius jam diu esse desiit. Nos igitur maturâ præhabitâ deliberatione et diligenti consideratione præmissorum, pro authoritate nostra visitatoria qua fungimur, tam electionem et nominationem quam admissionem prædictas nullas esse, cassas et invalidas pronunciamus et declaramus, et jus nominandi ad dictum locum sive societatem jure devolutionis ad nos spectare et pertinere. Quo itaq. pacem et concordiam inter vos (quantum in nobis est) conciliare et stabilire possimus; mandamus vobis virtute juramenti de obedientia in licitis mandatis nobis præstiti, et tenore præsentium firmiter injungendo requirimus,

quatenus immediate post receptionem præsentium, dilectum nostrum Godfridum Washington in artibus inceptorem, in locum sive societatem Johñs Pern jam vacantem admittatis, et recipiatis eundem ad consuetum annum probationis, cæteraq. omnia et singula, quæ vestro incumbunt officio, et in hac parte debita et requisita peragatis. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum epäle præsentibus apponi fecimus, datis decimo die mensis Aprilis, Anno Dñi. 1693, nostræq. translationis secundo.

Anno Domini 1693.

Decimo quinto die mensis Maii An. Dñi. 1693. exhibita fuit reṽ. in Christo Patri ac Dno. D. Symoni epõ. Elien. quædam appellatio in formâ sequen.:

In Dei nomine Amen: Coram nobis notario publico publicaq. et actica persona, ac testibus fide dignis hic presentibus . nos Rad. Witly, Tho. Gardener, Andr. Pern, Jo. Baynes, Car. Squire in art. mri. coll. Petr. intra univers. Cant. socii, animo appelland., deq. nullitat. iniquitat. gravaminibus et injustitiis infrascriptis æq. priñler quereland: dicimus allegamus et in jure proponimus, quod secundo die mensis Maii An. Dñi. 1693. jam current., omnibus et singulis sociis tunc domi presentibus legitime convocatis ad interessend: in camera quadam magistri dicti coll. sive domus prædict: ad eligendum novum socium in locum vacantem in dicto coll: per resignationem mri Mich. Beaumont nuper socii tuncq. et ibm veñli viro Josepho Beaumont intra univers. prædict. SS. Th. professore regio, dictiq. coll. sive domus prædict. magistro, nec non Andr. Baron, Rad. Witly, Alex. Bickerton, Tho. Gardener, Henr. Briggs, Gul. Fownes, Andr. Pern, Jo. Baynes, Car. Squire in art. mris: et coll. sive domus prædict. sociis legitime congregatis et comparentibus post secundam monitionem, continuo ad dictam electionem proceditur, quæ quidem electio sine omni verborum strepitu, minimaq. discordia aut disceptatione facta fuit in modum sequen: viz. nos quinque Rad. Witly, Tho. Gardener, Andr. Pern, Jo. Baynes, Car. Squire, Georgium Trigg in art. bac. secundi anni et coll. nostri alumnum, suffragiis nostris honestavimus. Hi vero quatuor Andr. Baron, Alex. Bickerton, Hen Briggs, et Guil. Fownes eligebant Johem Woodford in art. bac. primi anni, et veñ. vir Jos. Beaumont S.S. Th. professor regius, collegii Sti Petri præd. magister sive custos, utcunq. procedens, partiq. prænominati Johis Woodford plus justo favens, juris ordine non servato, et contra juris jus-

titiæq., æquitatis et rationis normam (salva semper tanti colendiss. viri reverentiâ) nec non contra formam intentionem et tenorem statutorum dicti coll. sive domus S^ti^ Petri in hujusmodi electionibus salubriter provisorum, et etiam contra consuetudinem ejusdem inviolabiliter huc-usq. usitat. et præservat., nec non pro parte et in favorem Johīs Woodford cum minore parte sociorum consentiebat, et contra majorem partem sociorum præd: suffragantium, eundem Jo. Woodford ipse magister præd. (nulliter tamen) eligebat et electum pronunciabat, et in locum vacantem præd. Johēm Woodford admisit, in omnibus tamen (salva ejus reverentia) minus juste, nulliter et inique. Admissionem vero Geo. Trigg (electi ut prædicitur per majorem partem sociorum) humiliter rite et legitime petitam et requisitam, renuit et recusavit, eundemq. penitus rejecit. Unde nos Rad. Witly &c. sentientes collegium nosmetipsos et Geo. Trigg prædict. ex præmissis nullitat. iniquitat. gravaminibus et injustitiis enormiter gravat. fuisse et esse, deterioraq. timentes, ab iisdem et eorum quolibet, ad rev̄. in Christo patrem ac dnm̄ D. Symonem, permiss. divinâ Elien. epum̄, coll. sive domus S^ti^ Petri præd. visitatorem dignissimum rite et legitime constitutum appellamus, apostolosq. petimus 1. 2. 3. instanter, instantius, et instantissime nobis et cuilibet nostrum fieri tradi et deliberari cum effectu. Et protestamur quod non sunt quindecim dies elapsi a tempore prætensarum electionis et admissionis, quodq. hujusmodi appellationem coram dicto venli magistro sive custode dicti coll. sive domus S^ti^ Petri, si ejus presentiam commode haberemus, interponeremus. Protestamur insuper de addend: et emendand: hujusmodi nostram appellationem, loco et tempore congruis, prout moris juris et styli est.

Rad. Witly. } Jo. Baynes.
Tho. Gardener. } Car. Squire.
Andr. Pern. }

Subscripta fuit hæc appellatio per personas supra nominat. in presentia mei,

Testibus { William Hardy, John Williams } Jacobi Halman not. pub. et acad. Cant. Reg^rii^.

A copy of the foregoing appeal was sent to the rev. master of Peter-house, inclosed in a letter from the ld. bp. of Ely, May 16, 1693, to wch. his lo^p^. had the following answeare:

My ld. I received &c. That the appealers have again troubled your lo^p^. I wonder not, seeing I know their unquiet disposition: but the transaction of wch they so much complain was in this manner.

There were present with me at the election, May 2nd, 1693, nine of the fellowes. Before they began to vote, I told them that there did now appear a candidate (viz. s^r^. Woodford) who was of so eminent desert, that were we to choose out of all the university, I believed we could not find one better qualified; that therefore to choose him would be much to the credit of the college, and to the encouragement of our young students. Hereupon I added, that now I had reason to hope, that we should all be unanimous in this election.

To what I had thus sayd no reply was made by any one of the company, nor any thing objected against s^r^. Woodford, which seemed to me some sign that we should all agree. Thus we proceeded to vote.

But so it happened that five of the fellows would not vote for the candidate whom the master had recommended, but rejecting him, chose s^r^. Trigg. In regard therefore that this yr. disagreeing with the master did put a stop to the finishing the election, I had recourse to the tenth statute, wch. orders and requires, that the discord betwixt the master and fellows concerning wch. candidate is the *habilior*, shall be decided *magistri et duorum decanorum provida discretione*. I therefore asked the two deanes, wch. of the two candidates they judged to be the *habilior;* they both declared, as I also for my part did, s^r^. Woodford to be the man. The statute adds, that the decision thus made by the master and the deanes, *absq. moræ dispendio* shall be observed. I therefore accordingly admitted s^r^. Woodford, after he had taken all the oaths wch. are required.

This was the matter of fact, the main part whereof is not mentioned in the appeal. Now whether I, or the appealers (who though bound by yr. oath to submit to the statutes, do oppose the statuteable decision of the case) be in fault, your l^p^'s wisdome will readily iudg. In reference to your other letter &c:

Your l^p^'s most humble servant,

JO: BEAUMONT.

S: P: Coll: Cambr:
May 20th, 1693.

The reply of the five appellants.

May it please your lo^p^., we hope we do not lye under y^e^ censure of disobedience or contempt to our master in your lp's opinion, our behaviour to him having been always such as became our deference and duty, and his character chalanges. But the late proceedings being so surpriseingly new, and, as we apprehend, intrenching upon

our rights and those of our successors, we should think we were wanting to ourselves and them, if we had not taken the method we have done.

To the masters answere received, we humbly reply as followeth. First, we say that the master hath truely related the matter of fact. Secondly, the reason why we could not concur with the master in the choice of sr. Woodford, was, because we were really perswaded then (and are so still) that sr. Trigg was much better qualified for the place. And the reason why nothing was objected against sr. Woodford was, both in obedienee to the master, who was incensed at what was sayd at ye election of sr. Barrett, tho' spoken then with all submission, and also in obedience to the statute, wch. directs every choice to be made *pacifice et sine omni verborum strepitu.* Besides, we thought the master had been informed of what objection we had against sr. Woodford, some houres before the scrutiny, not only from his tutor Mr. Woodward, who was told by most of us what we had against him, but also from a letter delivered to the master, the contents whereof are ready to be prov'd by credible witnesses. Thirdly, we own (as the master informs your lop:) that we are bound by our oaths to submit to the statutes; but we utterly deny that we opposed any statuteable decision: for we do assure your lp., that it is not yet in our power to think, but we have more honestly and conscientiously kept our oaths, in opposeing ys. power, wch. we think unstatuteable and without president, then those who did assent to the late proceedings, so irregular and new. And when we have layd before your lp. what we have to say in our case, we shall most humbly leave it to your lp's wisedome and justice to determine who are in the fault.

The master, to warrant his admission of sir. Woodford, had recourse to stat. 10th, wch. orders and requires (as he sayth) the master and the deanes to make a fellow upon a discord. Now, my lord, as we have been before, so are now tenacious of ys. opinion, that those words, *An vero hujusmodi conditiones*, &c. are no foundation to build such a power on, as is pretended to. For first, if we should understand the words as the master doth, importing in some cases a devolution to the master and the deanes, yet in ys. present case there could be no such matter, for at this election there was no disceptation *inter magistrum et scholares quis sit habilior.* And besides, to make out a discordance, as the master would have it, and upon wch. he founds ys. late admission, the master was pleased to give his vote among the fellows, to make an even number of fellows votes (for without such an equality of fellows votes we never enter-

tained the least thoughts of a discord.) But if the master has no such vote among the fellows, then there could be no *discordia*, and therefore the admission of sr. Woodford is null and void upon that point. In our last address to your lp: we shewed that if such a vote was lodged in the master, by wch. he could make a majority of fellows votes an even number, then by the same reason he might make an equality a majority, and so a fellow might be elected and admitted, *sine majore parte sociorum*, expressly required by stat: 10th. But when there was such an equality of votes, viz. 5 for sr. Otway and 5 for sr. Bincks, he did not apprehend he could make either number a majority, no, not the number of 5 for sr. Otway, whome he was zealous to preferr, but referred the determination of that case to bp. Gunning our visitor.

There is nothing more plain, then that the person duely chosen according to stat. must be elected by a majority of fellows; now how will it be consistent with the prudence of those wise men, who gave us this statute, wch. determines the choice of a fellow in such express words to the majority, if they should design to take it away from them, and put it into the hands of the master and two deanes, in such blinde and obscure termes as we read in the end of the statute?

Do these lines, *An vero hujusmodi &c.*, say, that If the master gives a vote with the minor part, against the majority, and shall admit him that is chosen by the minority?...My lord, we humbly conceive that the repealing part in any statute must be as plain as the part repealed, otherwise the statute remains as at first.

Secondly, that wch. sways very much with us, and by wch. we are verily persuaded that the admission of sr. Woodford is a nullity, and altogether unstatuteable, is, because against generall practise, the best interpreter of laws and statutes. None of us, my lord, remember, neither can we learn from those that are much our seniors, that the master and deans, in any case whatsoever, did ever make a fellow; and we do also believe, that from all the records of the college one instance cannot be produced of any thus elected and admitted as sr. Woodford was, that peaceably enjoyed a fellowship, since the college stood.

Upon the whole matter, my lord, if this admission be statuteable, how is it that the like was never heard of? Or how came ys. great power to be overlooked, or not practised by any of the master's predecessors? Were the fellows votes never 6 and 5, or 5 and 4 before? Or were the masters of the college never disgusted with the major part of the fellows, or with the person they chose till

now? Is there no construction to be put upon these words, *An vero hujusmodi &c.*, but what seems absurd, and lessens ye wisdome and prudence of those who gave us our *regula?*

These, my lord, are our reasons, wch. we hope will justify our appeal to your lp., to whome we humbly submit our cause, begging your lp's pardon for ys. trouble, and are

your lp's most humb. and most ob. scholars and servants,

Ra. Witly. } Andr. Pern. } Charles Squire.
Tho. Gardener. } Jo. Baynes. }

The master's further answere to the appellants foregoing reply was by letter to the ld. bp. of Ely in the words following:

My lord, I have made these following notes upon the appealers last paper. In yr. preface they affrm that they have behaved themselves with all fair respect toward me; but many in the university believe the contrary.

In yr. reply they first grant that I truly related to your lp. the matter of fact; and if so, I think yr. cavils against my proceedings are no better then cavils against ye statute.

2nd. They say, that they thought sr. Trigg much better qualified then sr. Woodford, though I have great reason to doubt whether indeed they thought so: yet seeing the master thought otherwise, there could be no election then finished, but by the master and deans.

3rd. They say, they thought the master had known what objections they had against sr. Woodford, namely by his tutor, (who of all men was not likely to accuse him to the master,) or by a letter, but from whom they were ashamed to mention. It was from a known rayler, who a little before had publickly reviled ye fellows.

4th. They pretend, there was no disceptation *inter magistrum et scholares quis sit habilior:* yet after the master had declared for sr. Woodford, they voted for sr. Trigg. There being then a real, apparent, and undeniable *discordia* in ys. point, between the master and them, this *discordia* was to be decided, as the statute orders.

5. The master, they say, gave his vote to make an even number of fellows votes. If so, the master meant to make himself a fellow; wch. who will imagine? The master gave his vote as master, nor could he give it but as such. And as touching equality in number, that was a thing not materiall: for had there been 6 or 7 fellows, in stead of 5, against the master, surely there had nevertheless been a *discordia*. But suppose, as they would have it, that

unless there be equality of votes, there can be no *discordia:* still they know, that of the ten electors at this last election, five were of one side, and five of the other. Here therefore upon their own ground there might be, as doubtless there was, a discordance.

Then they give yt sense and interpretation of the statute; whereas ye master took not upon him to interpret it, but only acted according to the plain and express words thereof.

In the case which they urge of sr. Otway and sr. Bincks, the master might by the statute have done as he now did; the reason why he then forbore so to do is unknown to these replyers, nor am I bound to give them an account of it.

In yr next paragraph they say, They cannot think, &c. If they cannot think, that what the statute plainly orders is to be done, I cannot help it.

What they call the repealing part of the statute, is as plain as ye part repealed, though they would have it thought to be otherwise.

Then they plead, that the master and deans were never known to make a fellow since the college stood. How can they prove this, seeing all the records we have of such things are but of a late date? What express statute orders might lawfully have been done heretofore, and may so still, where there is occasion.

Upon the whole matter they conclude with fervid rhetoricall streins. And let them in the point of eloquence glory over me.

My lord, be pleased to accept my very earnest thanks for your singularly kinde letter, and withall to bestow your blessing upon

Your lps. most humble servant,

Jo: Beaumont.

St. Petr: Coll. Cambr:
May 29, 1693.

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31 die Mensis Maii, 1693.

Upon a full and due consideration of the arguments on both sides, in the answers and replys before going, the sd. Rt. Rev. Father in God, Symon, ld. bp. of Ely, did declare and pronounce the election and admission therein mentioned to be null and void, and the nomination of a fellow into the sd. vacant fellowship to belong to him as visitor of the sd. college of St. Peter. And did thereupon send his mandate to the master of the sd. coll., to admit into the sd. fellowship Geo. Trigg, bach. of arts, scholar of ye sd. college, and at the same time sent (directed to the sd. master,) the following letter:

Sir,

It is with much reluctance that I undo any thing that hath been done by you, and therefore wish I could have been of your judgment, about the sense of the latter end of the tenth statute: but it seems to me to have a quite different intention from what you apprehend; or to be so obscure, that it is not safe for me to allow your proceedings upon it. For there being no precedent of such an election as you have made, I must be as cautious as ye judges in Westminster hall and other courts are, how they make one; because no man can easily see the consequence of such an alteration. For if any other discord between the master and fellows be allowed to make a devolution to him and the two deans, but onely when the fellows are equally divided, and the master can agree with neither side; I do not see but the master and one fellow disagreeing from the rest, nay, the master alone disagreeing from all the fellows, may by the help of the two deans, make an election of a fellow: wch. may draw such consequences after it, as I dare not lay the foundation of.

It is more easy to tell what is not the meaning of that later part of the tenth statute, than what is; and I am fully persuaded, that a bare difference in the number of suffrages at an election doth not make the disceptation after mentioned; but it must be something else, either at or before, or after the election. What, or when it is, I will not take upon me to determine, unless you all desire it; for I am not forward to deliver my opinion in such difficult matters. It is sufficient that I have touched upon the reason why I have vacated your late election.

And I pray you not to take it ill that I have waved sr. Woodford in the mandate I have sent you; for I am so desirous to favour any one whom you favour, that I should have inclined to him, if I did not think it would have been a wrong to sr. Trigg, who is senior, and, as I understand, not inferior otherwise unto him.

But in order to the making unity among you, I have so far wrought with the 5 fellows who now dissent from you, that I have reason to believe they will agree with you in the choice of sr. Woodford, when there shall be another vacancy, if he behave himself in the mean time as he ought to do; of wch. I

hope there is no doubt. And therefore, sr. be pleased on your part to condescend to a complyance with them in all yr. reasonable desires, since they profess they are very desirous, and will endeavour to comply with you, that there may be an happy end of these differences, particularly in the disposall of chambers, wch. is in your power. I doubt not you will shew yourself kind to them, wch. will I know be a means to winn them. You will excuse this freedom I use with you, in giving you my advice about such matters, because it proceeds from ye earnest desire I have to see love and peace restored in your society; wch. I beseech the God of peace, and our Lord, the Prince of peace, and the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, to send and preserve among you. I am,

Your faithfull friend and humble servant,

SYMON ELIENSIS.

Abington, May 31, 1693.

The mandate sent with the foregoing letter.

Symon permissione divina Eliensis epûs, dilectis filiis nostris magistro et sociis coll. sive domus nostræ Sti. Petri Cant. salutem, gratiam et benedictionem. Cum nova exorta fuerit inter vos discordia (quod majorem in modum nos dolore affecit,) de electione scholaris sive socii, ad locum sive sodalitium Mri. Michaelis Beaumont jam vacantem; quinq. nimirum sociis suffragia sua dantibus cuidam dño. Trigg in art. bac. secundi anni, quatuor vero cuidam dño. Woodford in art. etiam bac., primi anni, magistro coll. cum iisdem quatuor consentiente; cumq. dissentientibus hoc modo magistro et sociis, magister et duo decani putaverint ad eorum officia pertinere hujusmodi litem dirimere, atq. hac opinione freti nominaverint dictum dñm. Woodford ad locum vacantem, quem magister coll. postea admisit; a qua nominatione et admissione, quinq. socii antedicti appellarunt ad nos, de iniquitate et nullitate præmissorum querelantes; cumq. compertum habeamus, nullam fuisse disceptationem inter magistrum et socios, an conditiones a statuto requisitæ in personis nominatis concurrerint, aut quis eorum fuerit habilior, et (quod multo magis est) ne quidem unicum exemplum hujusmodi electionis per magistrum et duos decanos neq. in vestro registro, neq. in nostro extare :—nos igitur antiquum ordinem servare studentes, matura præhabitâ delibera-

tione et diligenti consideratione præmissorum, pro authoritate nostrâ visitatoriâ qua fungimur, tam electionem quam admissionem prædictas nullas esse, cassas et invalidas pronunciamus ac declaramus; et jus nominandi ad dictum locum sive societatem jure devolutionis ad nos spectare et pertinere. Ac proinde mandamus vobis, virtute juramenti de obedientiâ in licitis mandatis nobis præstiti, et tenore præsentium firmiter injungendo requirimus, quatenus immediate post receptionem præsentium, prædictum Geo. Trigg, coll. sive domus nostræ sti. Petri alumnum, et secundi anni bac., in locum sive societatem Mich. Beaumont jam vacantem admittatis, et recipiatis eundem ad consuetum annum probationis, cæteraq. quæ vestro incumbunt officio, et in hac parte debita ac requisita peragatis. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum epãle præsentibus apponi fecimus, ultimo die Maii, anno Dñi. 1593., et translationis nostræ secundo.

VISITATION OF ST. PETER'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MDCICIV.

The unhappy differences between the master and fellows of Peter House being again revived, notwithstanding my endeavours the last year to make peace among them, I think it will be for the service of my successors to give a short and faithfull narrative of them.

I received a letter from the master, Dr. Beaumont, bearing date Jun. 2, 1694, wherein he signified to me, that the year of sr. Trigg's probation being expired, he summoned a meeting of the fellows, about his being presented to me, in order to his admission *in perpetuum socium*. But the two deans and two of the senior fellows refuseing to approve him, and to consent unto his being presented to me, he did not see how he could avoid the giving of the first monition to a new election, (wch. was then demanded,) and accordingly had done it.

This I thought to be a strange presumption; but I only let him know, by a letter dated Jun. 5, that I did not think the 52 statute, upon wch. they proceeded, gave them power to refuse letters testimoniall to one, after his year of probation, without giving yr. visitor such reasons as might satisfy him they did not proceed arbitrarily: much less, to reject one who

was nominated by me, not chosen by them, without giving me undeniable evidences of his incapacity; wch. I demanded from them immediately upon the receipt of this letter, and required them to forbear any further proceedings towards a new election, (wch. I declared before hand I would look upon as null and void,) wishing them to consider whither such proceedings tended, viz. to perpetuall difference among themselves, and between them and yr. visitor.

On the same day 3 of the fellows put in the following appeal to me:

Junii quinto 1694. apud palatium Dñi epī Elien: in civitate Elien: quibus &c. comparuerunt Rad. Witly, Andr. Pern, et Jo. Baynes in art: m^ri: coll. sive domus S^ti Petri in acad. Cant. socii, et ad omnem juris effectum coram Dño epō Elien. allegarunt quendam Geo. Trigg in art. bac. primo die Junii 1693. admissum fuisse in locum socii ejusdem coll. nunc vacan., sed in unum annum, sustentationis duntaxat gratia, utpote probationis causa; eundemq. Geo. Trigg per totum dictum annum probationis suæ, in omnibus et singulis conditionibus per statuta dicti collegii requisitis, laudabiliter se habuisse et gessisse, finitoq. anno probationis legitime et humiliter petiisse, se Dño epo Elien. nominari et presentari juxta tenorem statut. et pro more loci &c.

Quibus non obstantibus, sed veris existen., ven. vir Jos. Beaumont S. T. P. et coll. S^ti Petri prædict. magister sive custos, utcunq. de facto procedens, juris ordine non servato, et contra juris justitiæq. æquitatis et rationis normam (salva semper tanti colendiss. viri reverentiâ), nec non contra formam intentionem et tenorem legum et statutorum tam dicti coll., quam hujus inclyti regni salubriter provisorum, et etiam contra consuetudinem ejusdem coll. hucusq. inviolabiliter usitat: præd. Geo. Trigg, Dño epo Elien. nominare et presentare et renuit et recusavit, eundemq. penitus rejecit et locum socii prædict. pronunciavit vacantem. Unde præfat: Ra: Witly, Andr. Pern, et Jo. Baynes sentientes collegium et seipsos, ex præmissis nullitat. iniquitat. gravaminibus et injustitiis enormiter gravat. fuisse et esse, deterioraq. timentes, ab eisdem et eorum quolibet ad rev. in Christo patrem ac D. D. Symonem permiss. divina Elien. epūm, coll. prædict. sive domus visitatorem dignissimum rite et legitime constitutum appellarunt. Protestantur insuper de addend. et emendand. hujusmodi appellationem loco et tempore congruis, prout moris, juris et styli est.

Rad. Witly.
Andr. Pern.
Jo. Baynes.

The next day after, June 6, the master sent over to me two of those four fellows, who declared against the presenting of s^r. Trigg to me; whose objections against him were so frivolous, that the day following, Jun. 7, I admitted him, and gave him institution to a perpetuall fellowship, with a mandate to the master and fellows, to put him into actuall and corporall possession of it, wch. was as follows:

Symon permissione divina Elien. epūs, dilectis filiis nostris magistro sive custodi, sociis sive scholaribus coll. sive domus nostræ S^ti Cant. salutem, gratiam et benedictionem. Cum dilectus nobis in Christo Geo. Trigg in art. bac: (per authoritatem nostram visitatoriam ad supplend: in electione lapsum et defectum) a nobis olim nominatus et ad annum probationis a vobis admissus fuerit: cumq. per annum probationis integrum jam completum se sobrie et pie inter vos gesserit, nihilq. fecerit quo minus dignus sit, ut in numerum perpetuorum sociorum cooptetur, atq. idcirco ipsum admiserimus, et in perpetuum socium collegii sive domus prædict. inq. sodalitium, sive locum socii, quem nuper tenuit Mr. Mich. Beaumont, instituerimus, cum omni emolumento, commodo, jure, et interesse, eidem sodalitio seu societati quomodolibet debit: sive spectan:—vobis igitur committimus et firmiter mandamus, quatenus præfatum Geo. Trigg, sicut præfertur institutum, immediate post receptionem presentium, in corporalem possessionem sodalitii sive societatis prædict: cum omnibus suis juribus et pertinentiis inducatis, eiq. sustentationem socii et alia debita ministrari faciatis, juxta statutorum ejusdem domus exigentiam cum effectu: recipientes tamen prius ab eo tam juramentum illud, quod dicti coll. nostri ordinationes cap.—requirunt, quam juramenta fidelitatis &c., quæ statutum hujus regni anno primo Gul. et Mariæ editum et provisum in aulâ publica recipi coram vobis exigit. In cujus rei testimonium &c. 7°. Junii 1694.

This mandate being read at a meeting of the fellowes, the major part of them (wch. were four) thought not fit to execute, (as ye master wrote me word, Jun. 8;) and being directed to the master and fellows, he pretended he did not see how he could execute it himself, when the greater part of those concerned did declare against it. Upon wch. I let him know how sorry I was that they should not think fit to submit to the authority of their visitor, wch. in former reigns had not been thus disputed, especially in so plain a case as this appeared to

me to be. For the right of nomination to Mr. Beaumont's fellowship being in me, (as they themselves had admitted by obeying ye mandate wherein I made ys. declaration, and receiving him into the year of probation,) it must still remain in me, notwithstanding any thing that had been, or could be done by them; to whom it could not possibly revert to be filled by a new election, especially after I had admitted and instituted sr. Trigg to it, but still continued in my power to dispose of it, if not to him, to some other person, in case he had been found uncapable of it. But there being no just exception to him, I could not but persist in my resolution to have him established in it, to whom I had given an undoubted title to it. My desire therefore was, that he would once more summon the whole society in town, and require them to be present, (for I was certainly informed several of them were not at the last meeting,) and see whether the majority would refuse to obey me.

But instead of this they proceeded the next day, Jun. 9, to a new election, wherein ten being present, four of them chose sr. Woodford, four protested against this choice, (the fellowship being full,) and two gave no votes at all. This the master called an election, and wrote me word sr. Woodford was of course admitted.

Wch. strange proceedings would have warranted very sharp censures, but I resolved to be as patient as they were perverse, with respect to the master's old age, and his worth in other regards. He seemed also to intimate, that if the foregoing mandate had been directed to him alone, it might have met with a better reception. I sent therefore, Jun. 14, in the words following:

Symon permiss. divinâ Elien. epūs, dilecto nobis in Christo filio Josepho Beaumont, S. T. P., magistro coll. sive domus S. Petri Cant. salutem et benedictionem. Cum tibi alias mandaverimus, quatenus Geo. Trigg, in art. bac., per nos admissum, et in perpetuum socium ejusdem coll., inq. sodalitium, sive locum socii quem nuper tenuit Mich. Beaumont institutum, in corporalem possessionem sodalitii sive loci prædicti induceres sive induci faceres, quod quidem mandatum nostrum executioni hactenus non demandasti, sub prætextu, ut asseris, quod non tibi solum, sed et sociis dictæ domus directum fuerit, quorum nonnulli mandatum illud nostrum admittere recusarunt, quin potius

ad novam electionem socii in dictum locum sive societatem, spreto nostro mandato, processerunt (quam prætensam electionem, multis et gravibus de causis cassam esse, nullam, et in jure invalidam pronunciamus et declaramus,)—nos igitur cupientes ut mandatum nostrum prædict. debitum sortiatur effectum, et ut omnis tergiversandi ansa præcidatur, tibi soli dicti coll. magistro (de cujus fide et integritate plurimum confidimus) committimus per presentes, et firmiter injungendo mandamus, virtute juramenti de obedientiâ in licitis mandatis nobis præstiti, quatenus immediate post receptionem presentium, prædictum Geo. Trigg, in realem possessionem ejusdem loci, cum omnibus emolumentis eidem sodalitio debitis, inducas, præstitis primitus per eum juramentis, in hac parte requisitis, &c., 14 Jun. 1694:

Upon the receipt of this the master's shufling appeared, for he gave this apert answer, (as his words are in his letter, Jun. 15,) that he did not see how he could statuteably execute this mandate, considering what he had done already by direction of yr statutes, and according to the opinion of good lawyers.

This made it absolutely necessary for me to visit the colledg; and accordingly I sent out the following monition.

Symon permiss. divinâ Elien epūs, dilecto nobis in Christo et ven. viro Jos. Beaumont, S. T. P., magistro domus sive coll. S. Petri in univers. Cant. salutem, gratiam et benedictionem. Quia domum sive collegium nostrum prædictum, tam in capite quam in membris, jure nostro ordinario visitare, et visitationem nostram in eodem, divina favente gratiâ exercere proponimus et intendimus;—tenore præsentium te magistrum coll. prædicti peremptorie citamus, ac per te omnes et singulos dictæ domus scholares sive socios citari volumus et mandamus, quod compareas et compareant, sicq. compareat eorum quilibet per se coram nobis, aut nostro in hac parte commissario vel commissariis uno vel pluribus, in loco capitulari ejusdem domus, sexto die mensis Julii, horâ prima pomeridianâ, anno Dñi: instanti, cum continuatione et prorogatione dierum et horarum et locorum si oporteat, visitationem nostram hujusmodi humiliter subituri, ac ulterius factur. et receptur. quod ordo natura et qualitas hujusmodi nostræ visitationis de se exigunt et requirunt. Tibi mandantes quatenus præmissa omnia et singula

ac cætera quæ ad actum hujusmodi nostræ visitationis spectant et pertinent parare curetis et studeatis cum diligentiâ. Tibi insuper inhibemus, ac per te omnibus aliis et singulis, quibus jus exigit, inhiberi volumus, ne pendente hujusmodi visitatione inexpedita, quicquam in præjudicium ejusdem indebite seu illicite attemptes, seu attemptent socii sive scholares antedicti, aut sic attemptari facias vel faciant faciatve eorum aliquis, quo minus nos eandem visitationem exercere, et debitæ executioni mandare possimus et valeamus.

Et quid in præmissis feceris, nos aut commissarium seu commissarios hujusmodi dictis die et loco distincte certifices et aperte. Dat. e palatio nostro apud Ely, 23, die Mensis Junii anno Dñi. 1694, nostræq. translationis anno tertio.

Unto this they yielded obedience, the master setting up a citation the next day, to summon all the fellows, as he sent me word by one of them. Accordingly, at the day appointed, I went thither, and was received with the usual solemnity. And being settled in the chapter house, I thought good to speak to them as here followes :

" Before I enter upon any other business, I think it will be necessary to speak a little of that visitatoriall power wch. is lodged in the bp's of Ely over this colledg., wch. my predecessors thought to be so great, that they did not look upon themselves as ordinary visitors, like those in some other colledges ; but as bp. Wren phrases it in some of his mandates, " visitors *jure fundatorio*"...By wch. he could not mean so little, as that ye founder made him the visitor, but that the founder's right perpetually remained in the bps. of Ely. Whereby they have power to do whatever ye founder himself might have done, for the better government of this society. Accordingly, they not onely frequently call this colledg. *domum nostram*, and they are called in your statutes *patroni*, your patrons, (on wch. I shall not now insist,) but in the preface to your statutes it is sayd, the founders will was, that this house should be called, *Collegium scholarium episcopi Eliensis;* not *Hugonis de Balsham* only, but of all his successors, who were to be respected as the founder. According to wch., bp. Wrenn directed his letters mandatory for the admission of this very master now present, in this style:—*Jouuni Francio cæterisq. ordine*

suo collegii nostri Sti. Petri sociis episcoporum Eliensium scholaribus. By this authority the bps. of Ely have taken upon them to make statutes, and to supply ye defects of them, as well as to explain them. You all know that Symon Montacute, or Langham, gave you the statutes whereby you are now governed; and the declarations of bp. Alcock, and the new statute made by bp. West, 1516, for the better ordering of some things, *pro probono regimine et ordine magistri et sociorum;* and more lately bp. Wren sent his mandat, Aug. 20, 1660, for the admission of several fellows, though not elected altogether according to the form of the colledg: statutes, declaring that he supply'd *omnem lapsum et defectum in ea parte per autoritatem nostram visitatoriam.* In that mandat he calls himself visitor *Jure fundatorio*, to signify, as I take it, that he had the power of the founder lodged in him; wch. he not long after made use of to purpose, when he put in this your present master, by his sole authority, and layd aside both those persons who were chosen by the majority of fellows then present, and presented unto him, to chuse one of them to be master of the colledg, declaring that election to be null and void. One reason for wch. I remember was, (as I find it in the Register,) that the fellows sent the letters testimoniall of yr. election to him, *sine tabellione publico, qui plenam atq. authenticam probationem faceret, non de personis electis solum, sed etiam de forma electionis, atq. de studiis eligentium.* Now I do not find in your statutes any such proof required of any one of those things; but the bp. is to give full credit to the letters the fellows send testifying yr. election, without any public notary to attest it. And yet he thought this to be necessary, though not mentioned in your statutes, and made it a reason of his nulling all that they had done; and they submitted to it then, and you have acquiesced in it ever since.

"This, I think, is a pretty strong demonstration of the power wch. your visitors have thought to be residcing in them: and I need search no further, for this is sufficient to raise some wonder, as well as trouble in me, that I should be so unhappy as to have the power of a visitor disputed in my time, wch. has been so much reverenced in the times before us: and, wch. is most surprising, my mandate disobeyed by this very master, who holds his place by no other right, but the force of a man-

date, against the sense of the society. Whatsoever moved you to it, I am sure there was nothing in my mandate to occasion it, wch. doth not stretch the power of a visitor at all, much less so far as some of my predecessors have thought they might do.

"For the case is this in short: having voided your last years election, and declared the right of nomination to that fellowship to belong to me, *jure devolutionis*, unto wch. you consented by admitting sr. Trigg to ye year of probation, upon my mandate to you; in all reason, if you had any thing to except against him, in the end of the year, you should have informed me of it, to whom it belonged to nominate another, if he was unqualified. But instead of that, without taking any notice of me, your master gave a monition for a new election, wch., I believe, was never done by any one before him, and cannot be justified either by your statutes, or any rules of common reason.

"But you have gone much further; for though I forbad the master to proceed to a new election, and admitted and instituted sr. Trigg, and sent my mandate to put him in possession, you not onely refused it, but went on in your way to a pretended election. And, wch. is still worse, have admitted one who had nothing like a majority of voices, but as many protested against him as voted for him. And indeed the account your master gave me of this pretended election showes it was nothing. For he sayth he told you at that meeting, they who were convinced they ought to elect might do so, and they who were otherwise convinced might forbear. Some of the fellows (not saying how many) proceeded to elect, the rest forbearing, (he should have sayd, some protesting, others forbearing,) and then adds, sr. Woodford being elected, he was of course admitted accordingly. I confess I was amazed at the last words, (this strange course,) that one thus elected should be admitted. For I believe never was any election pretended to be made in such a careless form, and without so much as a colour of the agreement of the majority of fellows, as the statute requires. I had the greatest reason therefore to declare it null, and much cause to have done it with the greatest indignation: but that I have forborn, how much soever provoked to it; and am now come hither, not with an angry, but an amicable mind, only to have, not my own, but the power of the visitor of your colledg

acknowledged, as it ought to be, by your executeing ye mandate I sent you.

" As for myself, I thank God, I have learnt long ago not to be troubled how I am used; but the power of the bp. of Ely I will not suffer to be affronted by his own colledg. That is it I come now to assert, and without any further circumstances, require you to obey my mandate, by putting s^r. Trigg into the possession of that fellowship to wch. I have admitted him."

When I had done, the master made some professions of all due regard to my authority, but sayd he thought they could not statuteably do what I required. I told him the bp. of Ely was the interpreter of yr. statutes, not he, nor any lawyer, whose directions, I was sorry to find, they followed in these matters: and reminded him that his right to the mastership of the colledg depended upon the explication of yr. statutes wch. was then made by the bp. of Ely, who exerted his power so far as to order in the mandate for his admission, that they should cause it to be entred in yr. register *in perpetuam rei memoriam, rectamq. explicationem futuris temporibus statuti de electione magistri.* Whether in future times this would be thought a right explication, nobody could tell, but for the present it had the effect which he desired.

To this the master replyed, that there was no doubt the bp. of Ely was the interpreter of yr. statutes, but he must not interpret them against yr. plain sence. This I believe he intended as a reflection upon me, but I thought it belonged to some body else, and so onely told him that I was sure my interpretation was not against yr. statutes, but if any bp. of Ely should chance to mistake so grossly, they must submit to it for the present, till another bp. should remedy it. And so I could, if I pleased, demonstrate they had done, when he was made master of the colledg, by that authority wch. now he opposed.

And so, without any further dispute, I again declared yr. pretended election of s^r. Woodford to be null and void, and admitted s^r. Trigg myself, in the presence of them all, into actuall and corporall possession of Mr. Beaumont's fellowship, administring to him all the oaths wch. are required in this case, particularly that *de non appellando*, wch. I saw him write in the register book, according to the 34th statute.

After this I told them, they who pretended to have such a

regard to the statutes of yr. colledg made nothing of the statutes of ye realm, having entertained Mr. Woodward (whose fellowship I declared void last year, because he had not taken the oath of allegiance to yr. majties k. William and q. Mary) to be a tutor and instructor of youth in the colledg., nay, to be yr. bursar. For though another bare ye name, I knew he had both these offices, and particularly was at ys. time intrusted with all ye revenue of the colledg. This they could not deny nor excuse, and therefore I required the master forthwith to discharge him from both employments, and remove him out of the colledg. The master seemed to hesitate at this, wch. moved me to require him to do it, by virtue of his oath of obedience *in licitis mandatis*. He being silent, I ask't him, whether he did not think this *licitum mandatum*. To wch. he replying, he could not tell, it provok'd me to say, (wch. was the harshest word that fell from me,) it was a wonder a professor of divinity should not be able to resolve that question! Then he prayed me to remove him myself, by my visitorial authority, to wch. I yeilded, being unwilling to press him too hard, and ordered him to be gone out of the colledg. To wch. he and they submitted, (being unable to show he had taken the oath of allegiance, or so much as to affirm he had,) only he desired to have time till the audit, that he might give up his accounts to the colledg, wch. I granted.

After this I told them, they suffred Mr. Baron, contrary to yr. statutes, to keep his fellowship, though he had a great estate.—He did not deny it at first, but insisted upon this, that the word *reddítus* was not in the book of statutes given them by the commissioners in Edward the 6th's time. But I told him, it was in the copy of the statutes wch. they sent me, when I first came to the see of Ely, and in the oath the 53. statute required them to take when they were admitted probationers; and therefore in all reason ought to be in the 29th statute, *de scholaribus post admissionem promotis*. So that unless I found it otherwise in the originall statute book, (wch. they could not, or would not produce,) I should take it for granted, that a *reddítus* of such a value as the statute names did with greater reason make void a fellowship, then a *pensio* or *corrodium*. Then he said, he had no such estate, and offered to take his oath of it; but I told him there was a time when he

had one, and by the statute he was *eo ipso privatus,* whensoever he had it, and therefore though perhaps now he had sold it, I pronounced his fellowship void. And so this days work ended, with his protestation against my sentence.

The next day he accused Mr. Gardiner, another of the fellows, as having had an estate also, though he had sold it. Of wch. he then gave me such an account, as made me conclude it was true, and therefore I pronounced his fellowship to be void also.

After wch. I desired to know of the master, and three fellows who joined with him, (for now there were no more,) whether they submitted to what I had done, in admitting sr. Trigg a perpetuall fellow of the colledg, and did receive him as such. The master first, and then the rest sayd, they could not, for they thought it contrary to the statutes; whereupon I rose up, and was about to adjourn the visitation till another day, that I might consider how to proceed against them. But my chancellor prayed me to stay a while, and then wish't the master to consider better, for he knew I came thither with very kind intentions towards them all. To wch. the master replyed, he would be glad to hear somewhat of that from my own mouth. I told him he might be confident my chancellor would not tell a lye before my face. This made him desire time to consider, and my chancellor pray'd him to take time till seven a clock at night. He sayd it was too short, and so I ordered the visitation to be adjourned till Thursday the 19th July, at one a clock.

When that day came, I found the master and three fellows in a quite different temper; he first, and then all the rest declaring openly, that they submitted to my authority, by wch. sr. Trigg was admitted, and put in possession of Mr. Beaumont's fellowship, and did own him and receive him as a fellow of the colledg.

I forbare to tell them, how by this means they had prevented the sentence of deprivation, wch. I intended to have pronounced against them, for yr. manifold contempts of my authority, and breach of yr. oath of obedience *in licitis mandatis.* And only sayd I was glad they had given me an opportunity to convince them how much I was inclined to be kind to them all, and thereby oblige them to unity, peace, and concord. In order to wch., I first restored both Mr. Baron, and

Mr. Gardiner, to yr. fellowships: there wanting such an undeniable proof as might reasonably be expected that the former of them once had an estate above what the statute allowed, and no body being able to assign the time when he was possessed of it; and the other having made it appear to me, that really he never was in possession of any wch. was not under a mortgage.

When they had taken yr. places again in the chapter house, I further told them how desirous I was to remove ye cause of yr. late contentions, by doing something for sr. Woodford, wch. I hoped would reconcile both parties. Two ways it might be done, either by a preelection into the next vacancy, or by augmenting the number of fellows; of the former, I found several examples in former times, but no direction for it in the statutes of the colledg; wch. made me rather incline to the latter way, if it would be acceptable to them. And having read the 11th statute to them, I wished they would, for the restoring peace and concord among them, unanimously agree to chuse sr. Woodford into a 15th place, (*pro hac vice tantum*,) and then to nominate and present him unto me, to be admitted, without any year of probationership, to be perpetuall fellow. They every one, *nemine dissentiente*, agreed to this proposall. For wch. I blessed God, and told them, I hoped it would lay the foundation of a lasting peace in yr. society, of wch. this was a good beginning. They all declared, they hoped the same, and would make it their study. And so giveing the master leave to give the first monition for his election, in my presence, after as earnest an exhortation as I could make, to continue in ys. happy unity and concord, wherein I now left them, I concluded the visitation.

Symon Eliensis.

WILL OF SYMON LORD BISHOP OF ELY.

[Extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.]

This is the last Will and Testament of me Symon Patrick Bishop of Ely, made the twenty second day of March Anno Dm. in one thousand seaven hundred and two In the name of the Father Son and Holy Ghost three Persons and one God most blessed for ever I Symon Bishop of Ely commend my spirit into the hands of God that gave it and my body I desire may be interred (in a sure and certain hope of its resurrection to eternall life) where my dear wife shall think fitt to be buried herself Whereas by my marriage Articles in the year one thousand six hundred seaventy foure I did covenant with Mr. Daniel Sheldon and Mr. William Jephson (my wive's brother) to lay out two thousand pounds (her marriage portion) or more in the purchase of lands of inheritance to be settled as therein expressed within six or seven years after my marriage And whereas in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred seventy seven I did lay out the summe of two thousand one hundred and sixty five pounds of lawfull money of England in the purchase of an estate in the county of Glamorgan or elsewhere to the said Daniel Sheldon and William Jephson and their heirs to such uses and purposes as by the said Articles I was obliged to do And whereas by my said marriage Articles I did further covenant to leave my wife (if she survived me) all such goods chattels and personall estate which I should leave at the time of my death except such legacies and bequests as I should give with my wive's consent under her hand And whereas I have lately articled with my wive's consent aforesaid upon my sons intermarriage to lay out a considerable summe of money in a purchase of lands and have in pursuance thereof bought the mannor and estate of Dalham in the county of Suffolk or elsewhere for certain long terms of years and with other charges and interests affecting the said estate and am farther to pay for the compleat purchase of the said estate a greater summe of money Now my will and desire is that such articles and agreements as I have

entered into touching the said purchase should be fairly and fully performed And after the same compleated I devise all the rest and residue of my goods chattels and personal estate whatsoever unto my dear wife to her own use and benefit And I make my said wife my sole Executrix of this my last will and testament In witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seal——Symon Eliensis —— Signed sealed and published by the testator in the presence of— Frances Jephson—Robert Marsden—Joseph Chapman.

I Simon Patrick bishop of Ely would have this to be taken as part of my last will and I add it as a codicill unto it with the consent of my dear wife attested by her writing her name as a witness hereunto this fifteenth day of Aprill in the year of our Lord one thousand seaven hundred and three I devise unto my sister Mrs. Mary Middleton the summe of fifty pounds and to my neece Mrs. Frances Jephson (one of the witnesses to my will and to this codicill) the summe of thirty pounds And to Mr. John Wilson my secretary the summe of twenty pounds Item to my son my gold ring with a table diamond in it and to my daughter a large silver basin To my most kind friend William Gore of Tewing Esq. my picture which is at Ely Item to the poor of Ely I give fifty pounds for the binding poor children apprentices as my executrix shall be advised and shall direct My communion plate viz. a gilt flaggon a chalice with a cover a pattin and basin I give to the parish of Dalham in Suffolk for their use in the administration of the sacrament of Christ's body and blood of which I pray God they may frequently partake To each of my servants I give five five pounds apeece which bequests I desire my executrix to pay within six months after my decease Wittness my hand and seal this fifteenth day of Aprill one thousand seaven hundred and three with the consent of Penelope Patrick my dear wife Penelope Patrick—Symon Eliensis—Signed and sealed and published by the said Symon bishop of Ely and then his will was also republished by him in the presence of—Frances Jephson— Robert Marsden—Joseph Chapman.

Probatum fuit hūmoi Testamentum unicum Codicillo annexo apud London coram venerabili et egregio viro domino Richardo Raines Milite Legum Doctore Curiæ Prærogativæ Cantuar Magro custode sive commissario legitime constituto vicesimo secundo die mensis Octobris anno Dni millimo septuagesimo septimo juramento Penelope

Patrick relictæ dicti defuncti et executricis in dicto Testamento nominat cui commissa fuit administratio omnium et singulorum bonorum jurium et creditorum dicti defuncti de bene et fideliter administrando eadem ad sancta Dei evangelia (vigore commissionis) jurat.

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